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Indigenising the Screen, Navigating the Currents of Change, a Vision of Fourth Cinema

A thesis

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of the requirements for the degree

of

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Abstract

This thesis tests the hypothesis that it is possible to both decolonise and Indigenise the New Zealand cinema screen. Secondary research explores how those discourses that promoted roles and expectations for Māori within the New Zealand film industry were based principally upon historical colonial ideologies imposed by various means upon the native populous, and subsequently reproduced. It has been argued that these discourses of race, gender and religion have predominantly perpetuated negative belief systems about Māori, have contributed to the reproduction of stereotypical images of Māori, and that alternative structures of belief will be necessary in the field of cultural production.

This thesis stems from this essential argument, and is fuelled by the researcher's own desire to demystify, decolonise and Indigenise the New Zealand screen through the development of a Kaupapa Māori based strategic framework to inform/guide Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice. Drawing upon academic research, intimate cultural knowledge and the practice of creative writing, this thesis will explore the case that when thought and action are focused effectively through an applicable and practical Indigenous framework, an expression of collective identity based on individual qualities will deliver a better approach to Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice. This case will be developed and examined.

The case also depends on arguing that supposedly progressive representations of Māori in mainstream New Zealand films since the mid-1980s are not an incremental advance towards Fourth Cinema, because Māori subjectivity in film had still not been reconnected with a self-efficacy belief system based upon Indigenous foundations. The alternative approach effectively materialises strong anti-colonial perspectives aimed specifically at subverting long-held and dominant colonial discourses. Such an approach rejects the tradition of being defined, constructed and represented through discourses that serve to promote the interests of a majority and, in doing so, offers a collective

vision for Fourth Cinema or Indigenous Cinema as advocated by the late Barry Barclay who campaigned for an Indigenous filmatic base grounded firmly in the philosophies, concepts and practices of the people. A tantalising larger question is whether specific strategic frameworks (e.g. in differing national contexts) tap into a common base of 'Fourth Cinema' values and philosophy, a base that then deeply affects all aspects of practice, from idea generation to narrative structures or the handling of time.

This thesis shall therefore be largely focused upon attempting to define and determine the foundations of an Indigenous knowledge system, and then upon how such definitions can revitalise those foundations for effective application in a contemporary context. Such an approach is founded upon the belief that what we are lacking in the Māori world is not the quantity of Māori knowledge; there is a veritable plethora of Māori knowledge still available. My research will seek to demonstrate that what is lacking is sufficient qualitatively powerful contemporary thought that yields 'reflections' contained in that knowledge, i.e., appropriate insight into their contemporary application. This view is supported by the words of noted Māori Scholar Charles Royal (2002):

> *A key aspiration of all indigenous people is cultural survival. This means the perpetuation of our knowledge, our traditions, our worldviews, our philosophies. What this requires, however, is not so much the simple use of traditional knowledge but research into its principles, its fundamental view on reality and the creative application of those views in the contemporary context. Otherwise indigenous knowledge will remain merely historical phenomena, a museum curio bearing little relevance to the contemporary experience of indigenous peoples. (p. 11-12)*

Importantly, I will examine the proposition that the more we discover, examine and utilise Māori knowledge, the more we will grow to understand new ways to create, design and fashion contemporary applications of this knowledge. Therefore, what is required and what should be of impetus to present day Māori scholars is a new spirit of enquiry, into the evolution of Indigenous knowledge systems and more specifically in this context, their role in relation to filmmaking

processes. Such a belief is supported by the words of noted Ngāti Porou tohunga (expert in traditional lore) New Amsterdam Reedy (2011) who in relation to the application of Māori knowledge systems stated emphatically, 'It's not about how far back we can go, it's about how far we can take it into the future.'

Such an approach is where I will argue the true revolutionary and emancipating thinking lies. Therefore, and of equally important significance, this thesis through the discussion of Māori knowledge and its contemporary application also engages debates surrounding the further development of Kaupapa Māori theory and more specifically, locates this within a filmmaking framework. In this way, Kaupapa Māori theory, as much as it is employed in this study is also subject to a self-reflective analysis and critique, therein providing an original contribution to the current literature in Kaupapa Māori theory and filmmaking and consequently developing a more comprehensive understanding of both fields of study.

For I will contend that Fourth Cinema is an effective way to understand the other, engage in new and integrated ways of thinking and living, and recognise how different bodies of knowledge, traditional or modern, Indigenous and Western may coexist for common purpose and mutual benefit. For this is the integrated and inclusive space where the complexity of the relationship between the colonial and post-colonial truly exists, one which brings together essential and non-essentialist post-colonial theoretical paradigms as well as Indigenous knowledge and contemporary Western knowledge systems thereby bridging worlds that, at first, seem to be strangers to one another, but may be more connected than they are different.

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Dedicated

To the Māori people, my love, my life.

Preface

He Kōau moe roa

(Vast potential latently slumbers. My own free translation)

As in the past our time is one of rapid change and turmoil for our people when we reflect on past glories, strive to improve our quality of life and ponder what the future holds for all the generations to follow. In seeking a better future, we need to heed the words of our ancestors who reminded us to take guidance from the past in pursuing our dreams for the future. The social, cultural, economic and political life of an individual, whānau or local community has very little to do with government, institutions, politicians and economists, those engaged in endeavours which play little or no effective role in personal, whānau (family) or community growth and development. With this in mind, it still begs the question why after 173 years of government rule many of our people continue to look to the government and politicians for the answers to effect positive change within our lives.

We have, and shall always be our greatest resource, we must therefore realise that positive, meaningful and sustainable change lies not within government institutions, but rather within ourselves as a people. For the pursuit of wellbeing for our whanau and communities, the fruition of our dreams and aspirations will only be realised when we as a people are conversant, secure and pro-active participants in all facets of life. We must be enterprising and entrepreneurial, employing resources, fostering good relationships and effectively managing shared wealth for collective benefit. Then and only then will we be able to enjoy a lifestyle of independence and wellbeing, one where our mauri (life force) is both vibrant and empowering.

Importantly, such fundamental change may only be achieved through an awakening, and revitalisation of our long neglected cultural knowledge. For inherent within is an inner spiritual strength or confidence, and is an empowerment which promotes self-belief and highlights how we are capable of

achieving much more than we currently believe. This insight is encapsulated perfectly in a personal story articulated to me by Dan Takutaimoana Te Kanawa:

> *'My grandmother lived to be 103 years old and wove korowai (cloaks) her whole life. She believed that every woman could weave korowai like her as everyone had two eyes, two hands with fingers like hers. But she also believed that the only difference between her and the other thousands of Māori woman who wanted to weave a korowai was she believed that she could, the others didn't, and it was that simple.'*

This impetus of change starts within us as individuals, as whānau, as communities. We must understand that it is within our power to gain social, economic, and cultural advancement, to transmit and uphold the beliefs and values of our tīpuna (ancestors) and foster confidence and pride amongst our people. The outcome and indeed our future as a people depends upon the extent to which we have become intellectually emancipated and de-colonised enough to pioneer in original thinking. Those who do will no longer readily grab the western ideologies and systems whether Capitalism, individualism, or the Western system of democracy without a critical review and analysis to determine whether our own Māori systems, when utilised effectively in contemporary practice, may not be superior and best fitted to meet the aspirations of an ever-evolving Māori world. For ultimately it shall be the belief in ourselves and our knowledge that shall shape our world for the better, it is what shall focus and define us as a people. We are, and shall always be our greatest resource, we just need to start believing that we are.

He Whakaaraara Pā

Titi mai te marama,
Titi mai te marama,
Nā Taratutū, nā Tarawewehi,
Nā Tara-hōkaia.
Kīhai au i panapana
Kīhai koe i panapana,
Ka taka mai whītohi,
Tau ana ki tawhiti.
Ka tū kāpiti-nuku,
Ka tū kāpiti-rangi,
Waiho te tae o Mātuku,
Ka moe te mata o te tipua,
Ka ara te mata hī tauā,
E ia e te ika e takoto nei.
E kore koe e tae mai i te rā takitahi,
Me tuku ki te karere,
Kia tae mai te wiwini,
Kia tae mai te wawana.
Kia tae mai te Ariki-korongatā,
Ki tō whenua nei.
Tēnei hoki au te kekeho atu nei,
Kei runga o Awarua
Awarua e ia,
E te ika e takoto nei, e ia
Te kō, te ua nuku, te ua tara,
Te ua patapata i āwhā,
Te whērerei iho ai tae o Mātuku,
Te whērerei iho ai tae o Pani,
He tapu taku kiri nei,
Te ripiripi o te rangi,
Té whakarangona atu te Āti-tipua,
Té whakarangona atu te Āti-tawhito
Tīnā! Toka!
Rarau Te Wheke-nui-a-Muturangi,
Tīnā! Toka!
Te pari nui ki Hawaiki e.
Whano, whana,
Hara mai te toki
Haumi e, hui e, tāiki e!

The *whakaaraara pā* (watch songs or summons to arms) originated during the period of inter-tribal conflict before the coming of Europeans to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Ahurewa (watch towers) were an integral part of the defensive system of a Māori pā (fortified village). During the night, Tūtei (sentries) were posted upon these ahurewa and would recite whakaaraara pā throughout the night as an act of 'alerting people to the imminent appearance of someone, or something' (Poia, 2013, p.141) in respect to which Cowan (1930) refers to the practice as the 'sentinel's chant' (Cowan, p. 31). In further elaboration of its meaning and purpose, Te Rangi Hīroa (1949) in *The Coming of the Maori* explains that whakaaraara pā were chanted to 'show both the enemy and the people within the pā that the watchman was alert' (p. 388), while Elsdon Best (1927) in *The Pa Maori* states that an additional objective was 'to keep the people in the pā from sleeping too soundly in case of attack.' (p. 86)

The whakaaraara pā quoted above was gifted to me by Te Aitanga a Mate elder Tautohe Kupenga. Among his numerous talents, he is also a tohunga pūrākau (traditional oral historian) who has spent his entire life collecting and maintaining the stories and traditions of our people. Whenever he stands to speak he captivates and enthrals, weaving numerous threads of knowledge through word and gesture, into a proverbial fabric of traditional wisdom, one beautifully intertwined with pēpeha (proverbs), mōteatea (traditional chants), karakia (ritual chants) and waiata (songs). His role is significant in validating the inter-generational transfer of knowledge, skills, and understandings of which I am honoured to be a recipient. On one such memorable night, he articulated at length the pūrākau (tribal oral history) of the journey of our ancestral waka (voyaging canoe) Horouta to the fabled homeland of Hawaiki to procure the kūmara (sweet potato). He said that this whakaaraara pā was used upon the arrival of Horouta to the shores of Hawaiki, that from the lofty palisades of the Hawaiki pā, Hui-ā-kama, the powerful sentinel Kanoa called out this whakaaraara pā to warn of an approaching vessel.

In respect, my use of this whakaaraara pā as an opening statement for my thesis is dual in nature. Firstly, and most importantly, it is a taonga (prized

possession) rooted firmly in the language and culture of my people. It is an oral tradition and history that forever serves to remind me of the beauty of my language and culture and of the great repository of knowledge accumulated over millennia and bequeathed by my ancestors. This thesis is founded upon such traditions and draws its essential strength from this fundamental source of enlightenment and understanding. Therefore, throughout the length and breadth of this thesis I will continue to incorporate further tribal teachings to help reaffirm and strengthen this foundation. The utilisation of these teachings, concepts which hold such significance in my life, forever serve to remind me that this is a thesis tied to a people and a place, that this is a work of the people and for the people.

Secondly, whakaaraara pā are now utilised in a contemporary context as the opening statement heard in the hierarchical structure of whaikōrero (traditional oratory), and are often the primary indicator that a new speaker will soon be upstanding. In this context, the whakaaraara pā duly alerts the audience and draws attention to the new speaker, and therefore is utilised to 'psychologically prepare the speaker and the audience' (Poia, 2010, p.141). I have utilised this whakaaraara pā as an opening statement as I am metaphorically now standing to speak, I stand to offer my thoughts and opinions on Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking and I use this whakaaraara pā to announce my presence and hearken to attention those that would listen. Therefore, the utilisation of the whakaaraara pā as a primary opening statement for my thesis, is an acknowledgement of my past, it is a symbol of my intent for the present, and encapsulates my dreams and aspirations for the future.

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He Mihi

Haua atu taku toki ki te ūpoko o te rangi

Haua taku toki ki te ūpoko o te toka

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I te tuhi māreikura a Rauru ki te tuhi māreikura a Oho

Kia mau rā i te kakau o taku toki e Apanui

E rere atu ana ki ngā uri maha a Toi

Takoto mai ki te uranga o te rā

E taku toki e!

Tūrokorokohia te po, tākiri te ata, ka whekī, ka whekā rā ki te matahau o aituā, o aitu rere o aitu kikini o aitu whakatika, e whakatika ake nei ki mihi ki te hunga kua tīraha haere nei i te roro o ngā tīpuna whare, i te hunga ka ngaro ka tīraha i te pae o maumahara. Nō reira, kōtau te hunga kua urutomotia te tatau o te pō, haere, haere, haere. Haere i a whiti ahu rangi, haere i a whiti ahu raro, haere ki ngā kuru matarērehu. Waihotia ake te ao kia whitingia e te rā, haere ki te tini, ki te mano e kāpunipuni mai rā i te hāmūmūtanga o te tangata. Haere whakaoti atu koutau. Ā kāti rawa ake, ngūnguru te pō mō rātau kua huri ki tua o Paerau ki Paerangi ki te huihuinga o te kahurangi ka oti atu. Ngūnguru te ao mō tātau ngā waihotanga iho o te Aotūroa nei, tū nuku, tū rangi. tū ki te whai ao, tū ki te ao mārama kia mau te tīhei mauri ora ki a tātau katoa! E ngā maunga iringa kōrero, e ngā awa rerenga roimata, e ngā pātaka a ngā taonga tuku iho a kui mā, a koro mā, tēnā kōtau, tēnā kōtau tēnā kōtau katoa.

Ka whakapūkohurangi taku haere ki te tihi taumata o tōku maunga tapu a Te Whetūmatarau-mai-i-tawhiti, tū i te ao, tu i te pō, koirā te pā e tūwatawata

ana. Ka mārama te tiro iho ki ngā mania roa o Te Marangairoa e hora nei i mua i taku aroaro, anō nā te kāhu i hāro, ka kīa ake rā ngā kupu whakataukī a ngā pūwānanga o raurangi, he marangai rangi, he marangi tangata, e heke tonu ana, e heke tonu ana, e heke tonu ana

Ka tau atu ai tōku mata ki te awa tipua, ki te awa tawhito, ki tōku awa tapu a Te Awatere e whakakairohia nei i te mata o te whenua, ka whakapūehu mai te ihu o te taniwha a Ngutu Kānara, me mihi ka tika ki aia. Korotaha ana taku titiro whakatau tonu atu ki runga i tōna pūtaketanga mai i Ngā Wai Weherua a Tauranga Kautuku me Kōpua Pounamu, i karangahia ai e ngā kauwheke o nehe, ko ngā wai hono i te pō. Pōhutuhutu ana taku haere i ngā kōriporipo o te wai rarata whakawhitiwhiti atu ana i ngā Pōhatu Hurihuri a Haukauangaroa, taea noatia ki tōna putanga atu ki ngā kōpua rukuruku a Uepare, ki te hiku kapakapa i whakatauākitia ai e Tamateaūpoko, ko te ngaunga o te waha kūare.

Ka huri whakaterāwhiti ko taku aro, ka tau atu ai wōku rua whetū ki ngā paringa pā tūwatawata, pā maioro o Ōkauwharetoa, ko Tūwhakairiora tēnā, Te Kōau tono Hau a Te Ātaakura, Te Tautahi a Ngātihau, Ā hā hā, i Te Hiku tawatawa ki a Tūwhakairiora nāna i whati ngā tautari mānukanuka o Whareponga, e koro ue hā! Ka whakarērea te pou o te whare, ka rere atu wau ki te kohu tatao ana i ngā pōhatu teitei o Pāoneone kia tau iho rā ki te pātūwatawata o Te Rangihuanoa, ko Hinerupe tēnā, te kōpara a Rongomaitāpui, te rau i heke i te mātangi, nāna rā te tākoha nui a Te Aopare, mai te huka o te tai ki te aoparauri, e kore, e kore e tinei te ahi kā a Hinerupe, hui kai, hui whenua, hui tangata ki Te Rangihuanoa.

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Ka hūrangi atu wau mā te au kura o wōku tīpuna ki te pā tapu o Te Awatere, ki tōku whare tipuna a Te Aotāihi, e tū whakahīhī nei hai kāenga whakamarumaru i te iwi. Rere kau ana te kōrero ki tōna tāhū, ki wōna heke ki wōna kōwhaiwhai, ki wona poupou, ki wōna tukutuku, e tū ake rā e kui, te kaipupuri a ngā whakairoiro a ngā whao a Ruatepupuke, ko wana whao e hahae ana i tō mana, i tō tapu, i tō ihi i tō wehi, he ihu tō mai nō te pō.

Ko Te Whānau a Te Aotāihi tōku hapū, ko Ngāti Porou tōku reka

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Waihoki rā, tēneki rā te mihi ki a Tākuta Rangi Matamua. E te rangatira tēnā koe, mōhou rā i whakawātea i a koe anō, ki te kōrero mai ki tēneki iti, ki te

whai whakaaro mai ki tēneki iti, ki te ārahi mai i tēneki iti. Ehara kē awau i te tangata whai mana, i te whai rawa, i te whai aha atu ranei, erangi ka aro mai koe ki awau i runga i te wairua manaaki, wairua māhaki, wairua aroha anō hoki. Nō reira e hika, ko tērā āhuatanga e kore e ngaro i awau, whakangotoa ki te kiri mau ai, whakangotoa ki te kiri mau ai. Hai whakakapi ake i tāku, me kī pēneki e hika, e kore e takataka ngā parapara a wō tīpuna, heke tonu iho ki a koe, heke tonu iho ki a koe, kia mau te mauri ora ki a koe me tō whānau.

Tēneki hoki rā te mihi mutunga kore ki ngā pūkenga, ki ngā wānanga, arā ia, ki waku poutākikī, ki waku poutākekē i roto i ngā tau huhua kua hipa ake ki muri. Nā te pūkahu o kōtau, erangi tēneki mō te whakahuahua inoga koi mahue tētahi ki muri, nō reira, tēnā rā kōtau katoa, mō kōtau rā i poutoko i tēneki māhuri tōtara kia tipu tōtika ai. Me kī pēneki taku kōrero, mai kore ake ko kōtau, kua tanuku te tāhū o tēneki whare kōrero, ā, kua kore rawa rā tēnei kauwaka kupu i ū pai ki uta. Nō reira, e ngā pōito whakarewarewa o te kaharunga o te kupenga a te Iwi Māori, tēneki rā te mātihetihe e rere tohitū atu rā ki a kōtau katoa.

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This is also a loving thank you to my family, Trina, Trudy, Hoera and of course you Mum. Throughout this journey you were forever present in my thoughts, we have, and shall always been there for each other, I love you guys. Lastly, but most importantly, I would like to express my heartfelt and everlasting gratitude to four very special people, firstly to my beloved wahine rangatira Dorina Paenga, for the years you have spent at my side throughout the length and breadth of my study. You have looked after me, our children and our home while I remained glued to the computer for years on end. Words cannot truly express my gratitude Dee, you have given me three beautiful children, you have

loved me and in doing so enabled me to succeed, I love, respect and appreciate you and will never forget the sacrifices you have made for me throughout our journey together. Nō reira, e taku huia e noho puhitaioreore, tē mimiti te puna aroha.

Secondly ki waku tamariki matahīapo, Te Kōau tono hau a Te Ātaakura, Te Tāhū nui o Rauru and Te Ahi a Tamatea Kahupō you are my inspiration, my heart, my strength. You carry within you my dreams for the future and there is not a day that passes that I do not give thanks that I was blessed to be your father. You are and shall always be my rangatira for each day you make me strive to be a better father, a better man, a better human being. Nō reira, e waku kāhu pōkere i te whenua, taku aroha mutunga kore ki a kōtau katoa.

Notes

The orthographic conventions used in this thesis follow those set by Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission (2012). The spellings of Māori words follow those in Williams' *Dictionary of the Māori Language* (2003). Where applicable, vowel lengths will be marked using macrons, except in the case of quotations which are written as they appear in the original source. This thesis is written mostly in English and translations of incorporated Māori words will be given when they first appear and a glossary of all words can be found at the end of the thesis. This translation is not inclusive of the introductory mihi and incorporated ancient karakia (prayers).

This thesis is based on both written and oral sources within tribal contexts. Many of the ideas and values that will surface and be discussed within the thesis are the special knowledge of Iwi (tribe), hapū (sub tribe) and whānau (family). Since much of this information is oral history and tradition, an important task of the author has been to distinguish between material that can be introduced into the public domain, and material that ought to remain unpublished, at least in terms of a thesis. This responsibility has been undertaken with extreme care and respect to all parties involved.

CHAPTER ONE: TŌKU REO

1.1 The Specified Self: Speaking Truth to Power

Sium and Ritskes (2013) provide an important set of framing concepts for both the aims and the method of this thesis, as their call is 'to disrupt Western imaginations of "theory" through Indigenous knowledge production and storytelling' (p. ii). This call immediately makes certain demands of a doctoral thesis: first, that it too should query, not least in its form, these imaginations of theory; second, that it should recognise itself as a form of storytelling rather than a theoretical meta-commentary on storytelling. Moreover, Sium and Ritskes emphasise the importance of finding an approach 'that drags the vague notions of decolonization back to the immediate, relational, and spiritual underpinnings of Indigenous thought' (p, ii). If taken seriously, these prescriptions have profound consequences for how a doctoral thesis such as this might be researched, theorised, organised, methodologically underpinned and presented.

'I am a story teller, and my story 'must' be told'

> *'While dominant scholarship might push aside methods such as autoethnography or traditional storytelling as not rigorous enough or as "identity politics", the experiences of those that live out decolonisation are integral to the integrity of the movement grounding it to the material realities of the people whose lives bear the scars of colonialism and the long histories of resistance and triumph' (Sium & Ritskes, 2013, p. ii)*.

Indigenous storytelling is vital to the decolonisation process, Indigenous storytelling directly challenges empowered Eurocentric claims to 'objectivity', or 'the emptying of our bodies and experiences from our scholarship' (Sium & Ritskes, 2013, p. ii). Pihama (2001) also rejects this 'common sense notion that academics "can" and "should" write from a position of objectivity' (p, 27) and advocates that researchers 'must' organise a place to reveal themselves legitimately in their work, to actively describe and systematically analyse

'personal experience' in order to understand cultural/political/social/educational experience. 'Indigenous stories are a reclamation of Indigenous voice, Indigenous land, and Indigenous sovereignty' (Simm & Ritskes, 2013, p. ii).

Therefore, Indigenous stories affirm the vital necessity of subjectivity within the research process, they challenge colonial notions of intellectual rigor and legitimacy while redefining scholarship as a process that begins with the self. Such scholarship claims our Indigenous knowledge as politically and intellectually valid and serves to 'reclaim epistemic ground that was erased by colonialism and, in the process, lay a framework and foundation for the resurgence of Indigenous sovereignty' (Sium & Ritskes, 2013, p. ii). It must be made clear at the outset therefore, that this thesis takes a form that embodies these questions of subjectification. In its form, it seeks to explore an epistemic ground that is fit for the stated purpose, rather than replicating epistemic conventions that would ultimately obscure that purpose. A vital component of this is *The Prophet*, the screenplay that, in its ongoing development, roots the thesis deep into epistemic ground.

1.2 Locating the Self

Reflecting on my past provides me with an understanding of why I am who I am, while at the same time providing insight into the changes I need to make to successfully navigate my present and future. Although events and experiences do not wholly make up a person in their entirety, they are nevertheless precursors and effectors of the many choices we make throughout our lives. I therefore tell my story to enable the reader to better understand the forces that have colluded to shape the author. The following words provide direct insight into my story and it is a story which inherently encompasses complex political, social, economic, educational and cultural forces, which shape and mould a character as if fashioning a piece of wet clay. My choice of thesis topic is not disconnected from my own experience as Māori man growing up in the small suburb of Gisborne, North Island New Zealand. For I am the product of many things, and my history has many threads. This is about how those threads are woven together, across generations, how they are patterned and coloured by collective and individual narratives and experience. This is a thesis about me, my journey, my past, my present and my hopes and desires for the future.

Fleas in a Jar



Figure 1: The Author at nine months old

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

I remember once hearing a story about an experiment done with fleas. Now as it is well known fleas are great jumpers, if one just happened to be the size of a human it would be able to leap to astronomical heights with ease. As the story goes, a scientist placed a number of fleas in a glass jar and immediately they quickly jumped out. He then put the fleas back into the jar and placed a glass lid over the top sealing them in. The fleas began jumping and hitting the glass lid, falling back down into the jar. After a while, the fleas, conditioned to the presence of the glass lid, began jumping slightly below the glass lid so as not to hit it. The scientist then removed the glass lid as it was no longer needed to keep the fleas in the jar. The fleas had learned to limit themselves from jumping beyond the height of the lid even if the lid was removed as they had been conditioned to the fact that they cannot escape from the jar.

Dad

When discussing my story and the decisions made in my life, the upbringings of my father and mother are critical in the roles they played in my childhood and the choices they made in our upbringing. My father Hoera Pūhā Bristowe was a shy, quiet Māori man born and raised in the tiny rural Māori community of Te Araroa situated about 2 and a half hours north from the city of Gisborne on the isolated East Cape of the North Island. He was the second born of ten siblings, but more importantly he was the eldest born son and within a Māori community at the time, such a position carried a weight of responsibility as he largely acceded to the 'mana' of his father. Though my father did not talk openly about his childhood I learnt later from his siblings that he continually struggled with this weight of expectation his own father had placed upon his shoulders. My aunty once told me that my father was not always such a quiet man, but that he received punishment so often at the hands of his father that he stopped speaking lest it warrant more punishment. She said to me, 'Your father wasn't always like that Curtis, he was made that way'.

When he turned 21 he was sent by his father to a trade school in Auckland. I can only imagine the culture shock this must have been for my young father, leaving his small Māori speaking community to live in a sprawling metropolis where our language and culture were meaningless and our people where regarded as an underclass. Though my father seldom spoke of his time in Auckland he once divulged that his first employment was on the Auckland wharfs where he was one of only two Māori employees. My father was non-confrontational and in the racially charged 60s, I can only imagine the taunts and ridicule he must have received daily. It was here in Auckland that my father began referring to himself as 'Joe' though he never explained why, I consider it was because no one could pronounce his birth name. I also surmise that it was in Auckland where my father began to hide his language and culture in an attempt to 'fit in' with the majority and it was also in Auckland that he began smoking and drinking heavily, behaviors that would continue throughout his life.

Mum

My mother Michele Reiti Brunkhorst was Australian and the youngest of four siblings born in Stanthorpe Queensland to immigrant parents, an Irish mother and a father of Dutch/German ancestry. Sadly, my mother does not remember her parents as through a tragic set of circumstance she lost them both at only two years of age. Afterwards, she and her siblings were placed in an orphanage and later given to her father's siblings for upbringing. My mother was given to her uncle and told me that his wife, her aunty never warmed to my mother, she made sure to let my mother know from an early age that she was not her biological daughter and consigned my mother to live to a different set of rules to which her cousins did not adhere. My mother remembers little love or affection shown to her in this home and most of her childhood and adolescence was spent cleaning, cooking and doing household chores. As soon as my mother was able she left school and home and ventured into the workforce. As the fates would have it through a seemingly fortunate set of circumstance while in Auckland visiting her sister, my mother met my father at a local party. They courted and eventually fell in love and my mother decided to move to New Zealand to live with my father permanently. They were married in an Auckland registry office on 21 July 1971, and moved to the city of Gisborne to start and raise a family.

Home

I have always found my home town of Gisborne a beautiful city, the city of the rising sun they call it, a sleepy coastal city caressed with numerous sandy beaches and aqua blue rivers. One of my fondest childhood memories is spending time at these beaches, and even now as an adult I still yearn for the ocean tide, the salty air and the feeling of calm that it inspires within me. I was born on 17 April 1975 in the maternity ward of the Gisborne hospital. My father at the time worked as a mechanic at the local Watties cannery factory fixing and maintaining the machinery while my mother was a night-time cleaner at the local

motel. I was born the third of four children and as with the birth of my two older sisters and younger brother my mother had driven herself to the hospital to give birth. After I was born my mother told me that she called my father to tell him he finally had a son, she told me that he cried over the phone in response, it was only much later she told me that he was also drunk.

I was raised with my three siblings in the Gisborne suburb of Kaiti, a place predominantly populated by Māori. There was only one Pākehā family in our entire suburb and other than this family I did not know or mix with any Pākehā. Pākehā in general tended to stay in the more affluent areas in Gisborne next to the beaches and rivers, while we seemed to occupy the poorer inland areas. As a child I never thought to ask the question of why this was so, why we seemed to live in certain suburbs while Pākehā in others, why we were poor while they were rich, why they had everything and we had nothing, I just presumed this type of segregation was how it had always been. The one Pākehā family in our suburb were lovely and I used to spend a lot of time with their son Johnny, I remember how I used to admire his room and how he arrayed his expensive toys on custom built shelves his father had made specifically, as if on display in an art gallery. So many toys for one child was something I had never seen and I wondered if this was how all Pākehā children displayed them.

Due to the urban drift, the majority of our parents in Kaiti had settled from rural East Coast communities in an effort to find employment and a better life. Largely undereducated and unskilled they mainly filled the manual labouring positions of the two large local factories, the Watties cannery factory and the Freezing Works meat plant, making our community predominantly low income working class. In the early 80s both factories were closed due to cutbacks and the many Māori workers made redundant inclusive of my father. The closing of these central employers had devastating effects for my community and many Māori families now unable to cope were pushed onto benefits which started a vicious cycle of socio economic poverty which continues to this day.

As a child in the 80s I still remember how little expendable income there was in our homes, no families went on holidays and many did not celebrate

birthdays, Christmas or any other calendar event. Though the children in our community rarely received toys or presents this did not bother us as we amused each other with games like bull-rush, hide-en-seek or numerous other cost free entertainments. I remember fondly these times with the other children in our suburb, as we all shared similar upbringings we shared a special bond of shorts, and though over many years past, to this day I can still name every single one of them.

An intrinsic ailment of our community, was drinking and smoking. The majority of our parents were heavy drinkers and smokers and I always remember smoking, drinking and drunkenness a constant presence in our homes. For many of us children in the community this was the norm, we did not know any difference. For us it was common practice to travel with your father or mother to the bottle shop to buy beer, to see them drinking and intoxicated nightly. As we went so often, I used to enjoy as a small boy going into the freezer of the bottle shop where the crates of beer were kept. As it was so cold I used to enjoy watching my breath freeze upon the cold air and used to hide behind the vast crates of beer and imagine that I was in some far distant snow covered land, one with tall mountains and fantastical things, a place far from Kaiti.

My father was an alcoholic and heavy smoker and like most would begin his routine immediately after his return from work. I remember all too vividly the crates of beer in our washroom and the sense of reward and pride I felt as a small boy placing his bottles in the fridge and running to get him another bottle after he had finished his last one. This was really the only interaction I would have with my father after work, and I used to feel quite special when he would give me a sip from his bottle if I asked. Even though I didn't like the taste of the beer at all, it made me feel special for being allowed to do something that I knew only adults did. When we were in bed I always remember listening for the sound of my father stumbling past our bedroom and banging into the hallway walls on the way to the toilet. Of all the memories of childhood, my father drinking and being drunk is perhaps my strongest.

When my father was eventually made redundant after the Watties factory closed he decided to invest his redundancy money in an attempt to start his own mobile mechanic business fixing farm machinery on the east coast, a business he called 'East Coast Farm Services'. It was to prove to be his downfall as his clients took months to pay bills on work completed and as my father was non-confrontational, the debt grew on the money he owed upon the parts he had purchased to fix their vehicles. My father could no longer continue the business and declared bankruptcy. My father was a proud man and I believe this bankruptcy cut him quite deeply and from that day forward he never again lifted a tool to fix a machine. As consequence and compounding this situation the support of our family came solely down to our mother, who now held all the domestic duties as well as the financial. Subsequently, my father spiralled into depression and anger, largely finding solace in alcohol.

We all suffered as children some sort of abuse in relation to the drinking, but we all knew too well the ones of us in the community that suffered terribly. I still remember at primary school noticing the bruises and welts on their bodies, and the strange circular scars that the cigarette burns left. But of all these I remember one most poignantly, his name was Bandy, and we all knew as children that he and his mother were regularly beaten by his father. I remember Bandy in particular as his father would not let him cut his hair which hung down to his waist in long lanky locks. This hair length was a constant pain for Bandy as he was not allowed to tie it up and it would always get in the way when we would play sports or tussle on the playground. I still remember the day Bandy did not show up for school, we all wondered where he was as he was fine the day before, it was only later we learnt that his father in a drunken rage had nearly beaten him to death.

Bandy was in intensive care for over two weeks and in that time his father was charged and imprisoned, to my recollection for over two years. When Bandy finally came back to school and something I still remember quite vividly, he had cut off his long hair. I still recollect vividly on his return how much he smiled and how lighter he seemed, as if a huge weight had been removed from

his small shoulders. In hindsight though nothing was said, this was perhaps one of the boldest statements I can remember as a child, one of defiance, of strength, of hope. In hindsight, it is still baffling why there was no intervention before his near death, if we as young children knew the violence to which he was subject, I cannot believe that a teacher or another adult was not aware of this situation, yet nothing was ever done and Bandy nearly lost his life as a result.

But such lack of intervention was common, police never came into our area unless there was a problem, they never patrolled or walked the beat. I have no recollections of any fond memories of police officers, the only ones I have are being stopped and questioned while with my friends, where are we going, what we are doing, where do we live etc. They were never friendly to us and only ever spoke in a scrutinising and condescending manner as if we had already committed a crime or were intending to do so. I do not remember any Māori police, so as children we believed that all police where Pākehā and as we only ever saw them when something bad happened, we started associating bad things with them. I even remember adults not calling the police as they believed police merely exacerbated the problem rather than helping. As children to see police or a police car immediately signalled apprehension and fear within us and to this day despite decades passing, the same feeling of unease still remains whenever I see the blue uniform

In respect to the ilk of fathers in our community, they were largely a breed of men who considered showing any type of emotion other than anger as weakness. My father failed to break this mould and therefore I have no memories of any type of affection or encouragement from him. I was never touched, kissed of hugged by my father, never given advice, told I was good at anything or that I could accomplish anything, in reality I have no good memories at all. Sadly, this breed of father was a commonality growing up and I have no positive memories of any male role models in my community, men that I admired or aspired to be like. As we did not travel outside our community as children, we had no exemplars of difference; these men were the norm, these where the only type we were familiar with. Therefore, our fathers as young

Māori men were not only our exemplars in how to act and behave as a man, but equally as a father, a husband, a son, an uncle, a cousin, a friend.

In respect to the many mothers in our community, like most my mother carried the entire weight of the domestic and household duties of cooking and cleaning, as well as the raising and caring of the children. Fathers in general did not participate in these tasks which they largely classified as 'woman's work'. It did not seem to matter that many women like my mother also worked fulltime. Throughout my childhood my mother was the central source of strength and love in my family; she did not drink or smoke and was utterly selfless in every aspect of her being. During times of fear and sadness she was the one we went to, she was the one who held our family together and kept us functioning as a whole, she was ultimately the root from which we all grew. Never once did I bear witness to my mother showing any signs of fatigue or strain, of pain or despair, she personified attributes of strength and moral character that I can only aspire to emulate.

I know that my mother would have faced many challenges marrying into a Māori family and living in a Māori community. My mother has never talked about this but I know she would have often faced ridicule and racist comments, as many of the ills that the community believed were inflicted by 'Pākehā' would be vented upon my mother. But my mother was a woman of strong moral character and was not afraid to stand her ground and to give just as well as she got. Because of this outspoken nature and my mother's propensity to 'answer back' I remember as a young boy someone once saying to my mother that all she needed was a 'fucking good hiding' to sort her out, my mother's response was 'just you try it you bastard'. As it eventuated and due to my mother's strong nature, my father's family and the local community alike all grew to like and respect my mother.

The fondest memories of my mother were her infinite love, her tireless work ethic and her utter selflessness. She always put her children first, before anyone, before anything, we were always fed, clothed, loved and protected. An example of my mother's utter selflessness was how she worked nights for over a

decade cleaning rooms and making beds at the local motel to bring extra income into our home. She chose to work nights as she later told me, 'to be up for you kids in the morning to make you breakfast and get you ready for school, and be there for you when you get home, to make you dinner and put you to bed at night'. I honestly do not know how my mother did it all without any help from my father, how she managed to cook, clean and keep our house a loving home. I think perhaps it was because my mother herself had a cold non-loving upbringing, that she tried her utmost to give us everything she did not have. My mother said recently to me in a conversation that she wished she could have given us more, my reply was: 'you are only thinking of financial things mum, but you gave us much more than that, you taught us how to love, to give love, to receive love and we have all grown to be kind, caring, good people, these attributes are more precious to me than anything money could buy.'

Though we all knew each other as children and spent copious amounts of time in each other's homes, our parents did not mix or communicate. I have not a single memory of going to a neighbour's home as a family to partake in a meal, have a cup of tea or share a conversation. Conversation and communication in general was something that was not valued or practiced in my community and what little communication there was, was something principally confined to a few words at the mail box, a nod of a head or a raise of a hand. Therefore, many of us children were raised not really knowing how to communicate effectively, this became a real problem at school as we were ill equipped to communicate to teachers, to ask questions and explain problems. For many of us it became easier to merely remain silent in class to avoid potential ridicule in the fumbling of our words. I personally didn't know how to communicate effectively and like my father before me ended up becoming a shy, quiet individual.

As the vast majority of our homes possessed no books or written literature or any sort, we as children watched copious amounts of television which provided a window to a different world outside our community. Shows from England and America such as *Nightrider, Magnum P.I, Steptoe and Son, Cosby Show, Different Strokes, Worzel Gummidge* and *The A-Team* to name only

a few became commonplace in our homes. In respect, I never remember seeing ourselves or our language and culture on television. Furthermore, I never remember ourselves in any films, videos, advertisements, books or magazines in general, as a people we seemed largely not to exist in the broad media world. The consequence was that these television shows became very influential upon us as children largely occupying our thoughts and words at school and play. In particular, the American shows and characters would idealise the norms and values upon which we would attempt to model ourselves.

Though we were all Māori my generation did not speak the language, and we did not practice any type of Māori custom, neither did we visit our marae or partake in marae gatherings. Though all of our parents had Māori names and spoke Māori all of my generation had Pākehā names and spoke English. Our language and our culture were judged of little importance or relevance in our homes, in school and our community and so for all intents and purposes we tried to live and act like Pākehā. Therefore, whenever we were placed in a 'Māori' situation we were immediately uncomfortable as we didn't know how to act or behave, and consequently avoided these situations altogether. So devalued was our language and culture that I remember clearly that my friends and I considered the option to take 'Māori' as a school subject laughable as learning Māori would be a 'waste of time' subject as it would never get you a real job. As a consequence, our language and our culture were lost to us and for the majority, it would never return.

School

Schooling and education in general was not something I enjoyed and I have few fond memories of the experience. I remember no teachers that inspired, stimulated or enthused me towards learning, education and its future potential benefits. I was never regarded by any teacher to possess any academic ability or the capacity to do more or go further, so consequently I did not think I was intellectually capable of achieving. I struggled in class and continued to fail in

any subjects that would warrant merit or compliment with the only two subjects I enjoyed being Art and English. I loved Art in all its complexities and just as equally I loved English, not English in a grammatical sense i.e., crossing the t's and dotting the i's, but English in a creative writing sense as I loved to write stories. I think my enjoyment came from a creative familiarity I found in both subjects, that of having an image or story in my mind and bringing it to life on paper.

But such talents and creative ability meant little to nothing at school or equally in a working class community, as these attributes would never get you a 'real job'. In my community it was far more noteworthy and praiseworthy to achieve physically on a rugby field than anything that could be perceived as creative or intellectual and because of my large physical statue I was often pushed into physical sports by teachers and family alike as the way of 'fulfilling my potential', it did not seem to matter that I didn't actually like playing rugby. Eventually I ended up listening to the advice I was given and the only subjects I ever really enjoyed at school I left by the wayside to slowly die. As my grades continued to reflect my perceived lack of intelligence the schooling system classified me as a 'below average student,' such a classification fitted me neatly into the box that defined me and many of my generation as under achievers.

We did not learn anything of our language, culture or history in school, it was something that was largely seen as irrelevant in the curriculum despite the fact that a vast majority of us were Māori. Our school teachers who were predominately Pākehā would make no effort to pronounce our Māori names correctly and this mispronunciation would continue inside and outside of class. Such blatant disregard and disrespect to our language and culture imbedded within us at a very young age that we as Māori had no worthwhile history or culture to point to with pride, if anything it was an embarrassment to hide. Inside class we were never exposed to any inspirational thinking, we never discussed potential career opportunities or the steps we needed to take to get there. I never remember a teacher going that extra mile, telling us to aim for the stars and that we could be doctors or lawyers or anything we put our minds to, but I

do remember all too many happy to deal out punishment with a metre length ruler or strap, it was if it they collectively thought that we naturally required harsh physical punishment to learn effectively. Equally at school, we were never exposed to or given the opportunity to participate in any sport other than rugby. Sports such as swimming, rowing, sailing, equestrian, golf, archery, cycling or the plethora of other sports became things we simply watched on television.

Of them all I remember the two elderly Pākehā teachers most clearly, they were the woodwork and metalwork teachers. I was scared of them both as they would carry wooden metre length rulers to administer punishment at whim. One day in woodwork class I had a small chisel and was carefully carving a piece of wood we had fashioned previously. I was so enthralled and proud of what I had accomplished; I was in total shock when a sharp whip like pain streaked across my back. I turned to find the old Pākehā man standing there waving the metre length ruler in my face, his face creased with anger, 'if you dare mark my desk with that chisel boy, you are going to get it!' Though marking the desk was never my intention I replied 'yes sir I won't mark your desk.' And so I returned to my chiselling but was now extremely nervous and worried, so flustered my chisel slipped and I cut a deep groove along my forefinger, blood proceeded to spurt out. I didn't know what to do, I tried to push my hand into my pocket but my finger was bleeding so badly it was soaking through my shorts, I was scared, I did not want to tell him in case I would be subject to some type of physical punishment, so I said nothing. In hindsight, it begs to question what kind of learning environment this was, yet this overarching environment of anger and foreboding punishment was commonplace in the classroom. In the end I grew to despise both the teachers and classes.

My lack of academic success continued and was epitomised in my high school as they segmented us into form classes starting from 'A' and descending to 'H' with the class to which you were assigned depending purely upon your perceived intellectual intelligence. If you were lucky enough to be classified by the school as intelligent you were placed in A but if deemed intellectually challenged, you were placed in H. What everyone observed was that the A class

was usually Pākehā while the H class was usually Māori and these Māori often got teased by the others at school for it was tantamount to wearing an 'I am an Idiot' sign daily. Of my memories of being in H class I found the free time classes most unusual. These classes where classes of unstructured learning and though supervised by a teacher you could do whatever you wanted, though I remember finding this unusual at the time I just spent the hours scribbling pictures. From such forced segmentation grew another fundamental understanding, that we were not as smart or gifted as Pākehā.

As education was not talked of or appreciated in our homes or communities many of us did not finish school, leaving early at 14, 15 or 16 to start working as our fathers and brothers had before us, occupying menial labouring positions where no education was necessary. For many of us schooling was regarded as a mere 'interim' before you got a real job manual labouring in the workplace or in the field. In regards to the notion of furthering ourselves through University education, this was utterly beyond comprehension as University was not discussed at school, in the community or at home. As we knew no one in our community who had attended a University we as Māori youths had formed a warped view of who we believed were suitably qualified to attend. This comprised of three specific things, firstly 'brainy', secondly 'rich' and thirdly but most importantly 'white'. Therefore, according to this set of criteria, none of us would ever be adequately qualified.

Loss of a generation

Personally, schooling and education felt like a mere conveyer belt and I was just another Māori boy passing through the system to be spat out the other end, nothing more. After more than a decade of education, the young Māori man that left the schooling system having failed in every subject, actually believed he was intellectually disabled and entered the working community unprepared and under skilled, limited in scope, function, purpose and vision. I and my friends were young men lost not just in the Pākehā world uneducated

and ill-equipped to find suitable stable employment but equally lost in the Māori world for in our attempt to be and live as Pākehā, we had lost our language and culture, our cultural heritage, our identity. I like many of my generation now occupied a cursed 'limbo' of sorts living in both worlds but unable to function effectively in either. The ultimate consequence of this was a willing acquiescence to a substandard quality of life inclusive of all its accompanying ills. To attempt to seek more than this was delusional, we had largely consigned ourselves to a predestined fate. I, like my entire generation, was a Māori manual labourer and that was all I would ever be, the value of my life could be determined by my hourly rate digging holes.

Psychiatrist and philosopher Frantz Fanon offers a theory about the 'epidermalisation of inferiority', an induced neurosis born of the internalisation of colonial subjugation in which the colonised believes the more he renounces his blackness, the whiter he becomes. Fanon further explains that the desire to 'become white', the assumed destiny of the colonised, therein leads to wanting the privileges and status of this whiteness (Fannon, 1967 p. 150). Such thinking resonates with me personally for I remember as a child seeing Pākehā families and I often envied them. I used to imagine what it would be like to be intelligent and good at school, to drive in a nice car, to live in a big house by the beach or to go on holidays to different places, but this was forever beyond our reach. For no matter how hard we renounced our Māoriness and tried to be like them, to look, talk, act and live just like them, we could never escape the prison of our skin. Such internal conflict often grew into anger and resentment and I remember watching one Māori boy my age purposely damaging a Mercedes Benz car a Pākehā man had parked at our local shops while he went in to buy something. Though the boy said nothing, I implicitly understood why he was doing it, such a car represented all we were, and what we would never be.

It is now with utter sadness when I remember my generation, the wasted talents, the potential unrealised. When I remember my close friends, I remember all too clearly their talents, their strengths, their potential and promise. When I think back these talents were often there, in all disciplines, maths, architecture,

art, music, science but all were continually ignored or dismissed. Of all my friends I recollect one most clearly, his name was Craig and he was gifted both academically and athletically, he was one I always believed out of all of us would go onto to do great things, to be great things. I learnt recently that he is still living in Gisborne, he is severely overweight and working as an attendant at a local service station pumping gas, he is 39 years old. These young men should have gone on to be a plethora of things, doctors, lawyers, engineers but were all spat out as I was with the understanding that we were not 'smart enough' and not 'good enough' and therefore went on to be nothing and do nothing.

For all intents and purposes we were just like those fleas in a jar, weighted by glass lids of low expectation, lids that told us we could only achieve so much, that we could only go so far. Ultimately we had been conditioned by our environment to underachieve and underachieve was exactly what we had done. Our lack of educational achievement had consigned my generation to mediocrity, under skilled and undereducated our options were limited and our quality of life diminished. These lids of low expectation that society had placed upon us, and that we placed on ourselves were near impossible to break, and for many of us they never would be, they confined us to our futures. Futures which continued a vicious cycle of poverty, dependency, alcohol and drug abuse, leading to violence, crime, depression and mental illness. I know for a fact that this was the troubled path that many friends and families walked.

And so this was how my life continued, dysfunctional and unmotivated, unskilled and disposable I drifted from dead end job to dead end job to the unemployment benefit then back to dead end jobs and it cycled in that fashion for years upon end. Because of my large physical stature and my own perceived lack of intelligence, I ended up moving into the employment field of security. I found myself working nightclub doors for many years in Australia and England and though of a placid nature I found myself in numerous fights and violent altercations. It was within these altercations that a violent suppressed anger often spewed forth. At the time I did not know where this anger came from, but in hindsight I think it was a rage of frustration, of disappointment, of regret,

something hauntingly reminiscent of the many parents which populate my past. Eventually I grew weary of working nights and found myself menial labouring in a warehouse shredding paper. I would continue with this position until finally attending Waikato University in 2005 through the loving persuasion of my wife; I was 29 years of age at the time.

I still remember most vividly the fear and apprehension upon attending University as an adult student after so many long years of menial labouring. At the time the mere prospect of attending a University seemed so utterly daunting it was nearly totally overwhelming as I did not feel that I belonged there, that I was not capable. I had never set foot on a University campus before, I did not know how to use a computer properly, to read effectively, to write essays, to take notes in lectures, to do anything that could be defined as 'academic'. Most daunting of all was I still believed that which I had been told so many times, that education and academia in general was not something I was intellectually capable of accomplishing, my history and experience had deeply seared this impression upon my mind. So it was a very nervous an apprehensive adult who re-entered the education system. A system that I had failed in dismally, but yet a system I re-entered in a hope for a better future.

Lifting the Lids

As I slowly progressed through the University system, I took extra classes on everything you can imagine to help me with my study, computer use, reading techniques, essay writing, referencing etc. I found I had to go that extra mile to be able to complete the assignments and in these extra classes it was usually myself, Chinese and other foreign non first language English speaking students. But in lectures and tutorials I would listen and if I didn't understand I would ask questions. I still remember when I got back my first essay assignment and it had an 'A' grade upon it, I could not really believe that I deserved such a mark and considered it largely a fluke. But as my grades continued to reflect a similar level of achievement I slowly came to the belief that I was actually capable of

succeeding, academic success was something I had never experienced in my life. In the end I would find that the biggest challenge I faced in attending University was scaling the mental barriers I had erected within myself, the belief in myself, the belief that I could achieve. Once these lids of low expectation where lifted, I finally began to realise my potential.

As I began to slowly emancipate myself of a lifetime of previous thinking, I was able to view things through different eyes. In my undergraduate degree, I took a paper entitled Aotearoa/New Zealand Screen, a paper which would fundamentally inform all of my subsequent thoughts towards film and filmmaking in the years to come. Incorporated in the paper was the analysis of different New Zealand made films, their style, their themes, their writers and directors and so on and so forth. Every Friday our class would meet in a spacious lecture theatre to watch and analyse a New Zealand made film, this was a way of putting into practice analytical theories that we had previously discussed. Now what I recall all too vividly from these Friday viewings was how Māori people were repeatedly represented in the films of this country. Now of course the specific intent of the paper and the viewings was not to analyse the depictions of the Māori characters. But in watching film after film I could not help to notice all too clearly something that my other classmates seemed blissfully unaware of.

Now perhaps these repetitive representations of the uneducated, drunken, drug using, simpleminded, violent and abusive Māori man whom many accepted as the norm struck closer to home personally as I have often found myself the target of such racial prejudice and stereotyping. More often than not, many seem to align these same racial stereotypes with me personally and presume to know features of my character and breadth of intellect based purely upon my physical appearance, that being a large Māori man with long hair. Most people are still taken back when I tell them that I am at University studying and once told they presume that I could only be studying one of three things, Māori culture, physical education or teaching. Not once has anyone presumed that I could be studying anything that could be deemed as an ‘intellectual’ endeavour. Though these people knew nothing about me but my outward physical

appearance, this alone seemingly gave them license to question my intellect and my standing in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In respect to this personal experience inside and outside of class, I found that my assignments through my University study started to focus upon these issues, more specifically what fuelled these representations that were widely accepted as the cultural norm. It was within this research that I came across the works of the late Merata Mita and Barry Barclay who spoke at length on the effects of colonisation on representation. Understanding the effects of colonisation lifted another lid to reveal deeper layers of understanding of why Māori men such as myself fail so dismally in education, work and life. Colonially induced vast intergenerational failure has given rise to a societal stereotype of what would constitute our character, attributes and intellect. It would now appear that Māori men, education, intellect and well-paying jobs are largely regarded by wider society as oxymoronic, a comical contradiction of terms. This is reflected in the joke we used to tell each other at school, 'What do you call the Māori man in a suit? The defendant!'

Educational theorist Paulo Freire once articulated the view that education for Indigenous peoples will only function in one of two ways. Either as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. In this respect, I am one who speaks from the position of having occupied both sides of this educational juxtaposition. I have been within and now can effectively analyse the reasons for our failure from without. I initially believed that it lay solely with the education system, but I now understand that it was only a part of a broader systemic failure. At no time was our blanket failure ever attributed to the fact that we came from dysfunctional homes, from dysfunctional communities, and from what I believe was a dysfunctional schooling system ill-equipped to deal with young Māori men and the everyday

problems that we faced. All were equally important in our potential for success, all equally contributed to our failure.

A Look to the Past

I took an undergraduate scriptwriting paper which would prove vitally important in focusing these thoughts and informing the future direction of my work and life. The class was taught by Prof Daniel Fleming but the initial stumbling block for acceptance was specific prerequisite papers required for intending entrants. As I had not completed any of the prerequisite papers, I contacted Dan directly and asked if there was any other option for acceptance. To my relief Dan told me to write something, just a few pages of dialogue of a screenplay and send it through to him for review. He told me that he would read it and then make up his mind. So this was exactly what I did, I wrote about five pages of a screenplay as well as a poem and sent it through to him for review and to my delight I was accepted into the paper, a paper which would prove a turning point for all my future study.

I found this paper not just enjoyable but extremely influential for it focused not so much on the mechanics of screenplay writing but more importantly, on the art of storytelling itself. In doing so, the paper and Dan's teaching style reawakened the feelings and passion I had for storytelling in my youth, a passion that had been dormant in darkness for decades. Equally and most importantly, the paper provided vital insight into the global importance of creative writing and storytelling and its intricate relevance in the fabric of society past, present and future. Finally, these talents of creativity, writing and storytelling which were continually belittled by teachers and community alike, found foundation. I came to realise that these talents have as much place and value as any other subject of human endeavour. This fundamental understanding was personally empowering.

With my passion for storytelling awoken I was lucky enough to have another new post graduate screen writing paper offered, a paper taught by Dr

Virginia Pitts. Again this was a very influential and thought provoking paper and it was here that I found myself embarking on a previously unforeseen endeavour, writing the first act of a screenplay based upon the 18th century Māori warrior prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki. The circumstance for my choosing this topic was one I remember most vividly. Virginia posed the question to each of us of what writing idea we would like to spend this paper focusing upon. As the question went around the class from person to person, I realised that everyone had seemingly put thought and consideration into their topic of choice, all but me. Now as the question finally reached me for some unknown reason I blurted out the name 'Te Kooti'. Now why this is so interesting is that I knew absolutely nothing about this historical figure other than a scattering of what I had learnt at school, that he was a religious fanatic responsible for a terrible 'massacre.'

Now as the class progressed I found myself growing increasingly enthralled in the story of Te Kooti and equally in the scriptwriting process in general. Eventually I ended up writing a complete draft of the first act of a screenplay based upon the life of Te Kooti, one which I entitled *The Prophet*. It was only after I had completed this draft and passed the paper with a great grade that Virginia asked to talk to me personally. She asked me if I would consider continuing my education through to a master's degree and use the thesis to develop the screenplay which I had begun writing. Virginia also offered to supervise my work. I was actually in awe of her proposal as finishing the screenplay was something I had not considered at the time. But after listening to Virginia and appreciating the faith she had in me and my abilities and the potential of the script I was writing, I took her advice. I therefore embarked upon the process of enrolling for a master's degree, to which I was accepted.

My master's thesis would prove to be the vessel which focused all of my previous thoughts and experiences as I delved deeply into the art of storytelling, Indigenous and European filmmaking and the powerful influence of imperialism and colonisation on representation. I would also find myself researching deeply into the life of Te Kooti, an extraordinary man whose works and influence have rippled through time to the present. My final thesis and script in itself would

prove to be an emancipatory project as I utilised the screen to subvert what I believed where dominant stereotypical representations of Māori through a variety of means, both implicit and explicit. The end result was a unique experience of creative practice, for which I received first class honours. To this day I am indebted to Virginia who was amazing throughout my study, she forever believed in me and my abilities and was always there to provide invaluable advice and direction.

Te Paepae Ataata

During this time of study, a new filmmaking initiative had been launched entitled Te Paepae Ataata. Te Paepae Ataata in 2007, was Aotearoa/New Zealand's only national Māori film development organisation. Based in Auckland, Te Paepae Ataata was founded with the intention of ensuring the development of Māori films written, produced and directed by Māori. I submitted my screenplay for the first potential round of funding but sadly failed to be accepted. But more importantly through the interview process I came to the attention of the late great Merata Mita who at the time was the chair of Te Paepae Ataata. I remember when I first entered the room and met her personally, it was a moment that I shall always remember for although I had only known her through word and photograph, her thoughts had always been extremely influential and so to actually sit with her, to converse and exchange dialogue was a surreal moment.

Though I failed to have my script accepted for funding, to my surprise Merata contacted me personally and asked to spend time with me mentoring my script development for submission to Te Paepae Ataata the following year. I jumped at the opportunity and was equally honoured and humbled as Merata was a legend in the Māori and Indigenous filmmaking world and her work and writings had always been very influential on me as a student. For her to see potential in my own abilities as a novice scriptwriter was indeed amazing. I was also lucky enough to have Merata mark my Master's thesis. It was at this

juncture that I spent a lot of time with Merata via email, phone and various meetings, her insight and advice was again invaluable and with her help the following year I submitted my script again to Te Paepae Ataata, and to my delight it was accepted for funding development with rave reviews.

But my joy was not to last long as Merata passed away unexpectedly on 31st of May 2010, after collapsing outside the studios of Māori Television. It was an extremely sad time and I went to Merata's Tangihanga (traditional funeral service) to express my grief and loss, not just for Aotearoa/New Zealand, but for the world. After Merata's death my script went into a limbo of sorts as Merata left such a gaping hole in the Te Paepae Ataata organisation. It was as if the heart had been torn from the body, as they had no one of equal calibre, skill, experience and intellect to fill her now vacant position. It was therefore well over 6 months after her death before I was contacted again by Te Paepae Ataata. It was at this follow up meeting that they said that they were still willing to fund my screenplay through to development and were extremely excited about the previous draft I had submitted. They further explained that they would get back to me with a plan and suggestions for a new mentor and new way forward, but sadly months passed and nothing happened.

This lack of communication became the norm for Te Paepae Ataata and as the months continued to pass I began to understand that they were unable to provide me with an adequate path forward. Despite Te Paepae Ataata being made up of the movers and shakers of the Māori filmmaking industry, those whose position was to specifically help and develop emerging Māori writers and filmmakers, they could not provide me with the answers and leadership I needed to continue, to take my script through to fruition. I now realised that with Merata gone my way forward could not come from Te Paepae, it must come from my own initiative, my own drive and intent, and I must take leadership rather than waiting to be led.

Around this time after my graduation I had begun working at a Māori organisation called Tūhono, it was here that I came under the tutelage of very intelligent, knowledgeable, professional and successful Māori business men and

mentors. These men were potent catalysts of change and were extremely influential upon my thinking in a myriad of ways. I talked in depth with these men about my current stagnant circumstance with Te Paepae Ataata and they proposed a course of action to get things moving again. They recommended that I put together a comprehensive timetable, plan, schedule and budget and submit it to Te Paepae Ataata for review and approval. They believed that if I completed the majority of the ground work in planning, timeframes and budget for Te Paepae Ataata this would be enough impetus for they would then only need to approve or amend given budgets and timelines. Therefore, this was exactly the course of action I took, inclusive of seeking out a new script mentor, acquiring high level Māori language translators and approaching Te Kooti's descendants and informing them of my intentions.

All of this information was incorporated in my proposal but once submitted I again received no response and despite my repetitive emailing the lack of response continued. Though I was invited to meetings and different filmmaking gatherings, throughout Te Paepae Ataata seemed unwilling to accept my proposal or give me reason as to why not. They eventually refused my proposal without explanation, but provided me with another small amount of funding to write another draft. This was provided without timeline, timeframe budget, intention or goal. I therefore continued to write but upon completion and submission of my draft aligning with the thoughts and feelings of Merata I found to my surprise that Te Paepae Ataata did not like its current direction and wanted a major rewrite. This was confounding considering it was merely a condensed version of my previous draft, I was therefore left at a standstill, without further funding or direction.

Like this thesis I am a sum of many parts and a product of many things, a myriad of memories and experiences have coalesced over these many years to give rise to this specific subjectification and therein where the unique intent and focus of this thesis are located. For all intents and purposes it is a physical manifestation of myself, my beliefs and values, my attitude and behaviours. It cannot be separated from me and nor I from it, we are and shall always be,

inextricably entwined. I am a spiritual person and despite the ever imposing beliefs of an increasing secular society, I am, and continue to be a passionate believer that there are greater forces at play in the universe and that the fates sometimes collude for a particular reason and purpose. This thesis in essence is a self-emancipatory work, and one that aspires to be an exemplar for others. The two preceding sections have begun the process of 'crystallization' (Ellingson, 2009) that is this projects formal response to Sium and Ritskes' call for disruption of the scholarly imagination. The next sections offer perhaps more conventional facets of the overall crystallization.

1.3 A Paradigm of Resistance

> *Every culture has a right and responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them. Furthermore, any culture living closely with another ought to have regular opportunities to express itself to that other culture in ways that are true to its own values and needs (Barclay, 1990, p.7).*

This thesis tests the hypothesis that it is possible to both decolonise and Indigenise the New Zealand cinema screen, but does so from the perspective of an individual journey. I have chosen New Zealand cinema to voice my particular hypothesis as cinema, although often implausibly considered as 'entertainment,' is a powerful medium, capable of credibly representing and creating illusions of nature and reality. Motion pictures are intimately bound up according to Waller (1996) with 'the self-knowledge that is national identity' while Giroux (1996) further articulates that the national cinema of any country is hugely responsible for the self-definition of the nation's identity, culture, citizenship and democracy itself.

It has been argued that these discourses of race, gender and religion have predominantly perpetuated negative belief systems about Māori, have contributed to the reproduction of stereotypical images of Māori, and that alternative structures of belief will be necessary in the field of cultural production. I have started from the now familiar argument that such an approach effectively materialises strong anti-colonial perspectives aimed specifically at subverting long-held and dominant colonial discourses. The subverting of such dominant misrepresentations may be linked to a decolonising project and Mita (1994) presents such a project as a process which involves 'decolonising the screen, demystifying the process and indigenising the image' (p.19). Such an approach rejects the tradition of being defined, constructed and represented through discourses that serve to promote the interests of the

Pākehā majority and, in doing so, urges the utilisation of Kaupapa Māori philosophies, concepts and practices in the process of image emancipation.

Such a decolonising approach also underpins a personal drive to explore the issue of scriptwriting and filmmaking further, namely, the way in which traditional beliefs and values can inform the emergence of a theoretical approach to filmmaking and participate in decolonising western notions that indigenous oral traditions and histories are simple expressions of a primitive culture. The implementation of a Kaupapa Māori informed strategic framework to inform/guide Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice therefore creates the opportunity to write about culture as well as write culture into the text.

This thesis will explore the case that when thought and action are focused effectively through an applicable and practical indigenous framework, an expression of collective identity based on individual qualities will deliver a better approach to Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice. The process, though different from generations past, should be viewed as being both true to tradition while at the same time being consistent with contemporary circumstance. For at the heart of the matter is the desire to offer new thought patterns and strategies as a counterpoint to the deluge of global ways of thinking that currently pervade contemporary life and practice. For in its unique effect, this will be simultaneously a theoretical paradigm and a culture of practice.

Such an approach rejects the tradition of being defined, constructed and represented through discourses that serve to promote the interests of a majority and, in doing so, offers a collective vision for Fourth Cinema or Indigenous Cinema as advocated by the late Barry Barclay who campaigned for an indigenous filmatic base grounded firmly in the philosophies, concepts and practices of the people. We will also touch on the question of whether specific strategic frameworks (e.g. in differing national contexts) tap into a common base of 'Fourth Cinema' values and philosophy, a base that then deeply affects all aspects of practice, from idea generation to narrative structures or the handling of time.

This thesis shall therefore be largely focused upon attempting to define and determine the foundations of an Indigenous knowledge system, and then upon revitalising those foundations for effective application in a contemporary context. My research will seek to demonstrate that what is lacking is contemporary thought that yields appropriate insight into contemporary application, a view supported by noted Māori Scholar Charles Royal (2002):

> *A key aspiration of all indigenous people is cultural survival. This means the perpetuation of our knowledge, our traditions, our worldviews, our philosophies. What this requires, however, is not so much the simple use of traditional knowledge but research into its principles, its fundamental view on reality and the creative application of those views in the contemporary context. Otherwise indigenous knowledge will remain merely historical phenomena, a museum curio bearing little relevance to the contemporary experience of indigenous peoples. (p. 11-12)*

Importantly, I will examine the proposition that the more we discover, examine and utilise Māori knowledge, the more we will grow to understand new ways to create, design and fashion contemporary applications of this knowledge. Therefore, what is required and what should be of impetus to present day Māori scholars is a new spirit of enquiry into the evolution of Indigenous knowledge systems and more specifically in this context, their role in relation to filmmaking processes. Such a belief is supported by the words of noted Ngāti Porou tohunga (expert in traditional lore) New Amsterdam Reedy (2011) who in relation to the application of Māori knowledge systems stated emphatically, 'It's not about how far back we can go, it's about how far we can take it into the future'

Such an approach is where I will argue the true revolutionary and emancipating thinking lies. Therefore, and of equally important significance, this thesis through the discussion of Māori knowledge and its contemporary application also engages debates surrounding the further development of Kaupapa Māori theory, specifically within a filmmaking framework. In this way, Kaupapa Māori theory, as much as it is employed in this study is also subject to a self-reflective analysis and critique, therein providing an original contribution to

the current literature in Kaupapa Māori theory and filmmaking and consequently developing a more comprehensive understanding of both fields of study.

An overarching concern, therefore, is inevitably going to be the dominant postcolonial paradigm in cultural studies. This characterises the postcolonial through what Peter Hallward calls 'the signature postcolonial concepts' (2001. p, xi), all of which share an aversion to essentialising thought. How can the stated research problem be examined without falling back on essentialist simplifications about Indigeneity, the pre-colonial, traditional, etc? These pertinent issues and more shall be discussed through an intertwined fabric of complementary concepts. The appropriate starting point for these conceptual considerations will be the ideas of Merata Mita and Barry Barclay.

1.4 On the Shoulders of Giants

Haere i raro i te kāhu kōrako

(Travel in the shadow of greatness and no ill shall befall you. My own free translation)

The late Merata Mita and Barry Barclay were filmmaking revolutionaries whose work has reflected issues central to the representation of our people on the cinema screen. Their bequeathed legacy is a body of short films, television documentaries, documentary and narrative feature films as well as an extensive body of writing on Māori and Indigenous representation. They were of a rare ilk forged in the fire of adversity and whose films have influenced and inspired our communities by collecting and depicting stories of tradition, sacrifice, bravery and performance. Specifically, I shall discuss Merata Mita's thoughts in relation to what she defined as the Indigenisation of the cinema screen, and Barry Barclay's theory of Fourth Cinema or Indigenous cinema.

Also, in keeping with the strong oral tradition and layered approach as advocated by these filmmaking greats, I will then weave these threads of thought together through the analogy of a journey of a waka hourua (traditional navigational canoe) as a means of articulating the trajectory of the thesis chapters and contents. A fitting representation of a journey undertaken with specific intent, purpose and vision, I shall draw again upon the fabled journey of my ancestral canoe Horouta and its inherent teachings.

1.5 Merata Mita and Indigenising the Screen

Indigenising the Screen was an idea that many of us first encountered in a 1994 book chapter entitled *The Soul and the Image* written by Merata Mita. Mita carefully and fearlessly analysed the representations of Māori in the New Zealand film Industry from inception. She demonstrated that most New Zealand films are allegories of cultural engagement, and that the key analytical task is to

study how Māori have over time been textually incorporated into or excluded from the dominant cultural discourse. Merata also emphasised that our representations in film must be seen in context, they must be contextualised, that one must have a firm understanding that these depictions of Māori did not form in a vacuum, but are rather products of a historic context, that powerful forces have coalesced to directly inform and influence this representation.

Merata therefore stressed the vital importance of contemporary Māori film and image makers having a 'sound understanding' of the influence of the forces of colonisation not just on our filmatic representation, but also upon ourselves as people, our ways of knowing and being. It is only through such careful historical analysis and personal reflection that a contemporary Māori filmmaker is adequately equipped to cleanse themselves of this psychological 'refuse' i.e. those ingrained and naturalised colonial discourses and ideologies that cloud philosophy and practice. Unequivocally, Merata argues that it only through the understanding of these ideological constructions that Māori filmmakers are adequately prepared to reclaim their images, to Indigenise the image, the process and the screen.

Such a cultural and political approach to filmmaking practice also meant accepting as valid and legitimate the effective incorporation of Māori beliefs and values in the filmmaking process, i.e. values such as whakapapa (genealogy), whānaungatanga (kinship ties), mana (pride, prestige), manākitanga (caring), aroha (love), tapu (sacredness), mana tūpuna (ancestral prestige) and wairua (spirituality). Merata insisted upon this approach to filmmaking, one that understood colonisation and accepted Maori beliefs and values as valid and legitimate as 'decolonising Indigenising and demystifying the cinema screen' (Mita, 1994, p.49). This fundamental approach to Māori filmmaking is further emphasised by Mita:

> *The Māori filmmaker carries the burden of having to correct the past and therefore be concerned with demystifying and decolonising the screen. The expectation of positive imaging means destroying the stereotypes that*

come from cultural appropriation and clearing the refuse out of oneself in order to make a fresh new start (Mita, 1994, p.49).

Pihama (1994) describes it as a process that is inherently political in that it challenges the taken-for-granted assumptions surrounding the presentation of Māori images, whilst going beyond visual critique to asserting a need for Māori people to access production processes. The potential of such an approach is not only a 'decolonising methodology' (Smith, 1999) that seeks to influence the nature of the 'work' of Māori filmmakers in culturally harmonious ways, but when incorporated into a scriptwriting/filmmaking context, provides an avenue to regenerate cultural ways of knowing, teaching and learning through the medium of film.

1.6 Barry Barclay and Fourth Cinema

In addition to his pioneering work as a Māori film-maker Barry Barclay lectured and wrote on film theory and in the article *Celebrating Fourth Cinema* (2003) he proposed the existence of a category beyond the framework of First-Second and Third Cinema (American, Art House and Third World Cinema), which he has aptly named the Fourth Cinema or Indigenous Cinema. Though not defining specific parameters, Barclay alluded to the meaning of Fourth Cinema by expanding upon specific elements such as the politics of looking (interiority and exteriority), production, the location of initial distribution and ideas of ownership. Also inherent was the idea of challenging the power relations established by Hollywood cinema therein allowing 'film-makers to infuse their work with larger political goals' (Gauthier, 2011, p.172).

Fourth Cinema is a cinema in which Indigenous peoples control the camera rather than being the subject of its gaze while the act of taking back the camera is likened to 'an act of revolution' (Gauthier, 2011, p.172). Fourth Cinema according to Barclay is infused with a unique 'Indigenous essence' which may only be understood by Indigenous peoples as it stems largely from core philosophical elements. Barclay contrasts this core essence, or 'interiority,' with

the ‘exteriority’ or the mise-en-scene, i.e. ‘the surface features; the rituals, the language, the posturing, the décor, the use of elders, the presence of children, attitudes to the land, the rituals of spirit’. More importantly in this instance and in direct relation to this specific topic of research, Barclay articulated the view that the success (or failure) of Fourth Cinema lay in the foundational framework that supported it:

> *For such a radically new type of cinema to blossom, there would have to be some alternative base firmly set in the customs and laws of the community that conceived and manufactured the film. Such a base is not only possible but usual within Indigenous frameworks... (Barclay, 2003)*

The conditions of production in Fourth Cinema are less hierarchical and more cooperative that those in First Cinema. Fourth Cinema filmmakers are interested in the process of production and respect for Indigenous communities and protocols. Barclay suggests that the conditions of exhibition might be different as well. A Fourth Cinema film event might be a communal gathering where people watch the film, eat a meal together and generally share each other’s company. An occasion where the filmmaker may utilise the values of good will, hospitality and gift giving as essential components in the exhibition process. Barclay’s words further reiterate this understanding:

> *With First, Second and Third cinemas, it is unthinkable that the owners and the makers would actually pay people to come and watch the film, pay, for example, for their transport, pay for the venue and the print and the projectionist, and pay for a celebratory communal meal afterwards, at which speeches are made far into the night. (Barclay, 2003)*

Fourth Cinema therefore re-envisions the act of colonisation from an Indigenous point of view, upsetting the traditional hierarchy of the commercialised gaze. This power shift makes an important political statement, and infuses Fourth Cinema with radical potential. The notion of Indigenous media as a form of political activism is championed by Faye Ginsburg (1993). She sees Indigenous media as ‘part of broader movements for cultural autonomy and

self-determination that exist in complex tension with the structures of national governments, international politics and the global circulation of communications technology' (p. 558). In contrast to mainstream films, made for entertainment and economic purposes, Indigenous films participate in a process of identity construction or re-negotiation.

The reclamation of Māori language and culture, the process of decolonisation and the struggle for tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination) are all part of the transformative aspirations of Fourth Cinema. For Māori scriptwriters/filmmakers, this is a particularly important notion, as it supports the utilisation of Māori beliefs and values in the film production process, and in doing so, offers a unique 'paradigm of resistance' (Bargh, 2007) against an ever-incessant global neoliberalism which colludes to silence the indigenous voice through the devaluing of specificity in favour of the supposedly universal. Such transformative theorising is essential as O'Sullivan (2003) further corroborates: 'the evils of assimilation and discrimination will be overcome only by indigenous people determining their future' (p. 59). Pihama (1994) effectively expresses the potential transformative power of film:

> *It is that which I believe calls Māori film-makers to invert the negative constructions that have so long dominated, to assert our own definitions, to present and represent, to create and re-create, to provide the images that we define as part of our realities in ways that we determine. (p.239)*

These striking and insistent evocations of a paradigm of representational resistance share one very important ambiguity. Are they evocations of the particular or of the specific? This distinction is argued by Hallward (2001). The 'merely particular' (p. 248, p.331) tends strongly towards essentialising the differences, multiply described between ways of life. The specific, however, is relational. It concerns the specificity of relations between ways of life, and it is a function of 'the subjective perspective' (p. 329) constructed relationally, precisely the sort of perspective I have begun reconstructing here. As we shall see, Hallward argues that particularism ultimately leads nowhere, whereas the

specific sits in tension with the idealised possibility of singular projects of post colonialism.

1.7 Navigating the Currents of (Relational) Change

He moana pukepuke e ekengia e te waka

(Even a mountainous sea may be crossed by canoe. My own free translation)

As our oral traditions state, our tīpuna (ancestors) were a people born of intent and purpose, epitomised in the population of the Pacific. Using only the wind, stars, flights of birds and other natural signs and phenomena to guide them they navigated their mighty waka hourua across the vast expanses, populating every inhabitable isle inclusive of the shinning jewel in the crown, Aotearoa/New Zealand. They were not just daring blue-water adventurers who roved the sea as explorers and discoverers, but also pioneers, bringing along everything they would need to build new lives, their families and livestock, seedlings and tools. Such was the journey of my ancestral waka Horouta and its famed crew, which over a millennium ago traversed these endless expanses of the Pacific to procure the kūmara (sweet potato) from the fabled 'Hawaiki' and return it to Aotearoa/New Zealand, a journey of vision, focus and intent, a journey taken for the betterment of all.

This ancient account was dictated in the late nineteenth century by the last revered tohunga of his time, Pita Kāpeti. This solitary tohunga once presided over the esteemed whare wānanga (ancient house of learning) Te Tāpere nui o Whātonga which once stood at Rangitukia within the tribal boundaries Ngāti Porou. Sadly, observing the accelerated demise of traditional teachings through the onset of colonisation and Christianity, Kāpeti dictated at length accounts of tribal rituals and lore which were transcribed in written form by his acolyte Mohi Turei. Incorporated within his teachings was the navigational voyage of the waka Horouta, but more importantly in relation to my thesis, Kāpiti articulated the specific karakia (prayers) that were recited at junctions by the Horouta waka

tohunga, Te Rangitūroua. This dedication ceremony to ensure safe passage and journey was entitled a Tā i te Kawa.

The first ceremonial karakia recited was entitled Hautōtō, and was a karakia tō (hauling prayer) recited when the voyaging canoe after outfitting, was dragged from its place of rest to the shoreline to be loaded with stores and provisions. The second karakia was entitled Tū rā mai Te tū rā, and was an Ara Moana (navigational prayer) recited after all preparations were complete and the waka was launched upon the ocean waves ready for the journey. This karakia was recited to define the course of Horouta and ensure safe passage and sailing upon the vast ocean scape. The final karakia was entitled Mano ki Hawaiki, and was a karakia Uruuru Whenua (Arrival prayer) and was the final karakia recited upon arrival at the aspired destination, that being the shores of the fabled homeland Hawaiki. This karakia was one of thanks and equally of greeting, a dual acknowledgement of the power of both gods and men. This study is therefore divided into three major sections, consisting of two chapters each**.** At the start of each of the three sections I shall use each specific karakia, Hautōtō, Tū rā mai te Tū rā and Mano ki Hawaiki. I have drawn upon these karakia as homage to my oral tradition, language and culture but also as a way of 'clearing the path' physically and spiritually for each section.

The second chapter I have therefore entitled Te Wehenga (the launching), and it will outline the chosen thesis methodology, Kaupapa Māori theory, a specifically derived theoretical framework that challenges Eurocentric ideologies of cultural superiorities by assuming the validity and importance of Māori knowledge, language and culture. This section shall also continue the 'crystallization' (Ellingson, 2009) around themes of Imperialism, colonisation, dislocation and alienation, and the distinction between the counter-colonial and the postcolonial.

This section shall also explore a fundamental theoretical challenge for this research and for Indigenous filmmaking practice in general, the essentialist/anti-essentialist debate. More specifically, does the dominant anti-essentialist approach to cultural production lead contemporary scholars away from the

possibility of a 'vital interiority' for Fourth Cinema and towards work that persists in detailing the 'minutiae of exteriority' (Barclay, 2003). Or, is there a way of conceptualising this 'vital interiority' that does not necessarily involve an essentialist position, e.g. by theorising fixed, unchanging cultural identities? A conceptual starting point here will be the question of whether Barclay's 'vital interiority' identifies something potentially singular (beyond the specific) as defined by Hallward in *Absolutely Postcolonial*.

The third section I have entitled Te Haerenga (the journey), which will provide the main bulk of the thesis. This section will test the hypothesis that it is both possible to decolonise and Indigenise the New Zealand cinema screen through the development of a Kaupapa Māori based strategic framework for Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice, but in ways that do not reduce the formula 'decolonise and Indigenise' to either countercolonial essentialist categories based upon the particular or postcolonial theories that dismantle anything 'essential' to the specific.

This section will draw upon examples concerning the author's original screenplay *The Prophet,* currently in funding development through The NZ Film Commission, and insights provided by my late script mentor Merata Mita. It shall also draw on applicable examples from Indigenous film and literature and where appropriate, shall compare and contrast these examples with relevant examples from First, Second and Third Cinema (American, Art House and Third World Cinema). This section shall also further expand upon the Kaupapa Māori inspired 'Pūrākau' scriptwriting paradigm developed by the author in a previous dissertation (Bristowe, 2009).

Importantly, incorporated in this section will be a series of insights derived from talking with noted producer, director, reporter, writer and presenter Tainui Stephens. His insights and understandings in relation to the role and future direction of Māori Film will be intertwined as part of an overarching examination of the effective utilisation of Māori knowledge, language and culture, in the scriptwriting/filmmaking process, giving the thesis a dialogic component.

The fourth and final section I have entitled Te Ūnga (the arrival), which shall reflect on the previous two sections of the thesis, and will seek to elaborate upon an original strategic framework highlighting the relationship between Māori knowledge and Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking. Importantly, this section examines its practical implementation and addresses the complexities that have arisen in the testing of my original hypothesis.

The last section is intended to present a theorisation of Barry Barclay's concept of a 'vital interiority' as a defining constituent of Fourth Cinema, and an argument for embedding this theorisation in practical processes of cultural production. The dialogue component of the research will be extended at this point in order to test the emerging argument in dialogue with other cultural practitioners, policy-makers, and custodians of traditional knowledge. The intention is to have made the case, one way or the other, for 'vital interiority' being either a 'singular' or a 'specific' concept, and the thesis by this point will have defined these terms (derived from Hallward) and demonstrated what may be at stake in making such a distinction (see the following literature reviews).

1.8 Specific Objectives Clarified

This research project will therefore:

- Test the hypothesis that it is possible to both decolonise and Indigenise the New Zealand cinema screen through the development of a Kaupapa Māori based strategic framework to inform/guide Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice, while subjecting the formula 'decolonise and Indigenise' to critique in terms of contemporary cultural theories.
- Reframe current understandings and practices surrounding Māori knowledge in this context, and address developing theoretical and methodological advances in the area, with a specific focus on how Māori filmmakers might better employ these approaches.

- Provide an original contribution to current study in Māori knowledge and its contemporary application to film and filmmaking.
- Seek to make a case for reconnecting Māori subjectivity to a foundational system of self-efficacy beliefs, the disconnection from which has continued to limit even supposedly progressive representations of Māori in New Zealand mainstream cinema.

CHAPTER TWO: TE WEHENGA

HAUTŌTŌ

Ai ē

Auē kai ana tūturu i te hoatu

I te waka e tauria ai e

Ko Tangaroa pea

E Tāwhirimātea

Ko tūwhakaanginuku,

ko tūwhakaangirangi

Haere Tāne i runga,

Haere Tāne i raro

Hautōtō, hautōtō

Ko Tū i heke ana

Ko Rongo i heke ana

Ko te ngahau o Tū

Utaina taku kawa nei,

He kawa tuamaunga

Ka wiwini, ka wawana,

ka tara ki tahatū o te rangi

Auē kī,

Whano whana,

Haramai te toki

Haumi e, hui e, tāiki e!!

2.1 The Launching

A Tale of Two Stories

Ka hoki nei au ki te Tairāwhiti
E taki ana au i Te Papa Tipu o Horouta wānanga, Horouta whanaunga

I return to the Eastern seaboard and traverse
the ancestral land of the Horouta canoe

(Taken from the Pātere of Arapeta Awatere, Ka hoki nei au ki te Tairāwhiti)

Hallward (200) has pointed out that most contemporary scholarship in the Humanities is concerned with 'the recognition of the greatest possible diversity of particularities' (p. 6). Postmodernism's relentless celebration of the particular has been especially problematic for research objectives such as those informing the present study. Chapter One has recounted autoethnographically how the author was 'specified' in his subjectification, specified as the other's 'Māori'. Following Hallward's distinction between specified and specific, this chapter is concerned with the basis of the specific, which is not reducible to mere particularities.

Our history and legends tell us many stories of the journey of our ancestors to Aotearoa/New Zealand, for each waka and each tribe has its own unique history. My own tribal history and the legend of our waka Horouta is one deeply etched within our distinctive tribal identity. Early European recorders of these many waka histories, postulated and propagated the belief that Māori migration was entirely by chance, by island wanderers simply blown off course. They also claimed that these journeys were one-way only, and that there were no return journeys back into the Pacific. A view epitomised in Charles Goldie and Louis J. Steele's 1898 painting which depicts a near-shipwrecked canoe of emaciated and storm-tossed Polynesian mariners. Though historically inaccurate,

at the time of release it was 'widely praised' as an accurate depiction. (McLachlan, 2014)



Figure 2: The arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand, Charles Goldie and Louis J. Steele, 1898

Source: Auckland Art Gallery Online, 2014. Reproduced with permission.

Such theorising exemplifies how Māori history was written and carefully arranged in such a way that the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand became the history of Europeans and not the history of Māori. In particular, it was a work undertaken with an agenda to 'prove' the superiority of Europeans by proving the inferiority of Māori. So often done in a language so subtle, scholarly and scientific that to the uncritical mind their 'truths' seem self-evident. Much of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand has been written as such and historians and others have relied almost entirely on their classifications despite the amount of conjecture that characterises their conclusions. In example, prominent 19th century ethnologist Percy Smith took an approach of truncating and averaging genealogies collected from various Māori oral and written sources, he then melded the myriad of waka history into a singular coherent story, thus giving birth to the myth of the migration of Māori to Aotearoa/New Zealand in a single 'great fleet'. Smith's account reads as such:

> *'In 750 AD the Polynesian explorer Kupe discovered an uninhabited New Zealand. Then in 1000–1100 AD, the Polynesian explorers Toi and Whatonga visited New Zealand, and found it inhabited by a primitive,*

nomadic people known as the Moriori. Finally, in 1350 AD a 'great fleet' of seven canoes – Aotea, Kurahaupo, Mataatua, Tainui, Tokomaru, Te Arawa and Takitimu – all departed from the Tahitian region at the same time, bringing the people now known as Maori to New Zealand. These were advanced, warlike, agricultural tribes who destroyed the Moriori' (Howe, 2012)

Smith's theory of a 'great fleet' though speculative at best, became widely accepted as fact and remained the dominant historical narrative taught in New Zealand schools 'for over 60 years' (Howe, 2014). Fannon (1967) reiterates the core function of such composition:

'Thus the settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother-country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves' (p. 40).

Such theorising of course denies the reality of the scientific basis of sea journeying by all Pacific peoples, and the sophisticated ancient knowledge of the stars, ocean currents and other natural phenomena utilised in their ocean voyaging. Despite such untruths developing into the dominant national narrative, among those Māori versed in the tribal teachings of our people, the prowess of our seafaring ancestors was never in doubt. A history and tradition remembered in mind, word and deed of the descendants, as articulated in the following excerpt from the Pātere (chanted song) of Arapeta Awatere, entitled *Ka hoki nei au ki te Tairāwhiti* which recounts the ancient navigational path of our ancestral waka Horouta upon its return to Aotearoa/New Zealand:

Kei Waiapu te tāinga o te riu o Horouta,

Ko te iwi tēnā Ngāti Porou, tatara e maru ana

At Waiapu where the emptying of the Horouta canoe took place,
The beginning of Ngāti Porou, where they lived in multitudes.

(Taken from the Pātere of Arapeta Awatere, Ka hoki nei au ki te Tairāwhiti)

Further reflected in the words of contemporary Māori navigator Hoturoa Kerr, an instrumental figure in the resurgence of traditional navigational methods:

> *Pacific Navigation and voyaging requires imagination and determination to traverse the stories that have been locked in our physical memories. To remember is to laugh, to cry, to celebrate and to mourn. To remember is to sense the mana of our seafaring ancestors, whose feats of bravery were underpinned by their knowledge and skill. We have come to know again the sea, the sky, the wind, the karakia, and the stars. Waka journeyed from the corridors of Satawal and Guam to Fiji, Samoa, Tonga up to Hawaii, across to Rapanui and finally down to Aotearoa. Left with this legacy, we reach out to grasp fading threads of conversation and reflections of the way we used to be. (Hoturoa Kerr, 2014)*

Such theorising of Māori history by non-Māori firstly reiterates how the dominant voice is often the loudest, secondly it exemplifies how a great deal of misinformation about Indigenous peoples and their history pre and post colonisation has been promoted worldwide by non-Indigenous authors and researchers as truth. Those same waters of misinformation and misrepresentation in the image making industries flow directly from the same source, our collective colonial past. Kaupapa Māori theory, is a specific response.

This section shall also begin to address a fundamental theoretical challenge for this research and for Indigenous filmmaking practice in general, the essentialist/anti-essentialist debate. More specifically, does the dominant anti-essentialist approach to cultural production lead contemporary scholars away from the possibility of a 'vital interiority' for Fourth Cinema and towards work that persists in detailing the 'minutiae of exteriority' (Barclay, 2003) Or, is there a way of conceptualising this 'vital interiority' in a manner that does not *necessarily* involve an essentialist position, e.g. by theorising fixed, unchanging cultural identities?

Such foundational preparation is vitally important as our seafaring ancestors well understood in their myriad of cross pacific voyages. Our oral tradition states how a multitude of elements were addressed pre voyage to ensure safe passage, from good health and adequate provisions, to the careful observation of the natural environment, to appropriate prayers and ceremony offered to placate the gods. These elements and many more were carefully factored into the equation to ensure safe arrival at their aspired destination.

In relation to this chapter and in accordance with the words of Merata Mita, I too must adequately prepare for the undertaking at hand. Firstly, as a Māori filmmaker I must possess a solid historical understanding of Imperialism and the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the subsequent ramifications this has had upon Māori, physically spiritually and emotionally. This of course is paramount for without such a fundamental understanding the Māori filmmaker runs the direct risk of replicating the imaging of the dominant perspectives.

Secondly, for a thesis founded upon the beliefs and the values of a people, the author must have a firm understanding of Māori language and culture, which provides the foundation for the thesis's guiding methodology, Kaupapa Māori. To truly grasp Kaupapa Māori one must speak the language and live the culture on a daily basis. For it must be understood that Kaupapa Māori is a theory born of a living culture, the beliefs and values that are inherent are very much alive and in use. These considerations lead to an approach that I am referring to as 'The Voice from Within'. This is a methodological device intended to transcend the specified, in Hallward's sense (2000, p, 8-9) and in doing so to engage the specific:

> *The specific as distinct from the specified is a function of what we do rather that what we are: it is a matter of how we see, rather than who sees or what is seen, and of what something means, rather than what it is or commands (Hallward, 2000, p. 10).*

Therefore, the following fifty pages present nine selected instances of the specific in precisely this sense.

2.1.1 Aotearoa: A Colonial Legacy

2.1.2 The Voice from Within

> *'Colonial Mappings divide land into three categories: the border, the center (metropole), and the outside (wa Thiong'o, 1986, 55). Through our forced membership into one of these categories, we either receive the privileges associated with the centre, or the genocidal policies and erasures associated with its periphery. In colonial metanarratives, the colonial holds full narrative power. The colonial controls the national story, which characters are introduced and how they are constructed. Thus Indigenous storytelling must also be a remapping project, one that challenges the sacrosanct claims of colonial borders and the hierarchies imposed on either side of the dividing line. Stories become mediums to unmake colonial borders. They help us restore the Indigenous names rooted in land' (Sium & Ritskes, 2013, p. ii).*

In the following section I am going to repeat a structure of remapping. First there will be an image. Then there will be a short summary of the related colonial mapping. Then there is 'The Voice from Within' which remaps the names and relationships. These nine selected instances of the specific are intended to demonstrate a possible basis for Barclay's 'interiority', a within that both responses to and transcends historical imaging and its attendant, specification of 'forced membership' (Sim & Ritskes, ibid).

2.1.3 A Stranger Stands

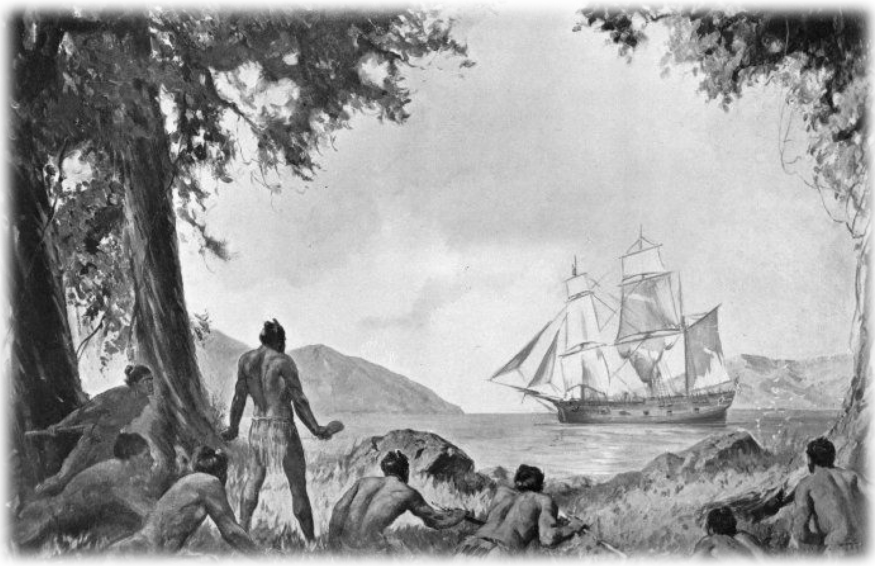


Figure 3: Reconstruction of the first sighting of Captain Cook by the Maori

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: NON-ATL-0087, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

An understanding of the nature and ongoing effects of colonisation is crucial to a discussion of Māori film and filmmaking in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The colonising history oppressed and disconnected Māori people, communities and identities. Linda Smith (1999) highlights these issues and reinforces the need for Indigenous communities to articulate their experiences in their own words and understandings. This is reflected in the words of Ginsburg (1991) who characterised the increasing media work produced by Indigenous peoples as 'new vehicles for internal and external communication, for self-determination, and for resistance to outside cultural domination' (p.92). In support Shohat and Stam (1994) consider Indigenous media as 'empowering vehicle for communities struggling against geographical displacement, ecological and economic deterioration, and cultural annihilation', (p.35). While Alia (2009) goes further and suggests that the further development of the international media movement of Indigenous peoples may be the 'key to Indigenous survival' (p. 52).

Film and filmmaking has therefore evolved as a critical platform for Indigenous peoples to 'address their political concerns and express their cultural identities in postcolonial settler societies' (Martens, 2012, p. 2). Writing about our collective experiences under imperialism and its more specific expression of colonialism has become a significant project for those Māori engaged in the image making industry, for the appropriation of the images of Māori as a colonised people is 'directly bound up with the appropriation of the land and culture' of the Māori people (Foster, 1997, p. 143). In this respect therefore, history and context are crucial understandings for Māori filmmakers, for understanding our collective past is essential in pursuing resistance in the present. Hauani-Kay Trask (1991) stresses the importance of the past to Indigenous peoples as a way to challenge the dominant drive to amputate the past and its histories:

> *'We do not need, nor do we want to be liberated from our past because it is our source of understanding… [We]… stand firmly in the present with our back to the future and [our] eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present day dilemmas' (p.164)*

Within this section I am going to 'read' the select series of images placed at the head of each section. In doing so I am going to ask, 'what is the interiority of each image? I am revisiting Spivak's concept of the strategically essential and asking if strategic essentialism is an adequate concept for our purpose. I am going to address this question through the language of my people, entitled 'The Voice from Within' which are original compositions. Barclays's 'vital interiority' may be a proactive instance of strategic essentialism (essentialism that serves a particular ideological purpose in context) or it may have the potential to be something more, a realisation of the specific that is not about 'exclusive nativism' (Hallward, 2000, p.9) but rather about speaking from a specific place. The nine acts of situated speaking that follow here are responses to historically specified imaging and, as such, prepare the way for future imaging that builds upon their specific interiority.

The Voice from Within

He Whakaaraara	**A Call to Arms**
Titi e oho, titi e oho!	Awaken!
Kia hiwa rā! kia hiwa rā!	Be alert! Be watchful!
He taniwha kai te moana,	There is a strange monster
He koura, he hiriwa wōna niho,	That swims in the ocean,
Ko tana kai ko te whenua,	Gold and silver are his teeth
Tē ngata rawa te hia kai e!	And land is his food,
Titi e oho, titi e oho!	His is a hunger that will never be satisfied!
Kia hiwa rā! kia hiwa rā	Awaken!
Koi apurua tātau ki te toto	Be alert! Be watchful!
Whakapurua tonu, whakapurua tonu	Lest we are overwhelmed
Kia hiwa rā kia hiwa rā!	And our blood will flow
Kia tū, kia oho, kia mataara!	Be alert! Be watchful!

2.1.4 The Age of Civilisation?

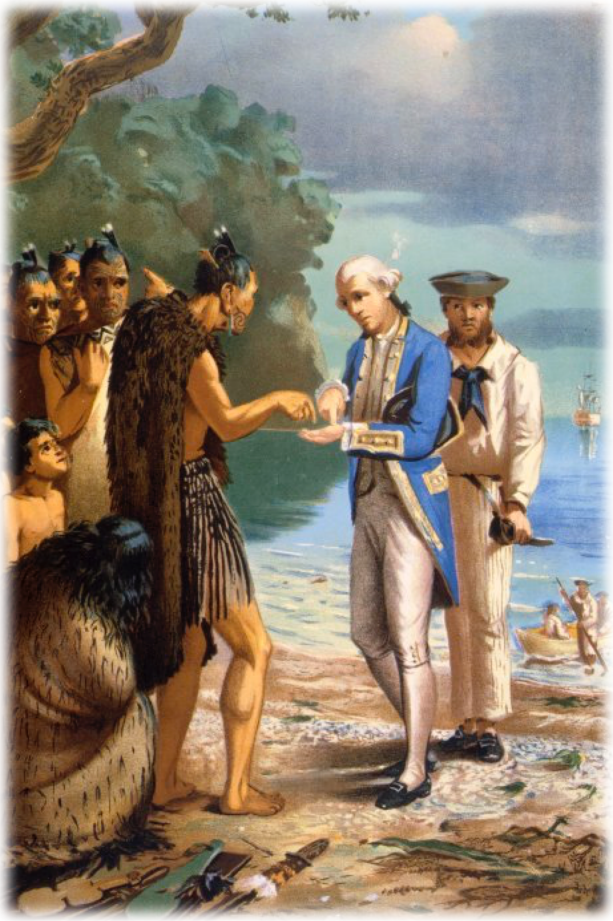


Figure 4: Steele, Louis John 1843-1918: Arrival of Captain Cook; an incident at the Bay of Islands

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: B-077-003, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Doctrine of Discovery

'Invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens (Muslims) and pagans, take their possessions, and reduce their persons to perpetual slavery'

(Pope Nicholas V, 1455)

The mid-to-late 15th century has been called the age of exploration and discovery. It was an age in which European sailors and ships left the coastal waters of the Old World and embarked on their adventure on the vast 'green sea of darkness' (Eckhart, 1992, p.33) First, Portuguese ships, then Spanish and finally, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, British, French and Dutch ships

set out to discover a world they eventually called the '*Mundus Novus* -- the New World' (Harwood, 2006, p. 67). However, despite the fact that history textbooks have, until quite recently, always glamorised this age of European exploration, there is an important fact that cannot be ignored. That these very European explorers found native peoples wherever they landed, and after their initial period of befriending came to an end, an age of European exploitation began. In this way, European exploration and European exploitation went hand in hand.

When Captain James Cook, anchored in Te Whangānui a Hei (Mercury Bay) in November 1769 he went ashore and acting in official ceremony planted the British flag upon the white sands therein claiming Aotearoa/New Zealand in the name of King George III and the great British Empire. When European explorers planted their national flags and religious symbols in 'newly discovered' lands, they were undertaking a well-recognised legal procedure and ritual mandated by law and designed to create their country's legal claim over new lands and peoples. This act of 'possession' was based on a 14th century religious doctrine known in history as the Doctrine of Discovery.

On May 4, 1493, via Papal Bull Pope Alexander VI confirmed their right of possession of all newly discovered lands in the Americas. Alexander's papal bull was a continuation of what is now called the Doctrine of Discovery, a religious doctrine initiated by an earlier Pope Nicholas V who in 1455 exhorted Catholic rulers to conquer, even those 'in the remotest parts unknown to us,' all who were enemies of Christ. The Pope gave them permission 'to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans,' take their possessions, and 'reduce their persons to perpetual slavery' (Newcomb, 1992, p. 18-20). The World Church Council (2012) admitted that;

> *The Doctrine mandated Christian European countries to attack, enslave and kill the Indigenous Peoples they encountered to acquire all of their assets. The Doctrine remains the law in various ways in almost all settler / colonial societies around the world today.*

Such was exemplified in the voyages of Christopher Columbus to the Americas, voyages which initiated a period of European exploration, conquest, exploitation and colonisation that lasted for centuries. Columbus himself saw his accomplishments primarily in the light of 'spreading the Christian religion' (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, 2014).

Other European powers eager to experience similar successful exploits, sent ambassadors out into the new world where they began encountering Indigenous peoples. These ambassadors also encountered emissaries from other European powers, with each competing for trade and position with the Indigenous cultures. Churchill (1993) stated that 'European powers quickly realized that a formal code of judicial standards to legitimate what they required, lent a patina of civilized legality to the actions of the European Crowns' (p. 34). The purpose of developing judicial standards was specifically to resolve disputes and conflicts between European entities, as each jockeyed for position in disputes over gaining wealth and resources through ownership of Indigenous land. Churchill (1993) maintained that:

> *In order for any such regulatory code to be considered effectively binding by all Old World parties, it was vital that it be sanctioned by the Catholic Church. A series of Papal Bulls begun by Pope Innocent IV during the late 13th century was used to define the proper [lawful] relationship between Christians and 'Infidels' in worldly matters such as property rights (p. 35).*

Churchill (1993) affirmed that through the efforts of legal scholars such as Franciscus de Victoria and Matias de Pas, the Spanish articulation of the Discovery Doctrine, endorsed by the Pope, rapidly evolved to maintain the following as primary tenets of law:

1. ***Outright ownership*** *of land accrued to the Crown represented by a given Christian (European) discoverer only when the land discovered proved to be uninhabited (Papal Bull territorium res nullius)*
2. ***Title to inhabited lands*** *discovered by Crown representatives was recognized as belonging inherently to the Indigenous people encountered,*

but rights to acquire land from, and to trade with the natives of the region accrued exclusively to the discovering Crown (Papal Bull vis-à-vis)

3. ***In exchange for this right*** *the discovering power committed itself to proselytising the Christian Gospel among the Natives.*
4. ***Acquisition of land title*** *from Indigenous peoples could only occur with their consent by an agreement usually involving purchase rather than through force of arms.*
   (Churchill, 1993, p. 35)

In application, the Doctrine of Discovery initiated a mandate followed by all successive European Crowns. Therefore, Cook and other European colonists justified their claims to sovereignty and governmental property rights over these lands and therein the Indigenous populace based upon this Doctrine. In essence, the Doctrine provided that newly arrived Europeans immediately and automatically acquired legally recognised property rights in native lands and also gained governmental, political, commercial rights over the Indigenous inhabitants without the knowledge or consent of the Indigenous peoples.

Jackson (2012) stated in a video presentation at the United Nations in New York that the Doctrine of Discovery was promoted as a legal authority for claiming the land of Indigenous peoples. This process initiated colonisation on a global scale based on assumptions of both religious zeal and self-righteous positioning that was to have devastating outcomes for Indigenous cultures from the 1300s, through to the 21st century. Churchill (1993) points out that:

> *Recognition of the legal and moral rights by which a nation occupies its land base is a fundamental issue of its existence. Typically, such claims to sovereign and propriety interest in national territories rest on its citizenry being composed of direct descendants of peoples who have dwelt within the geographical area claimed since time immemorial. But when the dominating population is comprised either of immigrants (settlers) who can offer no such assertion of aboriginal lineage to justify their presence or ownership of property in the usual sense, the issue is vastly more complicated. (p. 33).*

What is significant about the Doctrine of Discovery is that it was a form of presumed legality that only existed between the foreign powers themselves. The European power's dealings were amongst themselves, and their intentions were never disclosed to the Indigenous cultures who were never in a position to make any sort of informed decision as to what outcomes they sought from a relationship with a European power. In the aftermath of the Doctrine of Discovery it is well documented that 100's of millions of Indigenous peoples lost their lives, were enslaved, had their lands invaded. These innocent peoples were dislocated from their tribal settings, stripped of their identity, assimilated into a foreign culture and to this day in various ways and forms are still discriminated and oppressed in the very land of their forefathers. A sad understanding voiced in the words of King Kalākaua, the last reigning king of the once great Kingdom of Hawai'i:

> *It is but too apparent that the natives are steadily decreasing in numbers and gradually losing their hold upon the land of their fathers. Within a century they have dwindled from four hundred thousand to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims. They are slowly sinking under the restraints and burdens of their surroundings, and will in time succumb to social and political conditions foreign to their natures and poisonous to their blood. Year by year their footprints will grow more dim along the sands of their reef-sheltered shores until finally their voices will be heard no more.* (King Kalākaua, 1887)

The Voice from Within

Kei muri i te awe kāpara

Tērā te whakataukī e poropiti ana i te taenga mai o te Pākehā ki koneki, ararā ia, ki Aotearoa nei. E kīa ana te kōrero, 'kei muri i te awe kāpara, he tangata kē, nāna te ao, he mā.' I te taenga mai o te Iwi kōtea, i mauria mai ai e rātau he mea kāre i kitea e tātau, he kākano kaikino, he kākano kaihoro o te tangata. Ko te ngārara pūtea tēnā, he taonga tauiwi, he tohu whai mana. Nā te pūtea i huri ai ngā Tikanga me ngā whakaaro o te iwi Māori, nā te pūtea i kukume ai tātau ki te pō o te kūare, o te pōhēhē.

Tieke taretare, tieke taretare,

Pō! Tū ana i waho e*!*

In the shadow of the tattooed face

There is an ancient proverb which heralds the arrival of Pākehā to New Zealand and reads as such 'In the shadow of the tattooed face, a stranger stands, one who owns the earth, he is white.' With the arrival of the Pākehā to these lands they brought something we had never seen, a seed of destruction, a devourer of men. They brought the insatiable beast which is money, the prize they heralded above all, their ultimate symbol of power. With the arrival of money to our shores, the Māori way of life would change forever.

Thou ragged Jack, thou tattered Jack,

Behold! I stand aloof from thy circle!

2.1.5 Alienation of Image



Figure 5: Members of Imperial forces with young Māori girl, 1861

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PA1-q-250-49-2, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

The Doctrine applied to the confiscation and alienation of Indigenous land, but equally, to the confiscation and alienation of Indigenous images. For European attitudes towards Māori may be found in images, which themselves are part of the colonising process, motivated by, and justifying, the ideologies of colonial presence. At the time that Europeans first started describing Māori, they were often depicted as the antithesis of the Victorian ideal, uncivilised, irrational, physical, emotional and childlike. These representations of Māori were related solely to the domination and control of the subject, the images carefully filtered through European perspectives which transformed Māori according to the values of the time. Such negative and stereotypical imaging of Māori played its part in helping rationalise the needs of the colonial settler government, to legislate for the assimilation and subjugation of Māori and the acquisition of lands desired by the settlers.

Therefore, through the colonial process, not only the 'skin' of the land was seized by the coloniser but also the 'skin' of the Māori people was confiscated and alienated as negative and stereotypical imaging was used to shape and reflect Māori within imperial, national, regional, ethnic, and bicultural stories. Though a variety of images of Māori were utilised to propagate and advance the colonial agenda, the depictions of Māori woman are crucial. For the ideological aspect of such imaging, the background ideas they reflected and supported reveal perceptions which ultimately reflected Victorian imperial attitudes and, 'impelled the entire concept and practice of colonialism, in holding that Anglos were superior racially, culturally, spiritually, technologically to indigenous people' (Gibbons, 1998, p. 40)

2.1.6 Caught in a Colonised Reality

European colonisers arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand with predetermined ideas of appropriate female behaviour and status. The European ideal of womanhood, or the 'cult of true womanhood', revolved around female domesticity (Riley, 1963, p. 219). The Europeans believed that a woman's role was to cater to their fathers, husbands, or nearest male relative, and to support her family. This European ideal of womanhood was projected upon Māori society where it functioned as 'the single most important criterion for contrasting savagism with civility' (Smits, 1982, p. 298).

Victorian morality was the severe standard against which Māori women were judged. They were ultimately found wanting because almost everything about their being, their appearance, their social, economic, political, and spiritual positions, activities, and authority was a violent affront to this imposed European ideal. Compared to European women, Māori women appeared 'antithetical to the presumed natural condition of women' (Weist, 1983, p. 39), and this affront had to be rectified. Jenkins (1998) describes the conflict in values and the colonial reaction as follows:

Western civilisation when it arrived on Aotearoa's shore, did not allow its womenfolk any power at all - they were merely chattels in some cases less worthy than the men's horses. What the colonizer found was a land of noble savages narrating ... stories of the wonder of women. Their myths and beliefs had to be reshaped and retold. The missionaries were hell-bent (heaven-bent) on destroying their pagan ways. Hence, in the re-telling of our myths, by Maori male informants to Pakeha male writers who lacked the understanding and significance of Maori cultural beliefs, Maori women find their mana wahine destroyed. (Jenkins, 1998, p.161)

For Māori women the alienation through colonisation was further exacerbated by the complex ways in which the colonial notions of 'race' intersected with the colonial notions of 'gender,' both terms associated with the ideological constructions of racial and sexual inferiority. These discourses caused Māori women to be perceived as both 'savages' and 'sexual objects' in line with the intersection of the colonial ideologies. The initial stages of this process are evident in certain accounts of Māori women given by early European travellers and settlers. Joseph Banks himself described young Māori women as 'skittish as unbroken fillies' (Banks cited in Salmond, 1992, p. 166). This projected personification of the lust filled female savage catered specifically to the erotic desires of the colonial male, as articulated by Sheffield (2000):

The representation of indigenous women as erotic beings, sexually available to the male colonist's gaze, fills three purposes. Firstly, the temptation and guilt arising from erotic desire is transferred from the white male viewer onto the Other; the sensual erotic/exotic native female. Secondly, the possession of the indigenous women is equated to possession of land. This is clear in postcards of alluring Maori maidens positioned against backdrops of lush scenery or placed beside Maori carvings, meeting houses and Pas (signifying the culture of the past). The maiden, representative of nature, invites the colonial gaze to penetrate, and consequently possess, both herself and her land. Thirdly, the sexual availability of the native woman connotes the absence of an aggressive

native male society. When the male is defeated, the indigenous female is offered or offers herself as a metaphorical war trophy for the white victor (p. 1)

In the following decades of colonial rule, Māori women's status was actively undermined by the coloniser, leading to debilitating changes in the role and status of Māori women in society. Through systemic process, the colonists destroyed the matriarchal, communal form of society that they found, supplanting it with a patriarchal, individual and isolating one. In so doing, they would supplant Māori women and devalue and diminish their roles, responsibilities and position in a tribal context. Māori women's knowledge and standing was redefined or made invisible, as Linda Smith (1992) argues:

Maori women in particular have been written out of the historical discourses not just in the years after colonisation but also from the centuries prior to Pakeha settlement… This process has turned Maori history into mythology and Maori women within those histories into distant passive old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure. Women who were explorers, poets, chiefs and warriors, heads of families, founding tipuna of ancestors of various hapu of iwi have been frequently been made invisible through the processes of colonisation (p, 32)

Māori women were relegated to submissive and passive positions fitting the colonial agenda, as wives and children (the property) of Māori men, or as potential bed mates for white men. This led to Māori women in society being largely perceived:

Either in family terms as wives and children, or in sexual terms as easy partners. Women who had 'chiefly' roles were considered the exception to the rule, not the norm ... Māori women were considered attractive in the absence of a pool of white women. Their autonomy was interpreted as immorality and lack of discipline. Christianity reinforced these notions by

spelling out rules of decorum and defining spaces (the home) for the carrying out of appropriate female activities. (Smith, 1999, p. 48-49)

One of the ways in which this subjugation of Māori women occurred was through images produced by the coloniser, depictions which were constructed in a way to diminish the importance or position of Māori women in society. These images assisted in inculcating the values of the colonial power that rendered Māori women as sexual objects subordinate to men as wives and mothers located within the domestic area of the home. For example, the commodification of the image of Māori women as a resource to be exploited, penetrated and claimed has been perpetuated through the stereotypical imagery of tourism from inception, through to the present. The postcard genre produced in the early 1900s bears a remarkable similarity to the tourism images we see today in brochures, films, television advertising/programmes and magazines depicting Māori women. That these images of Māori women have remained static over time is perhaps the best evidence for their function in satisfying both European and Pākehā needs.

It must be reiterated, that images never occur in a vacuum, but rather reflect the eras and their ideologies; pre-colonial, post-colonial, and modern and were constructed to suit the aims and needs of their creators. Colonisation invented a story of who Māori were and are, it constructed Māori as an inferior race and made up a limited set of characteristics for that construction. These stereotypes were not controlled by Māori, and served only the purposes of ongoing cultural imperialism. It is therefore crucial to acknowledge those cultural, social, economic and political forces that coalesced to construct these images presented as uncontested idioms of truth. To unmask the forms of ideological thought that masquerade as common sense is to show that common sense itself reflects the political and economic interests of dominant classes (Held, 1980). For these images of Māori are 'not separable from the context within which they are positioned, nor are they separable from the relationships that exist within the societal context around them.' (Pihama, 1997, p. 60-61).

These constructions have continued to affect the ways in which Māori people are perceived and more damagingly, how Māori perceive themselves. These images are used surreptitiously to misallocate blame for the vast intergeneration failure created by colonisation, i.e. poverty, crime, mental illness etc. by utilising such stereotypes as explanations for situations that actually find root in a turbid history of structural racism. These are the perpetuated stereotypes that make Māori uncomfortable in our own skin on our own land, these are the images that must be battled as a filmmaker and our alienated images reclaimed, a view echoed by Mita:

> *The Maori filmmaker carries the burden of having to correct the past and therefore be concerned with demystifying and decolonising the screen. The expectation of positive imaging means destroying the stereotypes that come from cultural appropriation, and clearing the refuse out of oneself in order to make a fresh new start (Mita, 1992, p.40*

The Voice from Within

He tapu te tinana o te wahine, nō te mea, he whare tangata

Ko ngā wāhine te wharetanga, ko ngā wāhine te puna roimata, koia kē te pūtaketanga o te whakataukī e whakahuatia ake ana, 'he wāhine, he whenua i ngaro ai te tangata.' Nō reira, me maumahara tonu tātau ki hā o Hineahuone, ki te hā o Hinenuitepō, ara rā, ki te mana me te tapu o ngā wāhine Māori i ahu mai i tuawhakarere. Ki te ngaro tēnei māramatanga, ka ngaro hoki tātau.

Woman are sacred, for they are the house of humanity

Women represent the powers of both life and death, their revered status is remembered in the proverbial saying which states: 'in the love for both women and land (also female) men will give their lives.' Therefore, let us always remember our female goddesses Hineahuone (life) and Hinenuitepō (death) and in doing so the prestige and sacredness of our Māori women. For if we should ever lose this central understanding, we ourselves are lost.

2.1.7 A Forgotten History

Best we forget?

'We must smite them and spare not… we must treat them as a species of savage beasts which must be exterminated to render the colonisation of New Zealand possible'

(Editorial in Wellington Independent Newspaper, 1868, cit in Braybrooke, 2009, p.473)



Figure 6: Unidentified group of Maori children

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-091527-F, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

The Doctrine of Discovery rationalised and justified numerous atrocities around the globe with Māori faring little different than other Indigenous peoples faced with the expansion of Empires. This is a history of Aotearoa/New Zealand that is largely forgotten, a view emphasised in the words of Tainui elder Tom Roa who articulates it succinctly: 'it's becoming clearer how little New Zealanders as a whole – that includes Māori and other than Māori – know about these things

that happened at our very doorstep'. He sees evidence of the 'politics of denial' in the reluctance of the government and wider society to give these conflicts their due: 'Colonists write the history … and the history according to the colonised is very often swept under the carpet' (Roa cited in McCulloch 2014). Māori MP Te Ururoa Flavell's raised the issue of the nature of New Zealand history taught in schools and asked Ann Tolley, Minister of Education:

> *'What implications did she see from the fact that New Zealanders have for generations received perhaps a one-sided view of the country's history— from the Crown perspective— and are ill-equipped to understand why Māori feel the way they do, especially regarding the capacity of today's decision makers to shape the long-term history of our nation?' (Flavell, 2010, p. 11512)*

Gayatri Spivak (2003) has called this national amnesia a 'sanctioned ignorance' (p .7) where non-Māori are not expected to know or care about our past. This is a view reflected by New Zealand Prime Minster John Key and his comments that: 'the country {New Zealand} was settled peacefully' and 'Māori probably acknowledge that settlers had a place to play and brought them a lot of skills and capital' (Radio NZ News, 2014) and also in the words of the late renowned broadcaster Sir Paul Holmes KNZM, as he discusses The Treaty of Waitangi celebrations in 2012:

> *'Well, it's a bullshit day, Waitangi. It's a day of lies. It is loony Maori fringe self-denial day. It's a day when everything is addressed, except the real stuff. Never mind the child stats, never mind the national truancy stats, never mind the hopeless failure of Maori to educate their children and stop them bashing their babies. No, it's all the Pakeha's fault. It's all about hating whitey. Believe me, that's what it looked like the other day… No, if Maori want Waitangi Day for themselves, let them have it. Let them go and raid a bit more kai moana than they need for the big, and feed themselves silly, speak of the injustices heaped upon them by the greedy Pakeha and work out new ways of bamboozling the Pakeha to come up with a few more millions.' (Holmes, 2012)*

The Voice from Within

He Waiata Aroha	***A Song of Love***
E te tamaiti, e te iti kahurangi, *Nau mai kia mihia koe,* *I hara mai koe i te kukunetanga mai o te tangata,* *I te whenua tapu i whakaāhurutia ai e Tāne te matua.* *Nāhau rā te mau ngā taonga o wharahara,* *Hai tohu rā mōhou, koi hēngia koe,* *Ko te Paekura ki tō taringa, ko Waikanae ki tō ringa, hai taputapu mōhou* *E te tamaiti tapu, te āria a rātau mā,* *Ko tō mana nō tuawhakarere, ko tō mana he mana motuhake,* *He ihu tō mai nō te pō.*	*Welcome beloved child* *Come closer that I may greet you* *You have travelled from the very beginnings of our people* *From the sacred earth that was fashioned by Tāne the father* *You shall wear the treasures of rank and status, so that you are not mistaken* *In your ear you shall wear the Paekura pendant and in your hand* *You shall grip firmly the greenstone Waikanae axe* *These symbols of status shall forever clothe and define you.* *Sacred child, semblance of all that have passed before you* *Your prestige is of ancient origin, drawn forth from the realms of the night.*

2.1.8 Te Riri Pākehā, The White Man's Anger



Figure 7: Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) 150-year battle Commemoration, 29th April 2014, Gate Pā Tauranga (author on left front)

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

The lack of understanding was again highlighted in 2014 with a series of 150-year commemoration services recognising and remembering wars waged by the Crown from 1863–1864 against Māori tribes. These battles specifically were Waiari, Rangiriri, Ōrākau, Pukehinahina and Te Ranga fought by Waikato and Tauranga tribes in defence of their lands. The author's own ancestors trekked from the distant East Cape, led by our chiefs Hoera Tamatātai, Te Ruahuihui, Harawira and Te Wārahi in support of the Tauranga tribes, they and many more fought and died in these battles, never to return to our people. Though these battles are now lost from popular memory, many Māori have never forgotten, as articulated in the words of Tainui elder Tom Roa who speaks of the importance:

> *'This will be a memorable moment for our people who have never forgotten our tūpuna who died fighting for our land, our mana and our sovereignty. The importance of commemorating the events of 1863–1864 for all New Zealanders is that it marks a moment in history that was fraught with conflict and tension' (Roa cited in McCulloch 2014).*

These 150-year commemoration services saw little government support through funding, epitomised in more than NZ $25m allocated for monuments and commemorations relating to wars on foreign soils, primarily World War I and its centenary, (McCulloch, 2014) with a total of over NZ $17m alone allocated: 'to fund community events, activities, capital projects associated with the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of WWI' (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). Included is the development of a new multi-million-dollar World War I museum exhibition in Wellington, as One Network News reported:

> *Prime Minister John Key announced today the Government will invest $7 million initially to develop the commemoration, which will sit behind the National War Memorial and overlook the National War Memorial park. 'It will help enhance New Zealanders' understanding of the First World War and its impact on our nation,' says Arts, Culture and Heritage Minister Christopher Finlayson. (One Network News, August 14, 2014)*

In contrast, just $250,000 was set aside in commemoration of all of the battles fought on our own soil, with the majority of financial burden 'being shouldered by iwi themselves' (Roa cited in McCulloch 2014). Lack of funding in conjunction with equal lack of appropriate media coverage, lead to these 2014 commemoration ceremonies being widely ignored by the majority populace, or regarded as simply irrelevant. Such a response is not surprising according to Charlie Tāwhiao, Chairman of Tauranga's Ngāi Te Rangi iwi:

> *'Our own colonial history is not something the majority of New Zealanders can look back on with fondness. We can romanticise some parts of it, but by and large it's not a great story of nation building – it's not the story you want to tell your children about why we're such a great country.' (Tāwhiao cited in McCulloch 2014)*

As noted (Dei, 2000), for colonised peoples decolonisation involves an essential reclamation of the past. Before completing this series of snapshots of the specific historical relations around the imaging of the Indigenous, a note about the 'Voice from Within' may be necessary. Hallward identifies what he

terms the singularity of the ‘sovereign reality’ (2000, p. 15). The sovereign reality is the historically given that is being described here. Rather than proposing an alternative sovereign reality, a singularising Māori alternative, the ‘Voice from Within’ is intended to announce that the specified subject (as described in Chapter One) has not lost his voice after all.

The Voice from Within

He Haka Peruperu	**A Dance of War**
Tēnā i poupoua!	To arms!
E Te Ope Hunuhunu, e Te Hokowhitu a Tū!	To you the fearless warriors of the war god Tūmatauenga, to you
Te Kaipātari, Te Puarere, Te Whare o Te Riri	scorched in the fires of battle
Kōtau rā i pūerungia ai ki te toto	To you the brave assembly of chiefs
O Te Kaokaoroa, o Pukehinahina,	To you cloaked in the blood
o Te Ranga.	Of Te Kaokaoroa, of Pukehinahina, of Te Ranga.
Ngāti Matepū, e ara rā!	Ngāti Matepū, your bravery and
Ko tō rongotoa tē makere atu ki raro rā	sacrifice shall never be forgotten,
E iri tonu mai i runga	But shall forever remain in the hearts
i te kiri ngutu mau mai ai	and minds of your descendants.
Hai tīpare tauā mō te hoariri!	Through your sacrifice our pride and
Mau ana, tau ana ko taku mana	prestige is ingrained and affirmed
Mana tīpuna, mana whenua,	An emblem of resistance in our fight
mana tāngata,	for self-determination.
Ko taku mana motuhake e!	So be it!
Hi!	

2.1.9 A Trail of Tears

Land Confiscation & Alienation

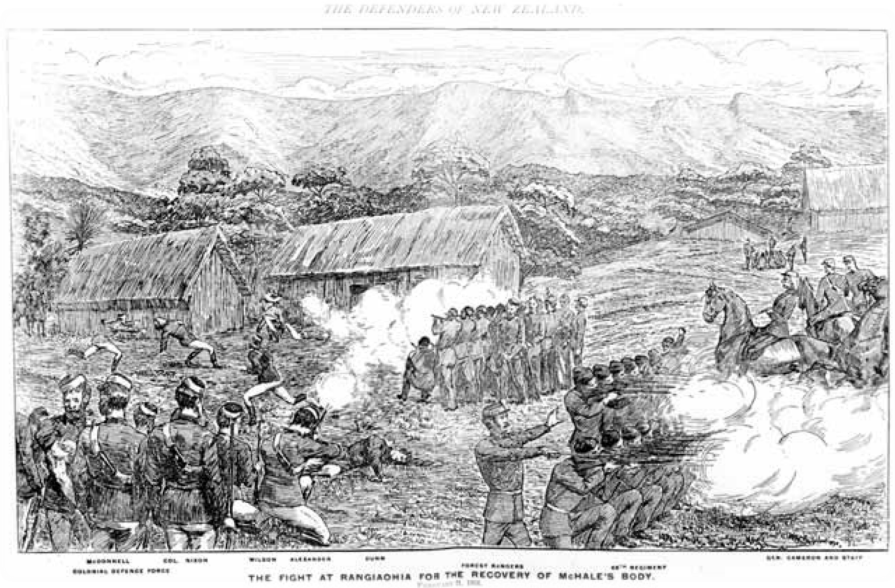


Figure 8: 'Defenders of New Zealand' The battle of Rangiaowhia as depicted in a John Wilson lithograph
Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: A-109-050, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Britain colonised Aotearoa/New Zealand for its resources, signing the Treaty of Waitangi with Māori in 1840 after which Māori were subjected to war, confiscation and forced sale of land (Taonui, 2010). Raupatu or the New Zealand land confiscations took place during the 1860s to punish the Māori Kīngitanga movement for attempting to set up an alternative, Māori, form of government that forbade the selling of land. The confiscation law in The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 specifically targeted these Kīngitanga Māori as punishment and war was waged to restore the rule of British law (New Zealand History Online, 2014). The Royal Commission to Inquire into Confiscation of Native Lands, reported back to the New Zealand Government in 1928 reiterating the injustice of Crown induced war:

> *'Wiremu Kingi and his people were not in rebellion against the Queen's sovereignty; and when they were driven from the land, their past destroyed, their houses set fire to, and their cultivations laid waste they*

were not rebels and they had not committed any crime. The Natives (sic) were treated as rebels and war declared against them before they had engaged in rebellion of any kind, and in the circumstances they had no alternative but to fight in self-defence.' (Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into Confiscation of Native Lands, 1926-1928, p. 11)

As a result of Crown action, more than 3 million acres (1.2 million hectares) of land were forcefully confiscated with Māori inhabitants either killed, imprisoned or forcefully evicted (Walker, 1990). Waikato descendant and elder Mamae Tākerei describes the intergenerational trauma of such massive tribal land loss:

Raupatu was theft. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 legalised the taking of land. There's only one word for it and that is theft ... our people fought to save the land because that was the physical being of all things wairua (spiritual), the land that was occupied by our forebears of how many generations, the land that was nurtured, that fed us, that had a spiritual purpose, it wasn't about money, it provided for our people, it gave us strength, not a fiscal strength but a spiritual strength. It nurtured us. We were able to identify with the land. Our whakapapa was in land. With Pākehā it was about colonialist opportunity, it was about sale, it was about commercial viability, it wasn't about anything that I describe that has an allegiance and an alliance with Māori thinking. (Tākerei cited in Mahuta, 2008 p.181-82)

The 1860s land wars and confiscations were used by the Crown to push through further legislation that was to prove far more successful in forcing Māori from their land. This alienation was legalised through various parliamentary acts such as the Native Lands Act in 1862 and the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865 (New Zealand History Online, 2009). In relation to the above, one historian noted:

'As was often the case the great argument used to justify British imperialism - that it introduced the rule of law - was brought into

disrepute by the prostitution of that law to the interests of the colonising race' (Ward, 1973)

In reference, Justice Minister Henry Sewell in 1870 succinctly describes the central aim of the Native Land Court as to:

'bring the great bulk of the lands in the Northern Island… within the reach of colonisation' and 'the detribalisation of the Māori – to destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism upon which their social system is based and which stands as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Māori race into our social and political system.' (Taonui, 2012)

In essence, The Native Land Court forced communally held Māori land into individual title, which therein enabled sale. Māori where required to name no more than ten owners of their land, regardless of the size of a block. All other tribal members were effectively dispossessed. The newly designated owners held their lands individually, not communally as part of (or trustees for) a tribal group. (New Zealand History Online, 2014). If any Māori party chose to contest ownership or sale of land, judgements could only be based on evidence before the Court, so all claimants had to attend, whether they wanted to or not. Many Māori accumulated large legal bills as a consequence. Those coming from out of town also faced the extra costs of food and accommodation. Lawyers, shopkeepers, surveyors and the like granted Māori credit while they awaited the outcome of their case (Walker, 1990).

As a result, combined expenses forced many Māori to sell the very land they had been defending in order to settle their debts. This Court enforced process reaped terrible consequences for Māori, as the New Zealand Herald observed in 1885:

'…men and women have abandoned all work and all industrious occupation. They can scarcely be said to have a home…for the most part they have for years past lived in tents or slept on the ground with the shelter of merely a wind break. They have been made to do this by having

to run from one part of the country to the other end after land courts. They have had to live on wretched watery foods and the only relief from the utter misery of their surroundings is getting drunk. What wonder is it that they should die like rotten sheep and the children born to them should linger out a short life' (Taonui, 2016, p.171)

In full support of the outcome, Member of Parliament Robert Bruce declared that:

'We could not devise a more ingenious method of destroying the whole of the Maori race than by these land courts. The natives come from the villages in the interior, and have to hang about for months in our centres of population ... They are brought into contact with the lowest classes of society, and are exposed to temptation, the result is that a great number contract our diseases and die.' (Taonui, 2016, p.171)

Between 1840 and 1890, in a space of a mere fifty years Māori lost a total of 96% or 63.4 million acres of their lands (New Zealand History Online, 2009). Land alienation led to the displacement of large numbers of Māori. Losing land, tribes also lost access to traditional food sources. Lack of resources, overcrowding and poor diet helped disease to take hold and spread. As land was lost from the tribes, so the health and population of the tribe worsened:

'Maori living conditions were appalling. Most of them lived in makeshift camps, without sanitation. They were afflicted by a host of infectious diseases and there was a very high rate of infant mortality. Traditional remedies were of no use for treating European diseases, and frequently fatal. Maoris received little medical aid other than periodic inoculations and handouts of medicines. They were seldom treated by doctors, let alone admitted to hospitals. For the most part they had to fend for themselves' (Lang, 1972, p. 121).

Those areas which shunned contact with the colonial settlers seemed to fare better as articulated by a European observer in 1878:

'The difference between the Kingites and the Maoris that Europeans are accustomed to see is very marked. The men and women are healthy looking, while the number of children playing about, and of fine stout infants to be seen in the arms of their mothers, is remarkable. It is sad to think that those natives who have least to do with Europeans are in every respect the best of their race; but so it is.' (O'Malley, 2016, p. 430)

Importantly the loss of land also meant the loss of a key economic resource for Māori. Much of the success that Māori had in supplying early settlers and the towns they set up was based on Māori control of significant areas of land, which was communally managed to produce food. As explained by Fenton (2003):

In 1857 the Bay of Plenty, Taupo and Rotorua natives - being about 8,000 people - had upwards of 3,000 acres of land in wheat, 3,000 acres in potatoes, nearly 2,000 acres in maize and upwards of 1,000 acres of kumara. They owned nearly 1,000 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5,000 pigs, 4 water-power mills, and 96 ploughs, as well as 43 coasting vessels averaging nearly 20 tons each, and upwards of 900 canoes.' (p. 45)

The 19th century became a period of massive land transfer from Māori ownership to government and settler ownership. This transfer usually gave settlers the best arable lands closest to towns and cities while Māori where pushed to the outlying margins. The confiscation and alienation of these tribal lands caused catastrophic economic, social and cultural damage, damage that is still visible today in poverty, crime and social deprivation statistics.

A fitting example of previous economic success followed by subsequent economic desolation was the well recorded land confiscations of Te Whakatōhea tribe of Ōpōtiki. Various first-hand accounts such as those given by Lt Stoate and Major Charles Stapp in 1865 pay testament to the wealth that was wantonly looted by the invading colonial force:

Land was not all that Whakatohea lost. Food stores, stock, crops, personal possessions and taonga were looted. Lt Stoate boasted that he was

having six meals a day: pork chops, beef steak and potatoes. After five days on shore having 'glorious fun' he left with a canoe figurehead, tomahawk, spear, paddle and some greenstone; he rejected the Māori books which were available in 'any amount'. At least 20 horses were appropriated as cavalry horses; a few were taken by officers and other horses were sold by auction. Major Charles Stapp wrote to his wife: 'What a quantity of cultivations, corn in abundance, such fine potatoes, all their ploughing was done with Horses…. I should say they were very rich…. Ploughs brand new all sorts of implements…. [The force] have got thousands worth of property belonging to them.' Stapp himself appropriated a wash stand, iron bedstead, table, chair, bath tub and straw bed. (Opotiki Town Centre Historical Study, 2006, p.13)

Buddy Mikaere (Ngāti Pūkenga, Ngāti Ranginui) from Tauranga, whose ancestors fought in defence of their lands at the battles of Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) and Te Ranga, offers a personal account of the intergenerational social and economic impact land confiscation had upon his people.

'Why did we end up living on the outskirts of the city? Why was my grandfather, and others, such hard workers? It's because they had their lands confiscated so they were forced onto the outskirts. By having your land confiscated means that you have lost the means to support oneself economically, you have to turn your hand to doing anything just to survive. It's quite a different perspective to most normal histories.' (Mikaere cited in McCulloch 2014).)

Massacres

'No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, outlawed, banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will We proceed against or prosecute him, except by the lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land. To no one will We sell, to no one will We deny or delay, right or justice.'

(English Magna Carta)

Injustices where inflicted on a people to whom the Crown had previously promised all the benefits of 'equality, royal protection and full citizenship' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). Such promises proved hollow as epitomised in the brutal massacre of unarmed innocents at the Māori settlement of Rangiaowhia. At the time of the massacre, Rangiaowhia was one of the largest Māori settlements in New Zealand and a major centre of Māori agriculture and enterprise in the Waikato (NZ History Online, 2012). The local tribes led a peaceful existence as farmers and traders and cultivated hundreds of acres of wheat, maize and potatoes for the Auckland market. Their settlement which stretched for 2 miles included a racecourse, flour mills, schools and two churches (NZ History Online, 2012). A serene beauty articulated in the words of Cowan (1955):

> *'…the large unfortified settlement of Rangiaowhia came in sight, a scene of peace and beauty. Fields of wheat, maize, and potatoes extended over long gentle slopes, and peach-groves shading clusters of thatched houses were scattered along a green hill trending north and south, the Crown of the village, with the steeples of two churches rising above the trees, a quarter of a mile apart.' (p. 351)*

Descendant Hazel Coromandel-Wander (2013) gives a moving account of the following action taken against her ancestors who had simply refused to sell their ancestral land:

> *On Sunday morning 21st February 1864, 3000 British and colonial forces stormed the Rangiaowhia village and attacked the settlement. The soldiers went from house to house hunting for people and those that were*

found were killed. When the alarm was finally raised in the village the elderly along with the young mothers and their babies ran into the Rangiaowhia Catholic Church for refugee. The troopers set fire to the church and kept their guns trained on the exits to make sure none would escape. All those that sought safe haven in the church were killed. In total there were 200 - 300 Māori men, woman and children that were massacred that day and the once thriving settlement burnt to the ground. The land was subsequently confiscated by the colonial government and given to settler farmers never to be returned. (p. 65)

An eyewitness survivor of the Rangiaowhia massacre was Te Mamae a young girl who survived lying hidden in the reeds of a nearby swamp. Losing her entire family in the massacre, Te Mamae later named all of her forthcoming children in remembrance of the atrocity of that day, these names are explained by her granddaughter Marama Coromandel:

*'Her first born, **Te Wera** was named in memory of the fierce heat felt that day from the burning. **Te Pupuhi** was in memory of the shrapnel of bullets whistling all around them and knowing that her people were unarmed. **Maringi** was named for the 'blood spilt' on the land on that day and **Te Ratapu** was named Sunday, the day the whaanau were burnt in the Paakehaa church'*

(Marama Coromandel cited in Coromandel-Wander, 2013, p. 39)

Unjust Imprisonments and Forced Exiles

Unjust imprisonment and exile of Māori became commonplace as the war spread to other parts of the country. This was exemplified in the attack, imprisonment and forced exile of Māori in Tūranga/Gisborne and their following massacre at Ngātapa pā. On 17th of November 1865 in a move to crush insurgence against East Coast Māori who 'vowed to defend their land from imminent confiscation by the Government and to maintain independence' (Oliver & Thompson, 1971, p.69). Crown forces attacked and besieged the Waerenga a Hika pā in Tūranga/Gisborne, which consisted of 'around 800 Māori, including 300 women and children, almost the entire Māori population of the region at the time' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p xvii).

Within the pā at the time were many of the author's ancestors of Te Aitanga a Māhaki tribe, inclusive of my Great Great Great grandfathers, Arapeta Taniwha and Īhāia Te Noti, along with my great great grandfather Nētana Pūhā as well as my great grandmother Ereti Pūhā just to name a few of my ancestors present at the siege. The story of their sacrifice and loss been passed down orally through the generations of my family to the present.

During the brutal 5-day Crown siege, seventy-one defenders were killed. Finally conceding defeat the survivors surrendered themselves into Crown custody, the Crown then:

> *Imprisoned 113 men, and transported them directly to the Chatham Islands. By late 1866, a further 73 male prisoners had been sent over after fighting in Hawke's Bay. In total, 123 prisoners from Tūranga were held in this way. Wives and children of some prisoners were allowed to join them, increasing the total number on the Chathams to around 300. No prisoner was charged with, tried for, or convicted of, any offence in relation to the battle at Waerenga a Hika whether before, during or after the imprisonment. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p xvii)*

Their lands and possessions now confiscated, illegally imprisoned and exiled to the Chatham penal colony indefinitely, the prisoners quickly succumbed

to harsh elements, disease, hunger and abuse. But from the prisoner ranks arose a young leader named Te Kooti. In a brave escape he commandeered two vessels and led the prisoners from the penal colony in an attempt to return to ancestral lands, but upon arrival to home shores, the prisoners where again attacked by Crown forces. Refusing to surrender back into imprisonment and exile, in January 1869 they took a final stand at Ngātapa pā which they defended valiantly for five days. Finally, through lack of food, water and ammunition, they succumbed to the might of colonial forces amassed against them and in the night attempted to flee the pā. What happened next is coldly articulated by J P Ward, a member of the No. 6 division of the Armed Constabulary present on the day in 1869:

> *'In all some 130 odd of the defenders of Ngatapa were captured in the bush and gorges below the pa where they lay asleep having had neither sleep nor water for 2 days. They were marched up the hill side again under the outer wall – as it were – of the pa they had defended so long and so heroically, stripped of every vestige of clothing they possessed and shot like dogs. There was no mention of a trial or if any or all of them had participated in the PB [Poverty Bay, Matawhero] Massacre. That did not matter to us one straw. They were shot and their bodies left to swelter and rot under the summer's sun and bones to bleach to this day. And all this – and very much more – as done beneath the meteor flag of Mighty England.' (Ward cited in Wall, 2016)*

At this stage in the war bounties were also paid by the Crown for decapitated Māori heads:

> *'Toward the end of the war the government was paying bounties for heads, £5 for a regular head and £10 for a chiefs. To collect the bounty, the killers would carry the sack of heads to the commanding officers tent where they would dump it out, the heads rolling across the floor.' (Kurlansky, 2009, p, 68)*

Tattooed heads in particular proved to be valuable trading items forming a 'flourishing business' (Kōpua cited in Smale, 2013) with many of our ancestors

finding their way into personal and museum collections around the world. Perhaps no such collection pays homage to this morbid European fascination so much as that of Major-General Horatio Gordon Robley whose personal collection totalled 35 heads. In 1908 with the exception of the 'five best examples' which Robley retained, he sold his collection to the American Museum of Natural History, New York, for the equivalent £1,250 (Phillips, 1966).

Māori Extinction

Drastic Māori de population through colonial induced war, disease and famine caused the Māori population to fall from about an estimated 110-120,000 in 1769 to a mere 42,000 in the 1901 census with Māori life expectancy under 25 years (Pool & Kukutai 2014). This drastic depopulation combined to fuel forewarnings about Māori extinction. The demise of the Māori race drew little empathy from the increasing settler populace and fuelled the dominant ideology that Indigenous peoples would not survive European conquest. Physician and politician Dr. Alfred Kingcome Newman his 1882 *A study of the causes leading to the extinction of the Maori*, stated succinctly:

> *'Taking all things into consideration, the disappearance of the race is scarcely subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick, easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race' (Newman cited in Mead, 1997, p.77).*

Another physician and politician Dr Issac Earl Featherston stated in 1856:

> *'The Maoris are dying out, and nothing can save them, our plain duty, as good, compassionate colonists, is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with.' (Featherston cited in Kingi, 2005, p. 7)*

In further support of the popular extinction rhetoric, in a later paper published in 1907 senior clergyman Archdeacon Philip Walsh purported, 'The Maori has lost heart and abandoned hope. It is sick unto death, and is already potentially dead' (Walsh cited in Mead, 1997, p. 77). Again suggesting that the

extinction was merely a consequence of natural selection, he quotes Austrian geologist Ferdinand Von Hochstetter as observing, in 1865:

> *'The Maoris look forward with a fatal resignation to the destiny of the final extinction of their race. They themselves say, 'As clover killed the fern, and the European dog the Maori dog, as the Maori rat was destroyed by the Pakeha rat, so our people also will be gradually supplanted and exterminated by the Europeans' (Hochstetter cited in Hiroa, 1922).*

To 'smooth down their dying pillow' was the best that even liberal attitudes could do.

Destruction of Language and Culture

> *'Things had now come to pass that it was necessary either to exterminate the Natives or to civilize them. They could not go on fighting them any longer. Honourable members were now no doubt well up in the financial question, and all would, he was sure, agree that another serious war would not only cripple the Colony, but would actually break its back. The idea of exterminating the natives could not for a moment be dreamed of in that House, and there was, therefore, no alternative but to vote for the measure then before the House. They could never civilize them through the medium of a language that was imperfect as a medium of thought. If they attempted it, failure was inevitable; and civilization could only be eventually carried out by means of a perfect language*.' (H. Carleton, a former Inspector of Native schools, 1862, p. 862-3)

Once subdued by Crown might, the destruction of Māori language and culture began. The central mechanism of the Government's agenda of assimilation and language domination was the State education system. This was, therefore, the primary cause of Māori language and culture loss. The central catalyst was the 1847 Education Ordinance Act which was introduced by Governor Sir George Grey in order to aid in the assimilation process. Grey believed that it would speed up the process by insisting that English be the sole

medium of instruction in schools, this Act was the first formal move towards language domination and hegemony. In 1862 Henry Taylor, Auckland Inspector of Native Schools, in a report to Parliament, concurred, articulating that the Māori language was a direct impediment to the assimilation process and that its eradication was paramount:

> *'The Native language itself is also another obstacle in the way of civilization, so long as it exists there is a barrier to the free and unrestrained intercourse which ought to exist between the two races, it shuts out the less civilized portion of the population from the benefits which intercourse with the more enlightened would confer. The School-room alone has power to break down this wall of partition between the two races.* (Fishman & Garcia, 2010, p. 504)

The Act also encouraged the establishment of boarding schools, particularly industrial training boarding schools, as they would take the children away from the 'demoralising influences of their villages', thereby 'speedily assimilating the Māori to the habits and usages of the European' (Walker, 1996, p. 45). James Pope became the Inspector of Māori Schools, a position he held for 23 years. Pope's driving rationale was the assimilation of the Māori people into the dominant populace (Renwick, 2014). In his annual report in 1888 he wrote:

> *'The work of teaching the Māori s to speak, write and understand English is in importance second only to that of making them acquainted with European customs and ways of thinking, and so fitting them for becoming orderly and law-abiding citizens '*(AJHR, 1888, E-2, p. 9)

Therefore, schooling and the education system would be an agent in a more far-reaching change, one expressed succinctly by F.E. Maning when he wrote in 1873 of the success of the education system in assimilating Māori:

> *'I have nothing to report except that if all your schools are going on as well as that of Wirinake there will soon be no Maoris left in New Zealand.' (Maning, 1873)*

Former respected educationalist Douglas Ball who began his distinguished career teaching in 1914, was appointed Inspector of Māori Schools in 1929, later becoming Senior Inspector of Māori Schools. In 1950 he was appointed Assistant Director of Education, a position he held until his retirement in 1955. From 1961 to 1971, he was Chairman of the Māori Education Foundation (Barrington, 2013). In an interview in 1973, he was posed the question if the New Zealand education system over the last 50 years had at any time adapted to suit Māori needs, to which he replied:

> *Not in the least, Māori children were not even allowed to speak Māori in the playground. If they did they would be punished. The purpose was quick assimilation—forget your Maori side and get our side. This was the recognised philosophy of the western world, because I went to a big Pacific conference in Honolulu in 1936 and there were educationalists working in the native schools in all these areas, from Japan, from the Philippines and other countries round the Pacific, and they all accepted the same thing. (Ball, 1973, p.22)*

There were many other acts of legislation that followed that have been equally detrimental to the Māori language and culture. In both direct and indirect ways, but the legislation passed regarding the establishment and evolution of the New Zealand education system has created amongst many Māori families one of the greatest, if not the greatest injustice of them all, the inability to speak one's own native tongue. A view epitomised in the words of the late Māori scholar Rēweti Kōhere:

> *'If a boy is taught to despise his own mother tongue, we should not be surprised if he comes to despise his own mother… if you take away the racial pride from the Maori heart, and pride in the traditions of his people, you lower his character.' (Kohere, 1953, p. 61)*

By 1980, only 140 years after the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi, the loss of the Māori language was so great that it was believed that it would suffer language death, the number of speakers of the Māori language declining from

95% in 1900 to just 5% in 1980 (Mahuta, 2011, p.196). The decline of Māori language and culture has affected, and in many cases continues to affect, every facet of Māori society. It is a loss epitomised in the words of the late Sir James Hēnare in his 1985 Waitangi Tribunal Claim:

> *'The language is the core of our Māori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori (The language is the life force of the mana Māori). If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left to us? Then, I ask our own people who are we? I, and certainly we, don't want to be like the American negro who has lost his culture and has nothing. Language according to Oliver Wendell Holmes, is a solemn thing, it grows out of life, out of its agonies and its ecstasies, its wants and its weariness. Every language is a temple in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined. Therefore, the taonga, our Māori language, as far as our people are concerned, is the very soul of the Māori people. What does it profit a man to gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul? What profit to the Māori if we lose our language and lose our soul? Even if we gain the world. To be monolingual; a Japanese once said, is to know only one universe.' (Hēnare cited in New Zealand History, 2015)*

The Voice from Within

He Waiata Tangi	**A Song of Lament**
Whakapukepuke ai te roimata i waku kamo,	Like a flood, my tears stream down,
He rite ki te ngaru whati mai i waho rā e	They burst like ocean waves, breaking yonder on the shore,
Taku pōhoi tōroa kua rehua e te kohu,	My prised ear pendant now drenched by the mist
Taku tōroa awe nui e kopa ana ki te muri	My great albatross who now soars to the spirit realm
Ko Te Ruru a Te Ihonga taku aroha te rite	My love for you is like the knot of Te Ihonga
Tē taea te wewete, te matara e	It may never be untied or loosened
Ehara taku aroha i te kiri moko tangata	My love is not skin deep as the chiselled face of a chieftain
Nā te whatumanawa kē e whakapupū ake e	But wells up continually from the depths of my heart.

2.1.10 The Cry of the Land



Figure 9: Logs near Coroglen Kauri logs piled up near Coroglen after a log drive down the Waiwawa River

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-022204, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Exploitation of Natural Resources

At a very basic level colonialism is the desire for, settling on, and controlling of land that a culture does not possess; land that is lived on and owned by other people. However, there was also of course a desire for natural resources and a need for labour. Edward Said (1993) points out the amazing rate at which Europe had acquired lands by the end of their colonial era.

> *Consider that in 1800 Western powers claimed 55 percent but actually held approximately 35 percent of the earth's surface, and that by 1878 the proportion was 67 percent, a rate of 83,000 square miles per year. By 1914, the annual rate had risen to an astonishing 240,000 square miles, and Europe held a grand total of roughly 85 percent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths. (p. 8)*

The New Zealand Company was formed in England in 1825 founded upon the belief that large profits could be made through the colonisation of New Zealand and the exploitation of the resources, i.e. flax, kauri timber, sealing and whaling. By the early 1800s the demand for New Zealand commodities was growing. Wars created the need for timber and flax, European cities and machines needed marine-mammal oil for lubrication and lighting and seal fur made popular clothing (NZ History Online, 2012). The following examples demonstrate how enormous wealth was ripped from land and sea but at a cost from which the environmental has never recovered.

Land: Timber & Gum

In 1840 around two thirds of New Zealand was still covered in forest and this provided the basis for a strong Indigenous timber industry (Department of Conservation, 2014). For the next 120 years these ancient forests were logged unceasingly, with records from the 1840s, stating that 50 to 100 ships could be tied to shore in Kaipara Harbour and be filled with lumber from giant floating booms that could hold 10,000 logs at a time (Forestry Insights, 2005). Besides trees as a form of lumber, many pioneers found the Kauri trees also valuable for the gum they produced to make varnish and linoleum. The colonists used unconventional methods to gather this gum from living trees. Stripping these trees and the ground around them resulted in the destruction of the land, rendering it unusable for agriculture (Wynn, 2002, p. 108). The sheer scale of the mass deforestation is epitomised in the near total destruction of the great Kauri forests that once stood at Whitianga:

> *Over a period of 60 years about 500 million feet of kauri timber was milled and sold, and offcuts burned day and night as a beacon for shipping on Buffalo Beach for 40 years. Kauri gum diggers took out 100,000 tons of gum over 50 years, particularly from the area around Coroglen once called Gum Town. (Whitianga, 2014)*

Rampant deforestation continued for many uses including clearing land for farming and gardens and wood for construction. These component factors

helped add to the exponential deforestation rate with over 75% of New Zealand's forest cover having been burnt or chopped down since European arrival (Wynn, 2002, p.100-118). Fire, axe and plough converted forest into pasture and Aotearoa/New Zealand once a giant forest, was transformed into innumerable farms for '60 million sheep' (NZ Stats Online, 2015). Such rapid deforestation led to native bird, animal and insect species being brought to extinction or extinction level numbers. For example, it is estimated that the native Kiwi population pre European contact was around 5 million birds, today they have plummeted to 50,000 - 60,000 (Willowbank Wildlife Reserve, 2014) a population decrease of 99%. All four species of Kiwi are now rapidly approaching extinction, with the five species of kiwi classified as threatened or at risk. *(Department of Conservation, 2014*).

Sea: Sealing & Whaling

Based upon Cook's reports of an ample seal population (Asscher & Choat, 2005), in 1792 an Australian based fur sealing team set up in the Dusky Sound situated on the west coast of the South Island. Upon arrival they preceded to slaughter the native seal population:

> *They collected 4,500 seal skins in one year alone. Thousands more followed with an estimated reduction in New Zealand's fur seal population of up to half a million, bringing them close to extinction between, 1804-1809 (Department of Conservation, 2012, p. 6).*

As sealing declined through mass extermination, whaling gained strength, with both ocean and shore whaling production peaking in the 1830s. Sperm whales were the principal target of ship-based whaling and Southern right whales were mainly pursued from shore. Successive whaling would have devastating effects as populations were again hunted to near extinction levels:

> *It is estimated that more than 80% of all whaling voyages to the South Pacific occurred during 1830–1850 with about 6,600 sperm whales taken in New Zealand up until 1913. About 14,000 southern right whales were*

killed and were nearly exterminated by 1842 (Department of Conservation, 2012, p. 6).

Once these stocks were decimated, humpbacks were then targeted and nearly exterminated with more than '3,740 taken between 1911 and 1962 by whaling stations in the Cook Strait' (Department of Conservation, 2012, p. 6). The native seal and whale populations of Aotearoa/New Zealand have never recovered from the utter devastation inflicted upon them through such wanton slaughter. Though it seems to defy logic to hunt a species to near extinction and log 1000 year forests to a tree and yet, this was exactly what happened in an insatiable colonial desire for wealth.

The Voice from Within

'Ahakoa kua ngaro atu te huia i te aotūroa, ko wana kupu ako, kua mahue iho, Huia, Huia Huihuia tātau katoa'' *He uri tātou, ngā tāngata, nā Papatūānuku rāua ko Ranginui, ā, he uri tātou nā Tāne, nā Tangaroa, nā Tāwhirimatea, nā Tūmatauenga, otirā ia, nā te mano tini o ngā rangi tūhāhā. Ehara i te mea mō tātou te ao mārama i puta mai ai. He taina tātou ki ngā āhuatanga katoa o te taiao. Kai te tiaki te taiao i a tātou, nō te mea, ko te taiao tō tātou tipuna, tō tātou tuakana, ā, kua riro hoki mā tātau te taiao hai tiaki i runga i te mōhio he haere kōtui te anga whakamua. E ai ki te kōrero a ngā tīpuna, ka whānau tū tahanga te tangata ki te ao, ā, ka hoki tahanga atu aia ki te ao wairua. Erangi, kōtahi anō te kahu ka ūhia ki runga i aia, ko te kahu o te mātauranga. Ko te mātauranga i korerotia nei e ngā tīpuna, he kōpū tahi tātau, he taura here tangata, whiringa ā nuku, whiringa ā rangi, tē whatia e, tē whatia e.*

'Although the beautiful huia is forever lost to our world (extinct through hunting and deforestation) its words of wisdom shall forever remain, Unite! Unite! Through unity is strength.' We are progeny of the earth mother and sky father and of the numerous gods that fill our natural and spiritual worlds. This beautiful world was not provided to mankind alone to exploit and abuse, for we are but one of her many children and are no more and no less than any other. As a caring mother she provides for us and as a child we respect, honour and protect her, this is our role and responsibility. We do this in the sound understanding that our fate and the fate of our mother and her many descendants is inextricably entwined. It is said by our elders, that we were formed naked of mother earth and one day we will return naked to her bosom. The only cloak we will carry to the afterlife is the cloak of knowledge, the knowledge that we are all connected, from heaven to earth, from this world to the next, we are but one family.

2.1.11 The Cry of the People: Tied to the Past

'*For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity.*'

(Frantz Fanon)



Figure 10: Āpihai Te Kawau, lithograph published in 1842

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PUBL-0076-174, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Walters (2012) describes the kinds of historical circumstances evoked here as producing 'historical intergenerational trauma'. Images of an arrival, a colonist's gaze at an Indigenous woman (while another relays that gaze to the camera), a group of children returning the gaze uncomprehendingly, a largely ignored commemoration, an imagined victory, a precarious couple on a cut-down forest, Āpihai Te Kawau who lamented his peoples lost ancestral lands:

'Te ao kapua, e rere mai rā, kei te moana e, i konei au, mihi atu ai, tangi atu ai, ehara i te tama, he whatu toto e.'

(The clouds on yonder horizon across the sea are playing with the winds, whilst I am here yearning and weeping for my son. Ah the land is more than a son to me. It's my heart's blood.)

(New Zealand Herald, August 25, 2010)

Each of these images has been situated in relation to the specifics of its circumstances. But the trauma has been situated in relation to the 'Voice from Within'. This voice is intended to be understood here as the de-specified voice of the person evoked in Chapter One. The argument being established in this way is that the 'release' of this voice is a necessary first step towards being able to 'release' images that are a material realisation of the de-specified subject. The screenwriter's voice is ultimately a means for image making, relayed through the screenplay page. Releasing the traumatised voice from the specifics of its historical circumstances is not as easy of course as the responses here might superficially suggest

In the closing of this section and in respect to my tribal teachings, I shall share another original composition entitled Te Manu Kōtea (The White Bird), a Pātere composed specifically in remembrance of this colonial past and the vast intergenerational trauma left in its wake. This final composition will not be translated into English, but shall rather be left in its original form and only those with an adequate aptitude in the Māori language and culture may gain insight into its meaning.

The Voice from Within

He Pātere

Ka rere mai te manu kōtea
Kia naomia mai te ate o te whenua
Taka huirangi ai te pō i Te Kawakawa
Te pō o te atua i mau mai i tawhiti,
He atua kahurakiraki, ka raru Hāpōpō.
Māku e tangi ki te kura kua ngaro
Ki te waka whakarei kua paea ki uta
Ki ngā kiore kairiri kai runga Pātangata
Rāweketia ai Te Puni a Tāne
Tē ngata rawa te hiakai e
Taku whakatakariri e pupū ake ana
Taku whanowhanoā e huhū ake ana
Mō ngā hara mōrika a papatea mā
Ka whakangotoa iho ki te kiri mau ai,
Kōhua tōna roro ki Te Whetūmatarau,
Tunua tōna manawa ka kainga ka pau
Kia tāiri te kakara ki Maunga Hīhā
Kia rongo te tāwara ki Maunga Kākā
Waiho ake ngā iwi kia pūkai ana,
hai whāriki mā marahea,
hai kai mā kuri e……

2.1.12 Māori and Representation: The Colonisation of the Soul

The Monkey who has Seen the World?



Figure 11: Unidentified Maori girl, 1910

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-120506-F, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

> *From the outset New Zealand had two remarkable attributes. The first was commonly described as New Zealand's scenic attractions, the second was the Māori, and both were eminently photogenic (Mita, 1994, p.40).*

My feature length screenplay *The Prophet*, which shall be expanded upon at length in a later chapter, written in direct relation to these issues of representation. It is analogous to "The Voice from Within", in the previous section, composed as another 'combatant' to Indigenise and decolonise and directly attests to the importance of Māori being able to tell our own stories, in our own ways, in our own country. A view adequately expressed by Smith (1999)

as a very “powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying’ (p. 28).

For the representation of Māori especially within the New Zealand film industry has been a heated site of contestation for many years, a contestation of Indigenous realities, identities and worldviews, a view epitomised in the words of Barnes (2011):

> *‘The drive exists for many indigenous filmmakers to tell stories about the effects of colonisation; this is potentially unsettling for the coloniser. The difficulties experienced by Māori filmmakers seeking funding to make films that engage in counter narratives in the context of hegemonic and fiscal regimes that support the telling of certain types of stories. This is illustrated in the production of Greenstone (1999), a historical drama series set in Aotearoa from 1839 to the 1960s. Don Selwyn, an advisor, was angry that both the overseas production company and TVNZ did not want Te Tiriti o Waitangi mentioned. My Master’s thesis raised similar concerns with Māori directors needing to strategically and covertly insert issues related to Māori experiences of colonisation. This was attributed to the expectation, based on past experiences, that the mainstream broadcaster would either ask for removal or give a clear direction that certain material or references (e.g. the word colonisation) were controversial’ (p.4).*

This filmatic contestation has been multileveled and has occurred in both the interconnected structural and cultural arenas and therefore analysis of production and representation is more complex than an act of solely deconstructing the images that we are presented with on the screen. What is required is a questioning of the fundamental assumptions embedded within both representation and the processes of production.

Those complexities require interrogations that contextualise Māori people and their representations and explore the types of power relations that

are embodied in the context. As filmmaker and noted academic Dr Leonie Pihama (1996) states:

> *Images of Māori are not separable from the context within which they are positioned, nor are they separable from the relationships that exist within the societal context around them (p. 2).*

For Māori, as with other Indigenous peoples across the world, subjection through imperialism and colonisation brought about fundamental shifts in representation. According to sociologist David Bedggood (1980), colonists arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand to transplant a 'vertical slice of British society, economics, politics and ideology' (p. 22). This colonial expansion was often rationalised through ideologies of race that 'justified acts of cultural genocide and land confiscation and enabled immigrant settlers to defend their oppression of Indigenous peoples throughout the world on intellectual grounds' (Pihama, 1996, p. 3).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand these discourses were largely articulated from the outset in the form of social Darwinism. Darwin's theoretical and scientific work on evolution seemed to provide a scientific basis to the growing literature on racial difference and what attributes supposedly defined a 'fully human.' This literature of racial hierarchy and superiority was developed and supported by intellectuals and clergymen alike, men such as Frederic W. Farrar, cleric of the Church of England, author and schoolteacher who in a paper presented to the Ethnological Society of London in 1867 concluded:

> *Racial classifications are based on three broad categories; the 'irreclaimably savage' who comprise in the main of black stocks; then the 'semi-civilised' brown and yellow peoples whose limited capabilities are exemplified best in the 'utilitarian mediocrity' of Chinamen; and the Semitic and Aryan breeds who share between them the credit for all the great achievements of human civilisation (Farrar cit. in Biddiss, 1979, p. 141).*

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, ethnographers often described Māori in terms of savage, barbaric and uncivilised while in binary opposition, the coloniser was constructed as civilised, intellectual, with superior systems of knowledge and developed social structures. Charles Darwin himself, upon visiting New Zealand in 1835, viewed Indigenous Māori as being a 'fearsome' and 'warlike' race of people; for Darwin, the Moko (to propose a translation, Moko could be described as an individual's genealogy, spirituality and curriculum vitae uniquely carved onto his or her distinct facial contours) was a particular indicator of an inferior, 'base' nature (Darwin cit. in Desmond & Moore, 1991). This view was supported by the renowned Reverend Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society, who in his journal in 1816 actively condemned the practice of Moko as barbaric:

> *Tooi informed us that his brother Korro Korro wished him to be tattooed, we told him that it was a very foolish and ridiculous custom, and as he had seen so much of civil life he should now lay aside the barbarous customs of his country and adopt those of civilised nations (p. 167).*

Similarly, missionary visitor J.L. Nicolas, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, described the chief Te Pahi as follows.

> *'Like most of the New Zealand Chiefs, he was highly tattooed, a grotesque practice of disfiguring the face which is generally practiced by all the savage tribes in the Pacific Ocean. The barbarous process consists in pricking on the face with a sharp instrument, producing a variety of semi-circular and other figures, and rubbing into the puncture some kind of blue paint, or sometimes charcoal. This gives the countenance a most disgusting appearance, and makes it truly hideous to the eye of the European.'* (Nicholas, 1817, p.34)

So visual representations were implicated early on in regarding Māori as an intellectually inferior race. Māori reasoning was often described as closer to that of the ape than to that of the civilised European, a view reflected in the words of early settler Edward Wakefield: 'Nothing can remind one more forcibly

of the monkey who has seen the world, than a Māori thus relating news' (Wakefield cit. in Best, 1976, p. 120). Mid-nineteenth century traveller Arthur Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*: *Past and Present, Savage and Civilised*, employed craniometry to quantify Māori intellect:

> *It was ascertained by weighing the quantity of millet seed skulls contained…that New Zealanders heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealanders are inferior to the English in mental capacity. (1859, p. 81-84)*

Arising from such assumptions of racial inferiority grew a policy of assimilation whereby the 'savage' would be 'civilised' (Simon, 1982). The ultimate goal of the British administration and colonial government upon annexation of New Zealand would be to 'Europeanise' the barbarous Māori populous, by attempting to construct a homogenous society where British law and culture would be adhered to and accepted. The colonisers, when thoroughly established in the position as the dominant power then control what is defined as 'valid knowledge,' what knowledge forms are legitimated, the distribution of knowledge and ultimately the control and the ownership of knowledge. This 'knowledge' once validated as superior, is then permeated through all levels of society, the political, economic, environmental, religious, social and cultural.

In the latter half of the 19th century dramatic forms of rebellion, resistance and instability in the British colonies occasioned important reassessments of the past imperial policy. This colonial and imperial heterogeneity is indicative of the fact as Mantena (2010) reiterates, that liberal imperialism has always evolved, 'in response to a changing set of imperial dilemmas' (p.57). In seeking to make sense of native disaffection and resistance, critical reassessments drew upon and elicited new ethnographic and sociological accounts of the nature of native society through which to formulate new and distinct strategies of social control, this, in turn, giving rise to a fundamental rethinking of the nature and purpose of Imperial rule:

> *Whereas earlier reform-oriented imperialist ideologies conceived of native societies as in need of radical reconstruction along Western lines, late imperial thinking questioned both the practicality and theoretical underpinnings… and instead of the universalist project of civilization, a new emphasis on the deep-seated 'cultural' differences between peoples came to the fore. (Ibid. p,2)*

In response, British Imperial ideology gradually transformed over the course of the nineteenth century from a universalist to a largely culturalist stance, evolving a 'new racial categorisation' (ibid, p.2) of the 'traditional society', culturally defined but often 'premised upon profoundly distorted visions of Indigenous societies' (ibid, p.11). Such transformation gave rise to a new colonial system of order where the economic, cultural, political and ideological factors were inextricably integrated into a two-tiered governmental system. Typically, the higher tier of government and administration was filled with public servants from the respective colonial power, while actual governance of 'the natives' was delegated to tribal leaders to implement colonial polices:

> *Indirect rule, the rule through native institutions was often championed as both more efficient and more fruitful for stabilising Imperial order. It would be normatively defended as a deference to native agency, and, in more enlightened self-descriptions, as a form of cosmopolitan pluralism, one that recognised and respected the cultural specificity of native society. (ibid, p.6)*

Whereas the system was thought merely to integrate existing societies and communities into the colonial state, it often created, and deeply transformed, local political structures. As a consequence, indirect rule changed the political order and the relation between state and society in many colonised countries. But, in recognising and defining cultural difference between European and native societies, indirect rule readily integrated native peoples into the colonial state, while simultaneously excluding these very citizens from any political participation. This acknowledgement is effectively epitomised in a

research paper commissioned by the New Zealand Parliament discussing the origins of the Māori seats:

> *Earlier accounts view the Māori seats as being created in a moral and legislative vacuum: the Māori seats 'stumbled into being'; the Māori Representation Act 1867 was a piece of 'ad hoc' legislation; the seats 'involved no high intentions or moral principles'; they were simply a useful way of rewarding Māori loyalists and placating Māori rebels; they helped to assure critics in Britain that the colonists were looking after Māori interests. (NZ Parliament, 2009)*

A fitting example of indirect rule within my own tribe of Ngāti Porou is the loyalist fighting chief Rāpata Wahawaha. Wahawaha fought in numerous conflicts for the Crown and was instrumental in suppressing any Māori resistance to colonial power and rule in the East Coast district. In recognition of his services for Queen and country, in 1878 he was awarded:

> *'a sword of honour by Queen Victoria for his services in the wars. He was appointed officer in charge of the militia in the Ngati Porou district, with a salary of £200 a year, and under the Native Circuit Courts Act 1858 was made an assessor to assist in law enforcement. When these salaries were stopped in 1884, as a result of government economies, he objected bitterly. Later, he received a pension of £100 a year, and in 1887 was appointed to the Legislative Council. He continued to encourage Ngati Porou to co-operate with the government, and to adapt to the changed situation in order to control its impact. His last words to his people were to be loyal to the Queen, steadfast to the church and friendly to Europeans, and to maintain their unity as a tribe' (Oliver, 2012).*



Figure 12: Rāpata Wahawaha

Source: Auckland Art Gallery Online – Toi o Tāmaki, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Self-definition for Māori became clouded with the coloniser's ascribed definitions and representations of the self and others. Linda Smith (1992) contends that myriad whānau, iwi and hapū became defined as simply Māori. Through colonisation, the ethnic label 'Māori' homogenised what was in reality a diverse set of tribal peoples, arguably obliterating meanings and subjectivities that Māori had ascribed for themselves. Frantz Fanon identifies this colonising process in his 1952 work *Black Skin, White Masks*, in which he traces the impact of colonisation on the African mind, spirit and intellect. According to Fanon, the African has been taught to regard white skin as the symbol of a superior culture and civilisation. To see the human race in this way is to view the world 'through European eyes' including the way the Africans perceived themselves (as socially inferior, or worse, as a 'savage' to be 'civilised'). Moana Jackson (1995) refers to this depth of colonisation as the 'colonisation of the soul'. He describes the consequences this has for Māori:

> *For the Māori the attack on their soul was so terrible it led to a weakening of faith in all things which had nourished it. The demeaning of the values which cherished it, the language which gave it voice, the law which gave it order, and the religion which was its strength, was an ongoing process which ultimately affected the belief of Māori in themselves (p. 11).*

With regard to this process, Fanon offers a theory about the 'epidermalisation of inferiority', an induced neurosis born of the internalisation of colonial subjugation in which the colonised believes the more he renounces his blackness, the whiter he becomes. Fanon further explains that the desire to 'become white', the assumed destiny of the colonised, therein leads to acquiring the privileges and status of this whiteness (ibid, p. 150). Such theorising resonates with Māori experiences that are not confined to earlier generations. Actor and writer Rena Owen (1995) spoke of reclaiming her Māori identity when she was eighteen years old because she grew up in a generation that 'harboured remnants of an inferiority complex about being Māori' (p. 151). While Māori elder and writer Mihipeka Edwards (2003) talks of the shame she experienced being Māori and 'the resulting hatred of the colour of her own skin, leading her to pass as white' (p. 145).

Filmaker Pratibha Parmar writes that in the exercising of 'cultural power and normalisation' by the dominant group, not only are black people identified as Other but also come to experience themselves as Other, internalising the dominant racist perceptions. Therefore, 'the deeply ideological nature of imagery determines not only how others think about us but how we think about ourselves' (Parmar cit. in Hooks 1992, p. 5). Such a colonising system:

> *'reduces the imposed upon to a shell of a human who is incapable of thinking in a subjective way of his or her own interest. In everything the person becomes like the imposer, thus in desires, wishes, visions, purposes, styles, structures, values, and especially the values of education, the person operates against his or her own interest' (Asanti, 2006, p. ix)*

As such, the colonisation, dislocation and alienation of the land went hand in hand with the colonisation, dislocation and alienation of the mind. Nineteenth century colonialism not only meant the imposition of British authority over Māori lands, Māori modes of production and Māori law and government, but the imposition of British sovereignty over all aspects of Māori knowledge, language and culture, including self-perception.

It is against this background of the culturalist turn in colonial ideology that *The Prophet* has been conceived, as the core practice-based element of this research. The preceding sections of the thesis have in effect unpacked Barry Barclay's 'vital interiority' into the first three stages or a larger process, as follows:

1. ***Mōhio: Reflection*** on the specified self and its subjectification.
2. ***Mātau: Understanding*** of the specific historical circumstances of that subjectification
3. ***Mārama: Release*** of a voice within that transcends historical trauma.

The question to be asked now concerns what is required to proceed beyond, but on the basis of, these three necessary stages, in order to transform the released voice into a writerly tool with the capacity to Indigenise our screen

2.1.13 New Zealand Film Commission

Through the Looking Glass

'What do I see when I look in my mirror?' asked Alice. 'I see myself, of course.'

(*Through the Looking-Glass*, and *What Alice Found There*, 1871, Lewis Carroll)

Images play a crucial role in defining and controlling the political and social power to which individuals and marginal groups have access. As Māori were systematically and structurally prevented from negotiating their own definitions from a position of equality, the New Zealand Film Commission arises as a key site at which 'representations of knowledge, language and culture occur, and equally a site at which representations of knowledge, language and culture are suppressed' (Pihama, 1996, p.2). Regardless of how Māori might define themselves, it cannot be denied that stereotypes and prejudice circulate today that have arisen, in part, from a powerlessness to determine self-identity in the public domain. Pioneer Māori filmmaker Merata Mita (1992) highlights the power of an image industry introduced during the colonial period:

> *From the first years it became obvious that the camera was an instrument held by alien hands, a Pākehā instrument, and in the light of past and present history another reason for mistrust. It is clear that as early as 1930, the screen was already colonised and had itself become a powerful colonising influence, as western perspectives and stereotypes were imposed upon Māori people (p. 42-43).*

Edward Said has argued that colonialism 'can create not only knowledge, but also the very reality it appears to describe' (1978, p. 94). Through his discussion of the imposition of colonial definitions in relation to the notion of 'orientalism', Said refers to this process as a western discourse about the 'Other' which is supported by institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, and colonial bureaucracies.

In relation to this, Antonio Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony becomes important and can broadly be described as rule by the dominant group through a dynamic exercise of coerced consent. Gramsci writes that hegemony is characterised by:

> *'… a combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so called organs of public opinion – newspapers and associations – which, therefore, in certain situations, are artificially multiplied.' (p. 58)*

Importantly in this instance, the ideological dimension of hegemony does not require force as consent is achieved by convincing the subordinate group that certain values and ideas are 'common sense' even when those values are not in the interests of the subjugated. Media theorist Stuart Hall (1973) describes the media and by extension cinema as a site where 'messages and meanings are constructed within them, or where the ideologies are transformed' (p. 60).

Ella Sholat and Robert Stam (1994) discuss how the residual traces of centuries of European domination continue to inform everyday life, so pervasively that it often goes unnoticed as a form of vestigial thinking which permeates and structures contemporary practices and representations even after the historical end of colonialism. Colonisation is therefore not a finite process, neither is colonisation confined to a period of history, for Māori there has been no end to colonisation. It is not simply part of a recent past, nor does it merely inform a present. Colonisation understood as ongoing hegemony is the present. In this respect, Jackson (1998) comments on how the Eurocentric discourses of the 'dominant cultural body,' continue to inform contemporary New Zealand filmmaking:

> *Today, colonisation is a process of image making, where we're bombarded by what should be worthy in our lives, and today's*

scriptwriters, today's controllers of knowledge are the descendants of the old scriptwriters of colonisation (p. 7).

Such imaging of difference and race by the dominant culture has unquestionably contributed to how Māori are perceived and how we perceive ourselves. Pihama (1994) again points out the danger of Māori representation being hegemonically controlled:

If there are [films] about you but they are negative and insensitive so that they are saying 'you are not good,' that is dangerous...If there are films that are about you and they are untrue, that is very dangerous (p. 239).

Pihama's words highlight the role of filmmakers in the maintenance and reproduction of images of Māori that reinforce the negative stereotypes and which deny Māori opportunities to construct images that move beyond dominant definitions of who Māori are. This is a view supported by Gary Wilson who asserts that to provide a range of stereotypical positions unproblematically and repetitively constitutes maintenance of the status quo. Nothing is challenged or contested, the inequities of representation remain, and the representations of Māori through dominant constructions continue (Wilson cit. in Fox, 1988).

2.1.14 New Zealand Film History

An Allegory of Cultural Engagement



Figure 13: 'South Seas Adventure' Maori maiden appears in New Zealand sequence in Cinerama picture. Her people perform in film.'

Source: Deseret News, 9 January 1964, page B5. Reproduced with permission.

'The truth about stories is that that's all we are,' states Thomas King (2003, p. 2). He explores this statement via different fields of experience, but always comes back to the same conclusion, the stories we tell about ourselves define who we are. King quotes another Native American writer, Gerald Vizenor: 'You can't understand the world without telling story ... There isn't any centre to the world but a story' (King, 2003, p. 32). This attitude to story as primary in our definitions of self and our way of seeing the world is reflected by many Indigenous writers. This is also true for us as individuals, whānau (family) hapū (sub tribe) and Iwi (tribes), as an Indigenous people and as citizens of a nation state. Unfortunately, it is also true that the stories others tell about us have the potency to define us.

Martin Blythe and Māori filmmaker Merata Mita provide valuable insight into the historical representation of Māori in New Zealand film through their respective publications, *Naming the Other* (1994) and *The Soul and The Image* (1992). Blythe (1994) acknowledges through his extensive analysis of New Zealand film history the existence of 'many New Zealands' which can be best understood chronologically as a series of 'master narratives' and 'social historical models' for explaining the relationships between Māori and European (p. 5). These 'allegories of cultural engagement' can be recognised as three distinct 'genres,' which according to Blythe, illuminate issues of race, colonialism, post colonialism, ethnography and national identity in twentieth century New Zealand.

Blythe argues that, during the early part of the twentieth century, the characteristics of cinema in New Zealand, were primarily figured as 'Māoriland,' a site for historical imperial, touristic, or ethnographic romances that tell of the unification of the two cultures, usually by relegating Māori to some timeless past or by eulogising their fall into history. At this stage of film production, the control lay 'firmly in the hands of those behind the camera, and the repercussions would continue right up to the present day' (Mita, 1992, p. 41). These initial fictional films such as *Loved by a Māori Chieftainess (1913) and A Māori Maids Love (1916)* became vehicles to transplant imperial ideals and attitudes to intended audiences**.** For example, the following to-camera introduction from *Hei Tiki (1935)*, encapsulates most of the familiar images and stereotypes of Māoriland:

> *It was my privilege to live four thrilling years among the most extraordinary natives on earth on the North island of New Zealand. I found the Māoris fascinating, their Isle of Ghosts enchanting, their friendship exhilarating, and I'm keen to share with you the pleasure of my experience with them. Forget your cares and problems for a brief interlude and join me on a voyage to the Isle of Ghosts. You will feast your eyes upon a sight no living white man has seen before (Markey cit. in Blythe, 1994, p. 21).*

As a result of cultural distortions, a majority of the early New Zealand fiction films contain material that is 'culturally insensitive and in some cases downright offensive' (Mita, 1992, p. 42). The appearance of Princess Mara (Nōwara Kēreti) in *Hei Tiki* offers a pertinent example as she first appears in the film stepping over the prostrate bodies of young Māori warriors (apparently meant to signify her coming of age). Scenes of such kind were particularly offensive as in a traditional Māori context a woman's genital region possessed the power to remove tapu (sacredness), thus inducing its opposite counterpart noa (commonality). In the seemingly banal act of stepping over the young Māori warriors, Princess Mara was actually breaking tapu sanctions by forcibly removing the men's personal sacredness. Such scenes, as perpetrated by Markey, underlined a 'willingness to invent ritual unconstrained by the anthropological actual with its less photogenic codes and practices' (Babington, 2007, p. 40).

In the next 'social historical model' articulated by Blythe, the 'Māoriland' genre was replaced by the myth of 'New Zealand' a terrain increasingly marked by segregation, or at least by some acknowledgement that the 'integration myth' failed to account for present day conditions. The fascination of white filmmakers with Māori continued, initial promise being shown through the 1940 release of Rudall Hayward's feature film entitled, *Rewi's Last Stand*, a romantic drama set against the New Zealand wars of the 1860s, which approached its Māori theme and story with 'respect for Māori courage and integrity' (Mita, 1992, p. 44). Feature films such as *The Seekers* (1954) directed by Ken Annakin, continued to objectify Māori life and culture, containing further culturally insensitive material geared specifically to appeal to an international audience.

For example, there is a scene in which Moana (Laya Raki) the chief's wife, executes a seductive dance routine with little inhibition before a large assembled crowd of Māori villagers and the Englishman Phillip Wayne (Jack Hawkins). As Inia Te Wiata's argues this is a portrayal 'so alien to how a young Māori maiden of noble blood would have behaved' (Te Wiata, 1982, p. 84) and arises from a

scant knowledge of traditional practices by the makers of the film. Mita concurs with this view:

> *It's exploitative enough even when you know it's about the culture, history and customs. But to go to groups without any depth of knowledge is totally irresponsible. Unfortunately, that is what most filmmakers do in this country (Mita, 2002, p. 32).*

The emphasis shifted from period drama to a modern context featuring a racially mixed relationship in John O'Shea's *Broken Barrier* (1952) which explores covert racism in New Zealand society, exposed when a Pākehā man forms a relationship with a Māori woman. It successfully broke new ground, as the racially harmonious society that many white New Zealanders had believed in was exposed as a myth. *Like Rewi's Last Stand* before it, the story is written from the perspective of a Pākehā New Zealander. However, within the context of its period and the unpalatable subject it presented to the public, 'the film was indeed a timely portent' (Mita, 1992, p. 44).

In the third and final master narrative of national identity, 'New Zealand' is replaced by 'Aotearoa' and Blyth argues that in the 1980's race relations between Māori and Pākehā became significant in the context of wider New Zealand heightened by the emergence of increasingly prominent demands for what Donna Awatere called 'Māori sovereignty.' Problems across the cultures were no longer hidden behind the thin veneer of racial harmony or swept under the proverbial carpet. Instead, issues relating to the occupation of Bastion Point and Treaty of Waitangi claims were bought out in the open, with the 1985 Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act effecting a distinct change to relations between Māori and Pākehā.

Te Manu Aute, a collective of Māori communicators, was formed in 1986 and a key clause within the constitution of Te Manu Aute highlighted the fact that Māori needed to have adequate means of expression. Barry Barclay explains:

> *Every culture has a right and responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them. Furthermore, any culture living closely with another ought to have regular opportunities to express itself to that other culture in ways that are true to its own values and needs (Barclay, 1990, p.7).*

In the years that followed the formation of Te Manu Aute, Māori made important and significant contributions to the growing film industry as actors, crew, directors and writers in an era of Māori filmmaking highlighted by the revolutionary works of Māori filmmakers Barry Barclay and Merata Mita. Mita and Barclay utilised the strength of film to prove that misconceptions can be modified, and the seemingly fixed can be mutable when film is utilised to shift perception.

2.1.15 Contemporary Filmmaking

Contemporary New Zealand filmmaking and perhaps the highpoint of the industry's production have seen many New Zealand films containing Māori content make an international impact. *Whale Rider (2002), River Queen (2005)* and more recently *Rain of the Children (2008), The Tracker (2010), White Lies (2013), The Dark Horse (2014) and Dead Lands (2014)* now offer images of Māori to an ever-eager global audience. Though many of these films were highly successful both nationally and internationally, all are written and directed by non-Māori. Although Mita (2002) firmly believes that Māori should be making films about Māori, she doesn't begrudge the international achievements of movies like *Whale Rider* which, though based upon the novel of a Māori author, has a Pākehā director. She elaborates:

> *The story is Māori. It was written by Witi Ihimaera. It's part of Witi's whakapapa. Whether or not a Pākehā is behind the camera going, 'roll, camera, action' that story belongs to those people and they are Māori. If the film does well, it's good for all of us. I don't think that the debate is*

> *about the fact that Pākehā made the film. I think that the very positive aspects that come out of it for Māori people is what's important to us. Not the intermediate debate about whether or not it's a Māori film (p. 33).*

Despite the positive aspects as articulated by Mita, it is worrying that for many international readers of such texts the images received will be the first and possibly only representations of Māori they will ever see. The danger therefore lies in the residual undercurrents of Eurocentric discourses which continue to support the stereotypes that have been paraded as the way Māori were and are.

Whale Rider, *2002*

For example, the globally successful *Whale Rider* carries inaccurate undertones of a male dominated and intensely patriarchal Māori tribal society to the world. Though supposedly based on fact, *Whale Rider* lies in direct contrast to tribal lore and 'actual' tribal custom. Māori women within my tribe of Ngāti Porou were extremely liberated, perhaps more so than any tribe in New Zealand, the most striking contrast being that it was never unusual for the hapū (sub tribe) to be named after a prominent woman ancestor. These women were rangatira (leaders) possessing all the relevant leadership attributes pertaining to men, inclusive of the ability to speak on the marae. This point is important as Mahuika (1992) states adamantly that the fact Ngāti Porou women have the right to speak on the marae indicates that they were 'leaders of the fullest sense' (p.48).

However, the vital point here is not that these are 'false' depictions but that Māori subjectivity, a deeper matter, is being constructed through misconceived interpretations that reflect an absent foundation. Sutton (2011) has demonstrated that the construction of subjectivities changed when political ground was gained by the discourse of biculturalism from around 1985 onwards in Aotearoa/New Zealand. But the argument here is that no-reconnection to a self-efficacy producing belief system actually took place. So supposedly

'progressive' filmic representations did no constitute incremental steps towards a Fourth Cinema.

2.1.16 Te Paepae Ataata as a Mechanism for Self-Efficacy

> *Every culture has a right and responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them. Furthermore, any culture living closely with another ought to have regular opportunities to express itself to that other culture in ways that are true to its own values and needs (Barclay, 1990, p.7).*

In 2003 after a long arduous struggle dating back to the initial formation of Te Manu Aute in 1986, Barry Barclay, along with Merata Mita and Tainui Stephens submitted a proposal to the NZFC to allocate funding for specifically Māori Film Projects. The proposal, Mana Māori Paepae (MMP), drew upon Māori culture and language to communicate its message; setting out a process for the support of Māori Filmmaking by establishing a committee, or paepae, that would accept feature-film proposals from the Māori creative community and recommend them to the NZFC for funding. The New Zealand government created Te Paepae Ataata in 2007 to support Māori film-making. The organisation therefore allocates funding to Māori writers, directors and producers and helps support the ongoing training of Māori in the film industry.

Despite the monumental success in the establishment of Te Paepae Ataata, and the release of its first feature *The Pa Boys* in 2013, current statistics are still not telling a good story. Out of 300 New Zealand made feature films (NZ Film, 2014), so far only 13 (4.3%) have been written and directed by Māori. These films are, *Patu* (1983), *Mauri* (1987), *Mana Waka (*1990) and *Hotere* (2001) by Merata Mita, *The Neglected Miracle* (1985), *Ngati* (1986) and *Te Rua* (1991) by Barry Barclay, *Once were Warriors* (1994) by Lee Tamahori, *Eagle vs Shark* (2006), *Boy* (2010), and *What We Do In The Shadows* (2014) by Taika Waititi, *Mt Zion* (2013) by Tearepa Kahi and *The Pa Boys* (2014) by Himona Grace. Such statistics

highlight the continual challenges faced by Māori scriptwriters and filmmakers within the industry, but also highlight the urgent need for Māori scriptwriters and filmmakers to seek new and more effective ways to fill the screen with Māori faces, Māori history, Māori language, Māori culture and Māori ways of looking at life.

2.1.17 Fourth Cinema

By the People, For the People: A Cinema of Sovereignty

In addition to his pioneering work as a Māori film-maker Barry Barclay lectured and wrote on film theory and in the article *Celebrating Fourth Cinema* (2003) he proposed Fourth Cinema as a cinema in which Indigenous peoples control the camera rather than being the subject of its gaze, and the act of taking back the camera is likened to 'an act of revolution' (Gauthier, 2011, p.172). Fourth Cinema according to Barclay is infused with a unique interiority, as we have seen.

The reclamation of Māori language and culture, the process of decolonisation and the struggle for tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination) are all part of the transformative aspirations of Fourth Cinema. For Māori scriptwriters/filmmakers, this is a particularly important notion, as it supports the utilisation of Māori beliefs and values in the film production process, and in doing so, offers a unique 'paradigm of resistance' (Bargh, 2007) against an incessant global neoliberalism which colludes to silence the Indigenous voice through the devaluing of specificity in favour of the supposedly universal. Filmmaking practice then becomes not only about the individual, i.e. an auteurist endeavour whereby a writer/director reflects their own personal creative agenda. But rather it is an acknowledgement by the writer/director of an overarching project.

A number of key references have emerged for the task of progressing from presentation of the specified (self) and the specific (historical trauma) to what

might be termed 'the project' proper, in very much the Sartrean sense. 'In order to ground itself, the self needs projects, which can be viewed as aspects of an individual's fundamental project and motivated by a desire for "being" lying within the individual's consciousness' (Onof, undated, #3). The project documented in the second half of this thesis has dual aspects, therefore. One has been the continuing development of *The Prophet* as the practice-based component of this research; the other is the development of a framework for Indigenising the screen, with my own screenplay as a testbed for this framework.

In order to explain why the 'framework' as it is proposed here has developed into more than the author's individual project, why it is going to be proposed as a collective project for fellow screen Indigenisers, we need to bring together several key concepts. (In due course, we will also have to deal with the potential accusation that the proposed framework is just another instance of the singular as defined by Hallward, an idealised project with ambitions to rise beyond the inescapably specific.)

Several of these concepts have already been flagged in preceding sections: in particular, the progression from reflection (on the specified), through understanding (of the specific) to release (of a voice). The first half of this thesis can be understood as an enactment of this progression, and the thesis' structure as a structure of enactment rather than of academic convention. (Methodologically, if it needs to be located in terms of academic discourse, it can be thought of as an example of 'crystallization' in action, as a form for qualitative research, Ellingson 2008.) The 'history book' snapshots in preceding sections have been necessary in order to re-enact some of the specifics out of which the 'voice' has been released.

This progression, from reflection to release, is being presented as both a personal journey and an example of the preliminary stages that the screen Indigeniser has to proceed through in order to realise Barclay's 'vital interiority'. Ultimately, I want to make the case for this interiority not being one substance or thing or style, as it were, but rather a process.

What the first three stages of the process can lead to needs to be contextualised in relation to several related concepts that have emerged in formulating this larger argument. The first, which has become increasingly active in foregoing discussion but is not yet explicit, is that of a 'cinema of sovereignty' (Lewis 2006). Randolph Lewis concludes his study of Alanis Obomsawin, the most prominent First Nations filmmaker in Canada, with a chapter that proposes 'cinema of sovereignty' as a key concept for understanding her work and that of other screen Indigenisers. Lewis argues that this 'cinema' has been Obomsawin's developing strategy, fine-tuned over a lengthy and increasingly influential career. Lewis makes clear that Obomsawin's project does not imply what he terms 'biological insiderism' (p.176): that is, where 'expertise on vast racial or ethnic landscapes is bequeathed to individuals by virtue of their genetic makeup' (ibid.). Lewis argues that it is not blood but experience that Obomsawin draws on for the foundation of her strategy. For very much this reason, reflection on experience has been the starting point for my own journey here, not biological insiderism. Lewis also quotes the writer Milan Kundera at this point: 'As long as we live with other people, we are only what other people consider us to be' (Kundera quoted by Lewis, p.173).

That is, in effect, another way of suggesting how the specified self comes into being. But Lewis does not develop this insight much in relation to the cinema of sovereignty. Instead, he has to deal with Indigenous suspicions in Canada about the very term 'sovereignty':

> *Sovereignty is among the most potent and puzzeling terms in Indian country today. Some scholars dislike it all together, arguing that it represents a "cruel, mocking legalism" tjat has little weight in reality, given the lopsided power relations between Indian nations and their encapsulating states. Some Native activists reject it as a terms of European origin that does not have a place in their own intellectual history. For example, the Mohawk writer Taiaiake Alfred argues for a radical "de-thinking" of the concept, which he sees as incomplatate with authentic Native poltics. (Lewis 2005, p. 117)*

These kinds of suspicion arise in very similar ways among Maori as well. So Lewis' response to them, filtered through the lens of Alanis Obomsawin's cinema, is instructive. According to Lewis' interpretation, 'the cinema of sovereignty is about authority, autonomy, and accountability in the representational process' (p.180). Authority, autonomy and accountability will be core characteristics of the framework presented in the second half of this thesis. But I do not want to forget the relational aspects of the specified self and what Lewis acknowledges as 'the hybridized nature of neocolonial life' (p. 181) in which there is no 'pure alternative to the chaotic, pulsating, omnivorous mainstream' (ibid.). Proposing a 'pure alternative' would be exactly what Hallward means by the singular. Embedding a strategy of screen Indigenisation in the chaotic hybridized realities and experiences of contemporary life in Aotearoa/New Zealand will require instead adherence to several qualities, a number of which are identified by Lewis in Obomsawin's body of films.

The qualities identified by Lewis are the reclaimed sovereign gaze, a gaze rooted in particular ways of knowing and being; the dialogic exchange, speaking equal-to-equal, 'neither deferential nor hostile' (p. 182) as the historically specific exchanges tended to be; a refusal of 'Occidentalism', demonizing the Eurocentric in a mirror image of Orientalism; finally, a commitment to research, which Lewis explicitly identifies with Linda Tuhiwai Smith's usage of that term, thereby bridging to our Māori perspectives on Indigenisation. This latter, says Lewis, is ultimately 'a question of philosophy' (p.184) and draws on a parallel 'experiential brand of scholarship' (p.185).

Christian (2010) is the only other scholar to date who has taken up these ideas and applied them to pre-production, including what she terms 'indigenizing the script' (p. 117). But Christian's argument is that this consists in developing 'culturally specific storytelling styles' (p. 125). The argument here is that Indigenising the script is rather a matter of an entire process for the screenwriter, not just a style of storytelling that can be adopted irrespective of what process the writer or filmmaker is engaged in overall. More specifically, the

qualities listed above are underpinned by the last one, the 'question of philosophy', without which the others will be lacking the necessary framework.

But I also want to return to Sium and Ritskes' discussion of Indigenous storytelling as an act of living resistance, in order to suggest a further quality of this project. Without naming it as such, Sium and Ritskes worry about the risk of being attracted to Hallwards 'singular': 'some pure monolithic and homogenized oppositional essence' (p III. citing Kapoor 2009, p. 4). To counterbalance this risk they urge us to understand the importance of 'insurgent moments' (ibid). I view my own project, *The Prophet* and its contextualisation within a PhD thesis, as an insurgent moment in this sense, not least in the context of Sium and Ritskes term the 'Euroversity', an institution modelled on historically specific precedents from elsewhere. However, in order to be clearer about what quality characterises the insurgent moment, I have turned to Chun-yen Chen's reading of Hallward.

Chen, in discussing Hallwards argument, agrees that postcolonial theory has been dominated by singular thinking such as Homi K Bhaba's incommensurable differences and Gayatri Spivak's silenced non-agent (or subaltern subject). Chen agrees that such formulations lead us towards either paralysis or efforts to escape the paralysis of theory through practices that derive from some assumed 'homogenized oppositional essence' as Sium and Ritskes suggest. In order to think himself out of this black and white situation, Chen turns to the poetry of Derek Walcott, which I shall return to at the end of this chapter.

In doing so, Chen proposes an extension of Hallward's categories to include what Chen terms 'singular relationality' (2010, p.71). The proposition of a singular relationality is the key theoretical advance within postcolonial theory that opens up the space within which I can locate the framework proposed in the second half of this thesis. I will be proposing that *Te Whai Ao* (The Realm of Becoming) is a specific incarnation of a singular relationality. Instead of oppositional essences being set perpetually against each other, the singular relationality transcends the specific on order to ask for more. But it does so only in insurgent moments that depend upon the specific for their force.

2.1.18 Fourth Cinema Concepts

Recent scholarly publications on Fourth Cinema though limited in number interestingly follow a theme epitomised in the 2010 book*, Unsettling Sights: The Fourth World on Film* by Corinn Columpar. As Columpar states emphatically from the outset that she is 'building' (p, XV) upon the work of Barclay on Fourth Cinema, I shall use her book as a case study to discuss a vital element which Fourth Cinema authors have ignored or given little significance to since Barclay's passionate initial statement in 2003. Columbar uses film theory, postcolonial theory, and Indigenous theory to frame her discussion of the cinematic construction and transnational circulation of Aboriginality:

> *'the construction and transnational circulation of Aboriginality as sign in contemporary narrative cinema, is fundamentally concerned with interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous.' (Columpar, 2010, p, XIV)*

The end result is a broad interdisciplinary analysis of how Columbar believes Indigeneity is represented in cinema, supported by theoretically informed case studies of a plethora of films produced in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States over the last three decades. In doing so, Columbar suggests ways of recognising the aesthetic, political and ethical possibilities that a Fourth Cinema film generates.

More importantly and in the context of this research, Columpar states that she is 'building' (p, XV) upon the work of Barclay on Fourth Cinema, a cinema whose central imperatives she defines as:

> *'foregrounding the perspectives, experiences, storytelling traditions, and thus 'core values' of the Indigenous characters at their centre and thereby to divest those characters from a representational logic in which they can only ever function as the two dimensional savage (be it noble or not), ethnographic specimen, or absolute other' (Columpar, 2010, p, XII)*

Columpar further asserts that her research also 'complicates' the Fourth Cinema paradigm and 'the reductive antinomies that such a critical paradigm can invoke' (p, XV). In example, Columpar offers Rolf de Heer's *Ten Canoes (2006)* as a film which she believes effectively encapsulates a Fourth Cinema ethic but which also complicates the Barclay paradigm, as Rolf de Heer is named as the film's screenwriter, co-producer and director yet is of non-aboriginal descent being Dutch-born and Australia raised.

Such reasoning feeds into Columpar's theory that Fourth Cinema is an 'illusive ideal' (p. 181). Drawing upon the writings of Houston Wood to further support her declaration she goes on to declare:

> *'the capital intensive, collaborative, intercultural, and transnational nature of cinema makes for a situation in which it is nearly impossible to conceive of a film that is shaped by Indigenous protocols or personnel on all relevant accounts, from content to aesthetics, funding to cast and crew, mode of production to means of distribution.' (Columpar, 2010, p, XII)*

Such non-essentialist theorising as offered by Columpar seems to be at odds with Barclay's claim that what defines a Fourth Cinema are 'essential' philosophical elements (Barclay, 2003). Understandably, it is impossible to conceive of a film in which all aspects are shaped by Indigenous protocols but I want to suggest that in focusing upon the visual 'exteriority', Columpar has missed a vital aspect.

It is important to note at this juncture that although Columpar quotes extensively from Barclay, she chooses to disregard perhaps the most *important* statement of Barclay:

> *For such a radically new type of cinema to blossom, there would have to be some alternative base firmly set in the customs and laws of the community that conceived and manufactured the film. (Barclay, 2003)*

Throughout Columpar's extensive analysis there is no mention of an 'alternative base'. There is equally no discussion, description or definition of

what elements this base might comprise. Such an omission gives rise to a fundamental question, why would Columpar who purports wholeheartedly that she is 'building upon' Barclay's work, be willing to ignore something which Barclay communicates as essential in Fourth Cinema? Such unwillingness is perhaps explained by Barclay himself:

> *We are less concerned, I think, with pursuing that elusive 'interiority' that Dr Panaho talks of; rather we fix on the minutiae of exteriority. We are content to play with readings of texts, it being taken for granted that there will be a variety of readings and my reading at this time is as perceptive and useful as my neighbour's reading at this time. (Barclay, 2003)*

Barclay does *not* say that interiority is beyond definition, going on to list 'whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, aroha, tapu, mana tūpuna and wairua' as core values (Barclay, 2003). He went onto say:

> *I hope that, in the not too distant future, some practitioner or academic will be able to stand up in a lecture room like this and begin a talk on Fourth Cinema which begins at this very point, rather than ends on it. (Barclay, 2003)*

Columpar's work highlights an emphasis on exteriority that is surprisingly common in other publications on Fourth Cinema. Gauthier (2010, 2011; 2012) who has written extensively in various publications on Fourth Cinema and Indigenous film aesthetics, including a study on the future of Māori filmmaking, takes a similar approach. Other Fourth Cinema authors such as Wilson (2011), and Petrie (2005), who attempt to define Fourth Cinema through textual analysis of New Zealand cinema and Turner (2009) who focuses 'specifically' on Barclay's vision for Fourth Cinema also ignore Barclay's interiority.

Māori authors drawing on Barclay's words have also failed to address the issue, Sutton's 2011 PhD thesis *Māori in Film* takes a surprisingly similar approach to Columpar in providing a chronological textual examination of eight New Zealand Films that feature Māori-Pākehā interactions inclusive of a lengthy

discussion of Barclay's *Ngāti (1989)*. Barnes's 2011 PhD thesis *Ngā kai para i te kahikātoa: Māori filmmaking, forging a path* provides a lengthy examination of the history of Māori representation in film culminating in her Kaupapa Māori inspired film analysis methodology 'Kia Manawanui' which suggests ways of recognising aesthetic, political and ethical possibilities in Māori film. Akuhata-Brown (2010) speaks of a 'Māori aesthetics of cinema', while Mercer (2010) talks at length about her film analysis methodology, and Waititi (2008) elaborates upon a Kaupapa Māori inspired approach to documentary filmmaking, though all insightful, all equally fail to develop, discuss or describe an interiority.

It has become clear that there is a fundamental theoretical challenge for this research. Does the dominant ant-essentialist, relativist, liberal, multiculturalist approach to cultural production lead contemporary scholars away from the possibility of a 'vital interiority' and towards work that persists in detailing the 'minutiae of exteriority' in Barclay's words? Is there a way of conceptualising this 'vital interiority' that does not *necessarily* involve an essentialist position, e.g. by theorising fixed, unchanging cultural identities? In short, what did Barclay mean by 'vital interiority' if, as he says, there are 'good reasons' to be sceptical about 'essences'?

'Be guided by what you can see; be driven by what you cannot see'

(Daniel Takutaimoana Te Kanawa)

Simply put, to develop a foundation founded upon the 'customs and laws of the community' (Barclay, 2003) one must have a sound fundamental knowledge of what exactly these beliefs and values are. I would argue further that simply being born of a particular Indigenous ethnicity does not give you any greater qualification of understanding. It is actually in the act of living in a culture, of 'being', rather than 'being born' of an Indigenous people which gives applicable insight into the beliefs and values from which a Fourth Cinema film derives inner focus and direction. The words of Royal highlight this understanding in a fitting analogy entitled, 'Looking through a window':

> *Later as I looked back at this event I likened myself to a boy standing on the porch of a wharenui, looking through the window into a meeting of the tohunga of the whare wānanga. I see myself trying very hard to enter. I stretch my neck out so my eyes can capture some of the korero, but no matter how hard I try, I am never able to catch it all. Only snippets and fragments are heard and even then there is this sense that I am only allowed to hear what they want me to hear. The door remains closed to me and I cannot enter. (Royal cit. in Marsden, 2003. p, VIX)*

Indigenous worldviews derive from a unique set of values and behaviours. The eloquent words of the late Rev Māori Marsden (2003), effectively encapsulate this:

> *All things, no matter how specialised must be connected to a centre. The centre is constituted of our most basic convictions – ideas that transcend the world of facts. A truly educated person is not one who knows a bit about everything, or everything about something, but one who is truly in touch with his centre. He will be in no doubt about his convictions, about his view on the meaning and purpose of life, and his own life will show a sureness of touch that stems from inner clarity. This is true wisdom. (p.67)*

Indigenous knowledge and worldviews including language, histories and culture consitute, a 'political tool to empower the colonised' in their emancipatory endeavours (Parmar cit. in Hooks 1992, p. 5). Such an approach resonates with Gayatri Spivak's (2009) notion of strategic essentialism where 'essentialist formulations can be engaged in liberatory struggles' (p. 159). However, Linda Smith (1999) writes that the term authentic is used by the West to determine who 'really is indigenous, who is worth saving' (p. 163). The dominant construction of this 'authentic identity' is frequently associated with the belief that the Indigenous identity is fixed and immovable and only the coloniser has the freedom to be 'complicated, internally diverse or contradictory' (ibid, p. 165). In *The Myth of Authenticity*, Gareth Griffiths (1995) discusses how the representation of authenticity not only legitimates a chosen discourse but in

doing so positions the voices of the Indigenous against each other giving a preferred reading that is judged authentic by the dominant group.

Rather than appealing to either a strategic essentialism or a claim to being authentic, my screenplay *The Prophet* creatively embodies a proposed 'centring' in an ongoing process of revision and amendment, of growth, of change in the Indigenous scriptwriting methodological context. This thesis moves beyond Barclay's earlier work and seeks to break new ground through the formation of a Kaupapa Māori informed strategic framework to inform/guide Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking practice and therein provide a central and 'specific' framework for Fourth Cinema in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

2.1.19 Postcolonial Theory: 'Between the Singular and the Specific'

As already implied, Peter Hallward's 2011 book, *Absolutely Postcolonial: Writing Between the Singular and the Specific*, offers an exciting new direction for postcolonial studies. Hallward takes issue with the tendency of what he calls 'singularisation' in postcolonial theory, something he defines as a mode of thinking operating in accordance with its self-created logic and acting in the absence of any external criteria for its configuration:

> *'Singular configurations replace the interpretation or representation of reality with an immanent participation in its production or creation: in the end, at the limit of 'absolute postcoloniality' there will be nothing left, nothing outside itself, to which it could be specific' (ibid. p, xii).*

Postcolonial theory is therefore flawed for Hallward not only in its promotion of an impossible singularity, but also in the equal promotion of what he calls 'the specified' mode, meaning the celebration of the particular. Hallward further argues that through a symmetrical tension these two polar opposing positions reinforce their own existence within the postcolonial debate:

> *'rather than add my voice to the chorus calling for an ever more specific form of postcolonial theory, one ever more attuned to the particularity of*

discrete sequences, I will claim that the singular orientation of the postcolonial undermines its every aspiration to specificity in advance'. (Ibid. p, xiv)

Hallward goes on to describe the 'specific' mode as the critical theoretical model of our time. The specific mode operates 'through the active negotiation of relations and the deliberate taking of sides, choices and risks, in a domain and under constraints that are external to these takings' (Ibid. p, xii). The specific is therefore uniquely *relational* in approach, straddling both the 'singular' and the 'specified' though never centered in either.

In further elaboration, Hallward says that the specific 'yields elements whose individuality can only be discerned through relations they maintain with themselves, with their environment, and with other individuals' (ibid, p. 4) and supports 'freedom from immediate determination, the ability to think and innovate, the ability to make a genuine decision and explore its consequences' (ibid, p. 49).

Is this space 'we become specific, we become the *subjects* as opposed to objects, we learn to *think* rather than merely recognise or represent, to the degree that we actively transcend the specified or objectified' (ibid, p. 48)? But do we need to break out of the 'symmetrical tension' between the singular and the specified in order to locate Fourth Cinema in a new space?

2.1.20 The Unspoken Spoken



Figure 14: Logs near Coroglen Kauri logs piled up near Coroglen after a log drive down the Waiwawa River

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-022204, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

> *What are the characteristics within a collection that makes the images so powerful that they stimulate the viewer to examine the cultural signs and symbols found within? What dynamic occurs when the person behind the lens composes and responds by capturing the objects seen within the frame and preserving the moment in time? And finally, when the image is later seen, what are the mysterious elements within an image, which trigger an emotional response by those who view it? The result of this interaction among photographer, subject, image and viewer creates a dynamic visual communication, much like a language. (Levin, 2012)*

Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida (1980)* through a deeply personal discussion of the lasting emotional effect of certain photographs, developed the concept of punctum, the element within a photograph which pricks our heart, soul, and mind. Something within an image that triggers a visceral response, connecting the viewer to a personal perception, knowledge or memory. Barthes himself says, 'Very often the punctum is a "detail," i.e., a partial object within the

image that stirs us. Hence, to give examples of punctum is, in a certain fashion, to give myself up' (p. 43). Without doubt, certain photographs such as the one above, of the solitary couple upon a sea of felled trees, draw us in and reveal to us the spirit of their contents, it is this surprise phenomenon, the punctum, which leaves a lasting impression.

I am repeating this image from an earlier section of the thesis in order to ask now a new question about it. 'Pricked' by the specific detail, the precarious balance of the Māori couple on the logs, how might I write about them if developing a screenplay? Assuming that their particular identities and circumstances have been lost. I cannot recover and develop the specific relationality that defined them factually, their actual relations with each other, with the logging company, with the unseen photographer, with the place etc. To think about what I might be able to do, I want to turn to an example from elsewhere.

2.1.21 Similarities of Difference

> *What does it mean to write either as a voice, a representative, or a citizen of the post-colonial country? (Yang, 1999)*

Born on the island of Saint Lucia, a former British colony in the West Indies, poet and playwright Derek Walcott was trained as a painter but turned to writing as a young man. Throughout a long and distinguished career, inclusive of the awarding of a Nobel prize in literature in 1992, Walcott, utilised his works to explore the racial, colonial, and cultural tensions inherent in the Caribbean history and identity. Through his many poems, Walcott celebrates the hybridity and cosmopolitanism of Caribbean culture, but never loses sight of its colonial past and remains critical of the forces shaping its future. Walcott's poetic art arises from this schizophrenic situation, from a struggle between two cultural heritages which he has harnessed to create a unique style, a poet who has learned his craft from the European tradition, but who forever remains mindful of West Indian landscapes and experiences.

> *The whole idea of America, and the whole idea of everything on this side of the world… is imported; we're all imported- Black or Spanish… The difficult part is the realization that one is part of the whole idea of colonization…(Walcott cit in Mahajan, 2015, p. 2*)

Walcott's unique stance is theorised in Chen's notion of singular rationality, that is, a kind of self-definition that is not predetermined by essentialist categories, of racial or cultural differences. Through a detailed analysis of Derek Walcott's 'Tiepolo's Hound' Chen (2010) articulates, 'that even if the formations of singularity may be shot through by racial groundings, these groundings, should be read as "relationality" rather than any precedence in time or importance' (p. 65). There is a commonality which resonates with me personally, one of fractured identities, of suppression, of struggle, but also of resistance and of the direct and proactive negotiation of that same destructive and exploitative power to serve progressive ends, a view reflected in the words of Walcott himself:

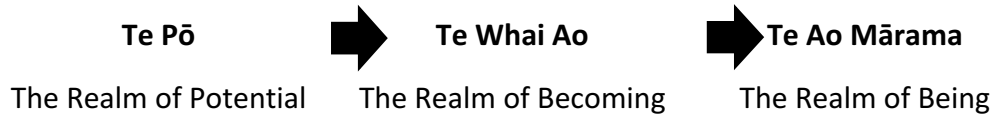
> *The easiest thing about colonialism is to refer to history in terms of guilt or punishment or revenge, or whatever. Whereas the rare thing is the resolution of being where one is and doing something positive about that reality. (Walcott, 2003, p.203)*

I will contend that we share a 'similarity of difference', for my creative work also resides at the interface and is driven by similar emancipatory ideas and, like Walcott's, is shaped and made manifest through my own singularly relational colonial experience.

2.1.22 Te Whai Ao: The Realm of Becoming

Building upon this understanding of hybridity and interconnectedness, I will contend that Fourth Cinema resides in a specific space of Indigenous aesthetic and artistic creative practice, a theoretical space I have termed 'Te Whai Ao', or the realm of becoming. I have drawn upon the meaning of the Te Whai Ao as taken from our tribal teachings of the formation of the world and the

pursuit of knowledge. Te Whai Ao is explained as a space between spaces, a space where change happens, where transformation takes place.



In this context, I have recognised Te Whai Ao as a space for Fourth Cinema filmmaking, one which straddles two specific and I believe complementary theoretical propositions, Firstly, the post-colonial space of the 'Specific' as defined by Hallward and secondly the 'Cultural Interface' as defined by Nakata. Nakata asserts that the reconciling dynamic of the Cultural Interface is a 'crucial element in any future methodological position', while also warning that it is 'more easily said than done' as academics tend to 'take sides' rather than explore the complex intersections of the Interface (2001, p. 164). Furthermore, Nakata has described the application of the Cultural Interface as beginning in Indigenous lifeworlds and then extending with non-local realities.

He asserts that an Interface approach is not simply a vehicle for Indigenous transition into the mainstream, but 'a source of innovation, critical thinking and problem-solving skills that are relevant for learners of any culture' (2001, p. 165). Nakata proposes the Cultural Interface as a way to work with these opposite systems in a non-oppositional way, neutralising the factor of their supposed incompatibility. Most importantly, Nakata emphasises that an informed perspective on the Cultural Interface demands synergistic dialogues that can only be achieved through intellectual rigour in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge systems.

I will therefore contend that the specific space of Te Whai Ao is where the complexity of the relationship between the colonial and post-colonial exists, for this integrated and inclusive space brings together essential and non-essentialist post-colonial theoretical paradigms as well as Indigenous knowledge and contemporary Western knowledge systems thereby bridging worlds that, at first,

seem to be strangers to one another, but may be more connected than they are different.

2.1.23 Embedding a Cultural Aesthetic

Vital Interiority and the Punctum

> *We live in an age which is — for very good reasons — sceptical of talk of 'essence'; of defining once and for all what is 'of the essence' of something… Imagine, though, that the makers of Fourth Cinema come to accent whanaungatanga or wairua or aroha in their productions. (Barclay, 2003)*

This understanding of Barclay's 'vital interiority' is made manifest in my Pūrākau writing methodology entitled 'Ngā Kāpura a Mahuika' which enables multiple levels of cultural meaning to be embedded throughout *The Prophet*, where 'whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga, aroha, tapu, mana tūpuna and wairua' are core values (Barclay, 2003). Some are explained through dialogue, others through image, strategies that avoid replicating and reinforcing the dominant voice and by doing so, help define and solidify our own unique Indigenous voice in the filmatic landscape. Though these narrative strategies will be expanded upon in length in the following chapters, in brief, they are:

Ringa Katau – **Characters**

1. Kōnui –**Protagonists**
2. Kōroa - **Antagonists**
3. Māpere – **Heroines/Love Interests**
4. Manawa – **Minor Characters**
5. Tōiti – **Spirit**

Ringa Mauī – **Story Elements**

1. Toka – **Genre**
2. Kahawai – **Point of View**
3. Tīmōtī – **Locale and Setting**
4. Tauranga - **Time**
5. Te Ahi – **Dialogue**

I will argue that the embedding of cultural principles through these writing strategies will meld in unison to help infuse within the film Barclay's 'vital interiority' and what I will define further as 'Wairuatanga,' or spiritual life force. It also should be understood that these writing strategies should not be seen in isolation to each other but rather as a holistic.

Ko te Kairapu, ko ia te Kite

It is only the seeker that shall find

> *This box held a precious collection of images, those fractional moments captured in time, depicting places familiar to me—evidence of my ancestry. These mysterious images are the visual documents and proof of my lineage that intrinsically connect me to the subjects within and the unseen participants behind the lens. The people, places and emotions seen in this small collection of images belonging to my grandmother, passed down to my father and now to me, represent temporal moments of time that preserve a thread of my humanity, connecting my past to present. These images stir my soul (Levin, 2012).*

The punctum gives us a language to write about these intangible aspects, how a particular image making practice can produce particular kinds of effect, which in turn produce particular kinds of Fourth Cinema voices. It is achieved through a unique space of transformative potential 'Te Whai Ao' which entwines the previously unrelated theoretical threads of Barclay's Vital Interiority, Barthes' Punctum, Hallward's Specific, Chen's Singular Relationality and Nakata's Cultural Interface.

Returning to the image of the couple balanced on the logs, it becomes possible to propose that they exist only at a Cultural Interface now; that the writer can respond to being arrested and engaged by the punctum of their image; that he can understand the specific circumstances of their location in place and time, even if he has limited access to the particular facts; and on the basis of these forms of engagement, that the writer can project around them a singular relationality. That is, a singular insurgent moment that is now an

imagined one. To do so successfully depends on having access, not to an essence, but to a framework of the kind that will now be elaborated in detail.

CHAPTER THREE: TE HAERENGA

TŪ RĀ MAI TE TŪ RĀ

Tū rā mai te tū rā

Kakapa te manu i uta, he pakihau,

Tauranga ko Tawhiti-nuku,

Te whakamākautia he Ariki-tapu

Kia unuhia i te wai o Whakatau,

Mate toka i mua, mate toka i roto.

Tūwhanawhana, tū mai ihi, tū makarō, tu te whairamu.

E ai hoki te hirihiri kai te kohukohu i runga,

Koi rangi tukua, koi rangi horoa.

Tāne tukua, Tāne takoto.

E ai hoki tēnei mata tohu

Uru whakapupū ake te uru o te whenua.

Te tau arohakina ki waho,

Ki te uraura o te rā, ki te werawera o te rā.

Whakarere ki tai mā Rēhua ki waho.

Ko taku hoe nei, ko Rapanga-te-āti-nuku, ko Rapanga-te-āti-rangi,

Nā Tai-pupuni, nā Tai-wawana, Nā Tai-aropuke.

He hua taku hoe nei, he hoe ka hurihuri, ke hoe ka raparapa,

Ki te tahatū o te rangi aue! Kī! Whano, whana.

Haramai te toki, Haumi e! Hui e! Tāiki e!

3.1.1 The Singular Relationality

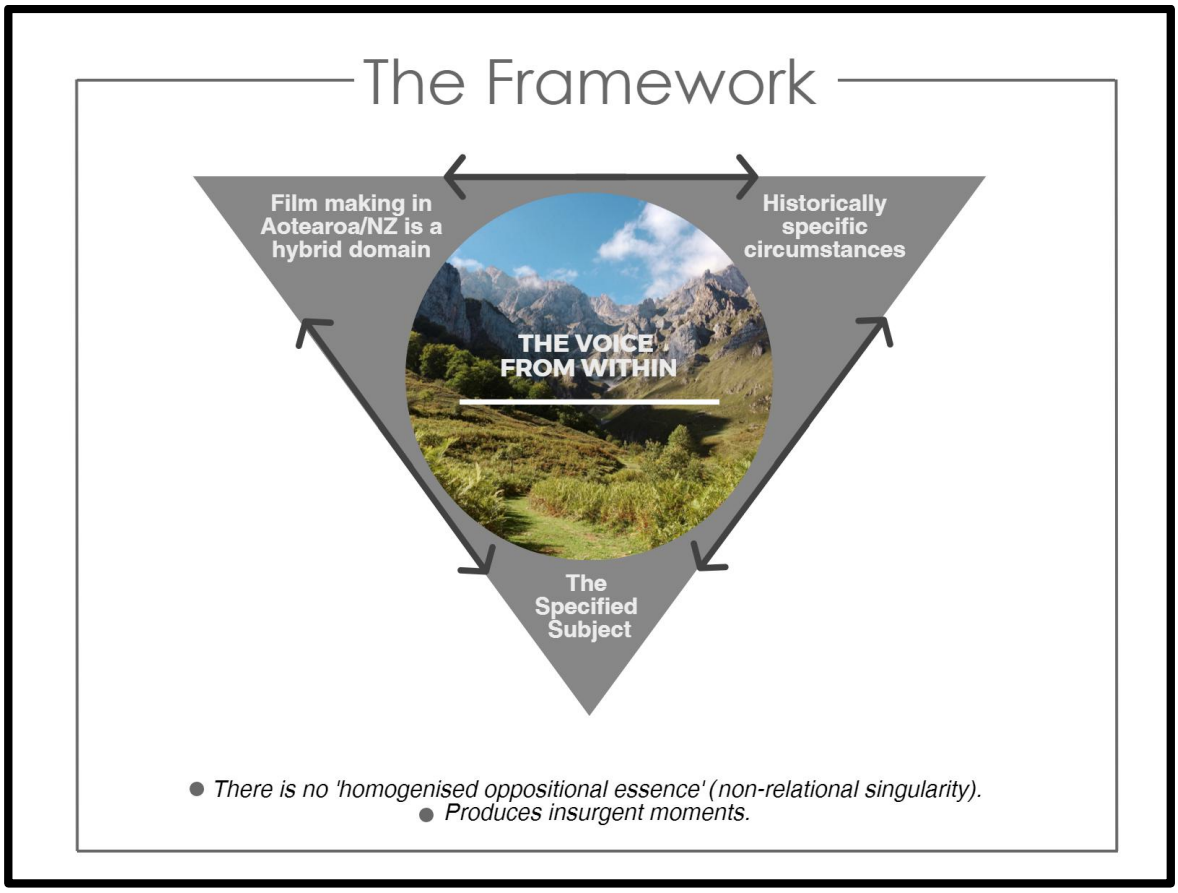


Figure 15: The Singular Relationality

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

3.1.2 The Journey

'If I have courage, it is because I have faith in the knowledge of my ancestors'

(Mau Piailug, the late Master Pacific navigator)

The second half of this thesis develops the framework as proposed above, a framework for Indigenising the practice of screenwriting in Aotearoa/New Zealand, with my own practice as the autoethnographic instance of the framework in action. The concept of such a framework is to be understood now as representing a singular relationality. Ultimately, relations are the 'content' of the proposed framework, not identitarian essences. But the concept of a necessary framework also insists on the vital importance of identitarian knowledge, strategically deployed in order to give voice to Barry Barclay's vital interiority in the production of insurgent moments of Indigenous creativity, and of the reclaimed sovereign gaze as a creative act.

3.1.3 To New Beginnings

In 2008, I attended the inaugural World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Conference (WITBC) held in Auckland at which Chief Judge Joe Williams was a guest speaker. In explaining the importance of vision in Indigenous broadcasting practice he narrated the story of the traditional navigator Hawaiian Nainoa Thompson and his mentor Mau Piailug who hailed from the tiny Carolinian island of Satawal. As Chief Judge Williams articulated, in the want of revitalising traditional sailing practices in Hawaii, Nainoa had scoured the Pacific in search for a Master still versed in the traditional seafaring practices of yore. On the tiny isle of Satawai he discovered Mau Piailug and asked him if he would teach him these arts of sailing and navigation to which Mau agreed. And so, in the years that followed, Mau trained Nainoa in preparation for the maiden voyage of the Hawaiian voyaging canoe Hokule'a to the island of Tahiti. Nearing the launch date of Hokule'a, Mau took Nainoa to Lāna'i Lookout at O'ahu in Hawaii and there asked Nainoa to recite the star path to Tahiti to which Nainoa

did, afterwards Mau then asked him ‘can you see the island?’. Nainoa was somewhat dumfounded at the question for the island of Tahiti was thousands of kilometres away and impossible to see with the naked eye so he replied, ‘no I can’t see it’.

The next day they returned to the same spot and repeated the same recitation of the star path to which at the end Mau again asked, ‘can you see the island?’ Nainoa again replied that he could not see the island. They left and again returned the next day with the same circumstance replaying, Nainoa grew frustrated with Mau’s question, and began to wonder if Mau was questioning his ability or commitment as a navigator. Finally, as they stood staring out across the vast expanses of the pacific, Mau again asked Nainoa the same question, ‘can you see the island?’ to which Nainoa finally understood and replied, ‘Yes Mau, I can see the island’. He went on to tell Mau that while he couldn’t actually see the island, he had a mental image of it in his mind. Mau replied, ‘Don’t ever lose that image or you will be lost.’ That was the last lesson Mau gifted to Nainoa. Undoubtedly, there will be times when the stars and moon are lost from sight, when wind and rain lash incessantly, but if one keeps that vision locked in mind, one is not just sailing towards the island, the island is drawing us towards it.

3.1.4 A Drifting Canoe



Figure 16: Maori waka, 1914

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/4-027511-F, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

***Kaua e rangiruatia te hāpai o te hoe, e kore tō tātou waka e ū ki uta*.**

(If we continue to paddle out of unison, our canoe will never reach the shore. My own free translation)

Currently, there are numerous Māori organisations receiving government funding for the specific promotion of Māori language and culture through the screen (and radio). Organisations such as Te Māngai Pāho, Māori Television, Te Pūtahi Paoho and more specifically in relation to Māori filmmaking, Ngā Aho Whakaari and Te Paepae Ataata collectively receive approximately $77 million dollars of funding annually (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2013, p. 174). Yet upon analysis of these organisations, their strategic focus and intent, something becomes strikingly obvious. Although each organisation is drawing upon the same collective pool of government funding to promote Māori language and culture through screen, each organisation has a separate vision.

In 2010 the then Minister of Māori Affairs Hon Dr Peter Sharples in direct reference to this Māori organisational indifference articulated that:

> *'Government spends around $226 million every year to revitalise Māori language, in schools, through broadcasting, in programmes supported by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and so on. However, we need a more coordinated approach. We need a strategy that will empower Iwi/Māori to take control of the Māori Language. By restructuring and consolidating the sector we can only achieve better results' (Sharples, 2010)*

Yet despite Sharples words, the subsequent *Te Reo Mauri Ora* report which highlighted the vital importance of new strategic interventions in language revitalisation and the most recent census statistics proving that current Māori broadcasting initiatives are not working, i.e. a 4.8 percent decrease in Māori speakers from 2006 (NZ Stats Online, 2014), demonstrate that no new strategic framework was or is being developed.

There is a well-known Māori proverb which states, 'Kaua e rangiruatia te hāpai o te hoe, e kore tō tātou waka e ū ki uta'. Freely translated it reiterates that a divided force, a force divided in heart and mind will never reach the shore, i.e. failure and loss are inevitable. This lesson seems to have fallen upon deaf ears and idle hands in relation to current Māori communicators. For if we are to undertake the momentous challenge of reviving and revitalising our language and culture in contemporary times, we must not operate within these western silo organisational mentalities. We must understand our role and position as communicators for our people and be collective and united in vision and purpose. Such unity is not evident at present and is a division which contributes to the continual decline of our language speakers. The most worrying aspect of the latest census statistical data, is that the younger age-groups of Māori experienced the greatest decline. If the fate of our nation rests in the education of our youth, we are indeed sailing into troubled waters.

3.1.5 Current Māori Filmmaking Strategy

This understanding of division is epitomised in the strategic plans of the two organisations currently receiving funding for Māori film and filmmaking in New Zealand specifically Te Paepae Ataata and Ngā Aho Whakaari. In brief explanation of the two organisations, Te Paepae Ataata as previously mentioned, was set up in 2008 to 'nurture and celebrate a Māori cinematic voice and to provide an alternative development pathway for Māori filmmakers' (Te Paepae Ataata, 2014). The organisation Ngā Aho Whakaari is the association of Māori in Screen Production which was formed in 1996 to 'foster and advocate for Māori working in the screen industries' (Ngā Aho Whakaari, 2014). What follows is the entirety of both Te Paepae Ataata's strategic plan as listed on their website as of the 1st January 2014 and Ngā Aho Whakaari's 2011-2012 strategic plan as supplied on their current website as 1st January 2014. I have included both plans in their entirety to provide examples of the current depth and breadth of vision, planning and focus Māori film and filmmaking in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

3.1.6 Strategic Plan 1: Te Paepae Ataata

Principles and Purposes

NGĀ MĀTĀPONO/PRINCIPLES

Te Paepae Ataata in attaining its purpose, is committed to:

- Respect, implement and ensure the guiding principles of Tīkanga Māori are evident in all facets of the services provided
- Enable committed Māori to reach their fullest potential as film storytellers
- Maintain the highest standards of professionalism and integrity

NGĀ WHĀINGA/CHARITABLE PURPOSES

The purposes of Te Paepae Ataata will be:

- To nurture Māori cinema. To develop select scripts to production readiness.
- To celebrate the film voice of tangata whenua.

Kia poipoia ko te ao kiriata Māori. Kia penapenahia ko ngā hōtuhi kia pūāwai mai. Kia hari i roto i te reo kiriata o te tangata whenua.

(Te Paepae Ataata, 2014)

3.1.7 Strategic Plan 2: Ngā Aho Whakaari

TE KAUPAPA: MISSION

E kore te Tōtara e tū noa i te pārae, engari me tū i te wao

The Tōtara does not stand lonely on the plain, but stands in the forest. We are strengthened by our unity of purpose, which in turn strengthens our resolve to make a meaningful and lasting contribution with, by and for Māori in screen production.

TE MOEMOEĀ: VISION

Enhancing identity, community and capability for Māori screen production. All that we plan, initiate and implement must contribute to enhancing identity, community and capability for Māori screen production, by building the Ngā Aho Whakaari identity, nurturing and strengthening our Māori screen community, and growing the confidence and competence of our Māori screen industry

NGĀ WHĀINGA: GOALS

Our core goals are:

1. Capacity-building in industry knowledge, technical competence and creative innovation and business expertise
2. Facilitating access to information, leadership and specialist support
3. Maintaining a communication and resources hub for our constituency and wider community
4. Advocacy and lobbying at political and representative levels to gain improvements in the industry for Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori and Māori screen practitioners
5. Maintaining a governance and management entity that is open, honest, transparent, democratic, egalitarian, respectful and honourable.

NGĀ RAUTAKI: STRATEGIES

Strategic priorities for 2012 - 2014

1. **Networking**

1.1 Organising and hosting one significant national event per year, either a National Hui or National Film Festival

1.2 Organising and hosting 'networking events' with Māori production companies

1.3 Providing opportunities for visiting experts to meet and present to Māori in screen production

1.4 Participating in and contributing to relevant industry bodies, e.g. Te Paepae Ataata, Te Pūtahi Pāho, TV Independent Advisory Group, Screen Industry New Zealand and the Documentary Edge Forum

1.5 Further development of an international marketing and distribution strategy in consultation with other indigenous communities

2. **Training & Professional Development**

2.1 Running no less than six Techno-Craft Workshops in either Auckland or Wellington in the coming year

2.2 Continuing discussions with the Tertiary Education Commission to ensure relevant Māori content is embedded in media studies programmes, and that the role played by Māori production houses in the training and professional development for Māori screen production is recognised and supported

3. **Communications**

3.1 Publishing the monthly Pānui for members and the wider community

3.2 Providing a vehicle on-line, through the website, Facebook page and YouTube channel for our community to communicate with each other

4. Production

4.1 Successfully meet the contractual obligations with the NZ Film Commission to facilitate production of a series of short films, Aho Whakaari Shorts by June 2013.

4.2 Development of relevant podcasts and videos to market and raise the profile of Māori screen productions on our website, Facebook and YouTube channel.

5. Te Reo me Ngā Tikanga

5.1 Develop the Kōrero Paki: Te Reo Māori club as a social gathering for Māori in screen production to develop their reo skills.

5.2 Develop and offer the Wānanga Reo Pāpāho, short course in te reo Māori for screen production, in collaboration with Te Ara Poutama (AUT).

6. Advocacy

6.1 Develop the advocacy strategy to ensure that relevant Ministers and all political parties recognise and acknowledge Ngā Aho Whakaari as an important voice in the development of Māori screen industry policies.

7. Governance

7.1 Ensure the robust, effective and efficient governance of Ngā Aho Whakaari

7.2 Ensure accountabilities and all fiduciary responsibilities are met.

8. Management

8.1 Manage the Ngā Aho Whakaari office and administration in an effective and efficient manner.

8.2 Be a good and fair employer and contractor for all work done for and provided to Ngā Aho Whakaari.

8.3 Adhere to relevant policies and procedures in all management practices

9. Membership

9.1 Respond to the needs of membership

9.2 Build the membership and services available to members

3.1.8 A Divided Force

He tōtara wāhirua, he kai nā te ahi

(A split canoe is food for the fire. My own free translation)

It is widely understood that a well thought-out strategic plan is the formalised road map that describes where an organisation is going and importantly how it's going to get there. A good strategic plan is therefore a comprehensive tool that focuses appropriately the energy, resources, and time of everyone in the organisation towards the same collective goal. These two strategic plans from New Zealand's only government funded Māori filmmaking organisations again reveal a division of thought and action and lack of appropriate strategic intent and focus. This is first evident in the vision of both organisations which again is dissimilar despite being the only two only government funded Māori filmmaking organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

If we understand vision as a means of succinctly defining one's purpose, role and function in all future endeavours, it seems that both organisations are forgoing a vital component: 'why' our films need to be made. Furthermore, and importantly, both organisations speak of incorporating 'Te Reo and Tikanga', 'celebrating the voice of tangata whenua' and 'enhancing identity' but provide no explanations of what this actually entails, and equally no examples of how to instil this into film. To use such broad-brush strokes in explanation of something so vitally important, highlights a contemporary conundrum to which many Māori filmmakers and image makers still refuse to respond: what is a Māori film?

It has been more than seven years since Te Paepae Ataata's original formation and their two-paragraph strategic plan has failed to be developed any further. That Te Paepae Ataata is the frontrunning Māori filmmaking body in Aotearoa/New Zealand yet lacks a comprehensive strategic plan is a fundamentally worrying circumstance. For adequate strategic planning is the key to helping collectively and cooperatively gain control of the future and the destiny of the organisation. The failure by Te Paepae Ataata to adopt any type of

strategic plan leaves the organisation disabled and at risk from the beginning. Such strategic failure is highlighted by Simon Sinek in his 'Golden Circle' methodology which emphasises the ramifications of lack of clear vision in the strategic planning process.

3.1.9 'Golden Circle' Method

Praised as a contemporary breakthrough in relation to strategic planning, communication and leadership, Simon Sinek in his 2009 TED speech entitled, '*How great leaders inspire action'*, articulates how leaders inspire action through prioritising vision in the strategic process. Sinek contends that his Golden Circle methodology epitomises the successful strategy and process utilised by varying organisations and individuals such as Apple, the Wright Brothers and Martin Luther King and contributed directly to their substantial success. Sinek reiterates that within this methodology, the most vitally important component for success is the answering of the core 'Why' question first and foremost, i.e. the central belief of why the organisation or movement exists. It is the prioritisation and development of this core belief system that attracts a following and leads to success. Sinek states as example that once computer giant Apple was able to answer this 'Why' question and establish a powerful central organisational message, they were able to sell more than just computers, they were able to sell an 'ideal' or a central way of being.

According to Sinek, the dominant strategic process still utilised by a majority of organisations starts with the 'What' question first. The strategic plan of Te Paepae Ataata reflects this prioritising of 'What' over 'Why'. With this central imbalance acknowledged, the vital importance of vision, role and purpose in the filmmaking process shall be now discussed at length, for without a clear vision of purpose as Māori filmmakers, we shall be forever lost in the doldrums of mediocrity. This is much more than a matter of polemics. This chapter will conclude with a draft framework which has energised the ongoing

development of my own research-driven project *'The Prophet'*, a project that for a while found itself adrift, as are so many others.

3.1.10 Visualising the Island

Fourth Media: Recognising Role, Understanding Purpose

Ki te kore he whakakitenga, ka mate te iwi
Without collective vision, our people are lost
(Te Puea Hērangi)



Figure 17: Princess Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi, 1938

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PAColl-5584-58, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

I will assert that we as Māori communicators have not yet acknowledged or accepted our role and responsibilities in a larger holistic understanding of Māori collectivism, and therefore how we actively contribute towards Māori aspirations. We have become lost in hollow Western emulating image-making endeavours devoid of Barclay's 'interiority' or what I will define further as 'wairuatanga'. This fact is epitomised in the ever-growing body of Māori language programming, (with Māori television now being in operation for over

10 years) but a continued decline in the number of Māori language speakers, with Māori academic Te Rangi Mataamua predicting that if drastic counter measures are not taken, 'the Māori language will be extinct by 2050' (Mataamua cit in NZ Herald, 2010).

3.1.11 The Fourth Media Sector Strategy

Collective Unity, Collective Responsibility

Firstly, we must fundamentally understand as Māori communication organisations in our various fields of endeavour that we do not exist in isolation to each other. Therefore, the 'central' imperative in progressively moving forward as Māori and Indigenous communicators is defining our place in a larger holistic understanding of collective unity of purpose and secondly, adopting a singular vision of empowerment to guide us. Such action of unification reiterates the understanding and importance of relationships and fundamental interconnectedness, a belief which stems directly from our own cultural practices. Only then can we concentrate upon our own separate communication arts.

3.1.12 Fourth Media Sector

Though still in its infancy I have entitled this aspired interconnected and interrelated Māori communication sector, the 'Fourth Media Sector'. Such a holistic communication strategy differs from a compartmentalising approach generally found in Western frameworks, as not only is each part regarded as having value in and of itself, but the value arising from a combination of the parts, and the contribution these individual parts make to the whole, is ultimately recognised and valued.

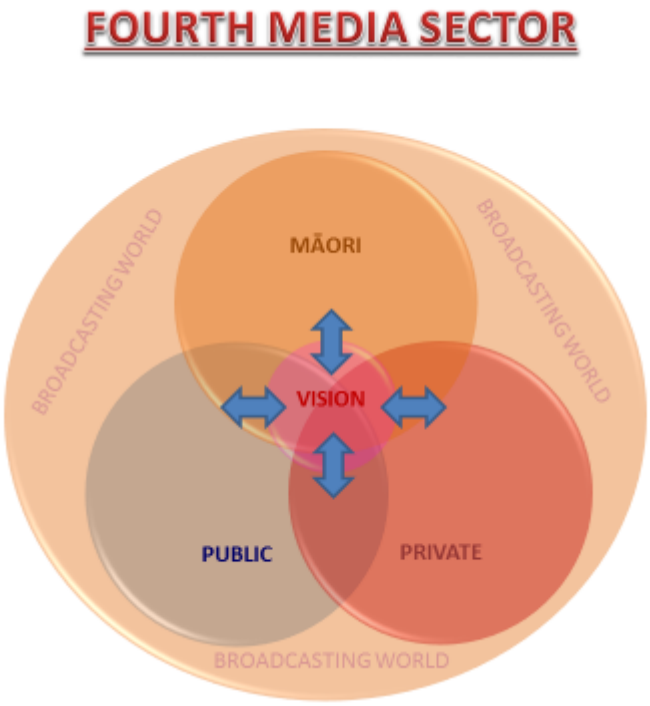


Figure 18: Fourth Media Sector

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

The major divisional cells of my Fourth Media organism are:

1. **Vision:** The survival and prosperity of Māori language and culture. (This vision shall be elaboration at depth in a later section)
2. **Māori Communicators**: Iwi, Hapū, Whānau.
3. **Public Communicators**: Te Paepae Ataata, Ngā Aho Whakaari, Te Māngai Pāho, Māori Television etc.
4. **Private Communicators**: Cinco Cine, Kiwa Productions, Māui Productions, South Pacific Productions, Tūmanako Productions, Kura Productions, Kapu Tī Productions etc.

Such a proposition challenges us to have the courage to declare that there is a singular Māori communication body collectivised in unity of purpose (i.e. informed by relational singularity). The Fourth Media sector proposition endeavours to initiate a conversation across the broad Māori communication spectrum about determining the potential benefits and merits for Māori if the

proposition was defined, realised and fully optimised. The Fourth Media Sector is potentially a network of diverse and extensive Māori communication entities that collectively harness their strengths, capabilities and synergies, and through collaboration, advocate to promote Māori language and culture and therein, enhance or accelerate the development of Māori identity, wellbeing and potential.

3.1.13 Māori Sector

In acknowledging the Fourth Media Sector, the next action is now to position it in relation to an even larger interconnected and interrelated 'Māori Sector' entity, one which encompasses all Māori organisations in their various fields of endeavour. Again, the aim of such an envisioned sector is to support a collaborative culture of co-operation and exchange of skills, ideas or innovations as a 'Māori collective' so we may all benefit from optimising our respective organisational capacities, capacity and potential, one entity united in vision and purpose and aimed at collective benefit.

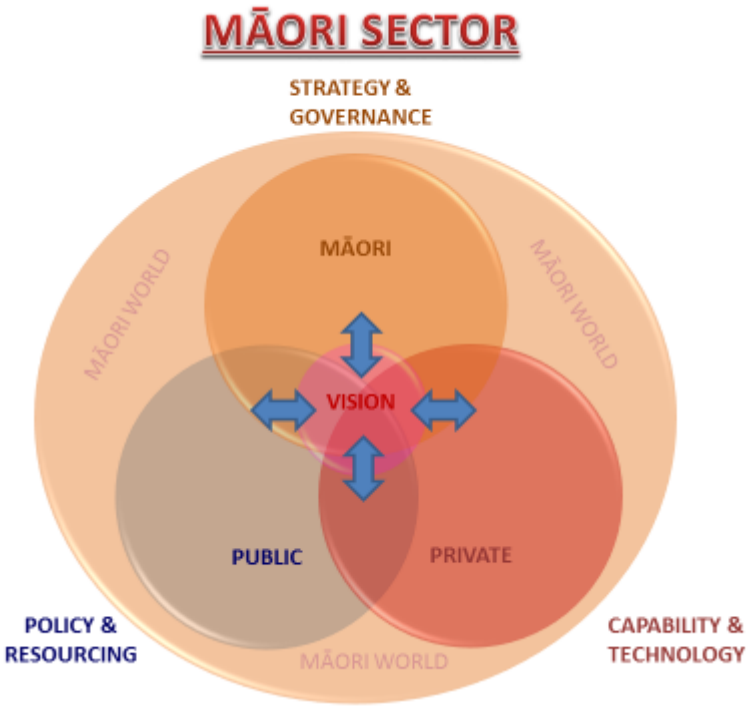


Figure 19: Māori Sector

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

The major divisional cells of the Māori Sector organism are:

1. **Guiding Vision:** Te Pae Tawhiti
2. **Māori Organisations**: Iwi Authorities, Service Providers, Land Trusts/Incorporations etc.
3. **Public Organisations**: Te Puni Kōkiri, Te Māngai Pāho, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Tumu Paeroa etc.
4. **Private Organisations**: Numerous legal, social, cultural, economic organisations etc.

3.1.14 Māori Sector Vision

When speaking of a vision which would guide this 'Māori Sector' entity, I shall draw upon a list compiled by the organisation Tūhono entitled Te Pae Tawhiti (The Distant Horizon) which articulates aspirational goals, or an aspired future for Māori. In review of this list and the thought, skill and intention placed in its formation, I will purport that such thinking is not just relevant to Tūhono and their work with Māori Electoral Enrolment Information, but is pertinently relevant to all Māori organisations within the Māori Sector. Such a collective vision or aspirational ideals provide a vision for us to collectively strive for as Māori in our various fields of endeavour. An envisioned future when Māori, through their own endeavours, are able to enjoy a quality of life where:

1. **Their mauri or spiritual essence is vibrant and empowering.**
2. **Their spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical wellbeing is strong.**
3. **They are conversant, secure and pro-active participants in all facets of social, cultural, economic and political life.**
4. **The whānau, marae, hapū and iwi, as pillars of cultural, social, political and economic Māori life, have become the basis for their collective cultural, social and economic development.**
5. **They are comfortable and competent in both the Māori and the modern world.**

6. **They are well educated, able to realise their full potential and to readily cope with the challenges of a rapidly changing modern world.**
7. **Their whanaungatanga has been rejuvenated and developed to the extent that the whanau has become a strong and valued support unit for all its members.**
8. **They play a positive and active role within their extended whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider community.**
9. **They are enterprising and employing resources to contribute to their independence and wellbeing.**
10. **The Māori identity, culture and values are widely understood and respected by New Zealanders.**
11. **The Treaty of Waitangi is properly honoured as a covenant between Māori and other New Zealanders.**
12. **They are able to live with dignity and in harmony with the cultural, social and physical environments that they share with all people.**

(Tūhono, 2014)

Now, this list of 12 aspirational goals is by no means a comprehensive list, it is open for elaboration, but most importantly such a list is a 'beginning' to collectivising our thought and action for a collective aim and purpose as Māori. For Māori communicators, specifically, such a list may also operate as an additional guide in which we may align and gauge how our images actively contribute to one or all of these collective aspirations. Again, vision is key, without a collective vision to guide us and drive us, we are lost and even if these integrated and collectivised sectors do not currently exist, we as filmmakers must operate as if they already do.

So, having defined our role, position and purpose as filmmakers in relation to a larger interconnected 'Fourth Media' communication sector, and locating this sector in an even larger 'Māori Sector' organism, now and only now are we adequately prepared to concentrate upon developing and refining our own image-making practice. How we shall actively accomplish this task to the best of our abilities, is through the successful implementation of an original and appropriate strategic filmatic framework. In this respect, Durie (2000) argues

that one of the best responses to ever intensifying pressures is for Māori people to take control of our lives and destiny through some form of strategic direction. Such strategy may be utilised as a pathway to empowerment, decreased dependency, and increased active engagement and participation in a multitude of social, cultural, environmental and economic arenas.

3.1.15 Strategies of Resistance

Recently released and award nominated 2014 documentary '*Mind the Gap'* carefully examined the increasing divide between the rich and the poor in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Documentary maker Bryan Bruce analysed the failure of Neo-liberal economics in Aotearoa/New Zealand and in response traversed the globe searching for alternate sustainable economic models for adoption. Though well researched, informative and thought provoking, I found it somewhat frustrating that Bruce scours the globe interviewing economists and entrepreneurs from America, Britain, India and Italy to name but a few, but fails entirely to acknowledge any Māori organisations who are at this present moment operating alternate economic strategic models founded upon environmental Māori beliefs and values and focused upon collective benefit and achievement.

In contradiction to Bruce's claim for the need to look outside of Aotearoa/New Zealand for alternate business and economic models, there are currently numerous Māori organisations defining their own aspirations, their own realities through a number of strategic and positive responses to the tide of globalisation. this respect, research carried out between 1998 and 2002 (Harmsworth, 2002, p. 4) identified a number of commonalities existing in the planning frameworks and approaches utilised by Māori organisations. In hierarchical order of importance, these three stages were recognised as providing a sustainable developmental framework for organisational success:

1. **Identifying and understanding Māori values.**
2. **Determining vision, the mission, and establishing strategic goals and objectives, the strategic planning process.**
3. **Developing resource inventories and planning information systems to support strategic planning and to assess performance.**

Although the context within which these Māori organisations plan, cooperate, and advance is often within a Western paradigm of legislative, political, and international frameworks, it must be recognised as a vital point of difference that all adhere and align their organisational strategic process to Māori beliefs and values, and by doing so, all are positioned to contribute to similar collective goals of self-determination and advancement. One pertinent example of the success of such a methodology is the 100% Māori owned Miraka Dairy Milk factory based in Taupō, their organisational approach and focus contributing in varying degrees to improved Māori wellbeing and standards of health, increased social capacity, enhancement of cultural values and identity, sustainable management of natural resources, and culturally appropriate strategies for economic growth. It is not unlikely that the cultural sector is insufficiently aware of instructive instances elsewhere in the economy, so it is worth detailing this particular example.

3.1.16 Miraka Dairy Factory

The 100% Māori owned and highly successful Miraka Milk Powder Plant was developed through an alliance of Māori owned trusts and incorporations including Wairarapa Moana Incorporation, Tūaropaki Trust, Waipapa 9 Trust, Hauhungaroa Partnership, Tauhara Moana Trust and Huiarau Farms (Miraka, 2014). All these Māori organisations share an overarching collective vision of sustainable business practices aimed to: ‘provide long term returns for current and future generations, from land that will never be sold’ (Ibid, 2014). Miraka’s own organisational vision of 'nurturing our world', stems directly from a core set of Māori values ensuring protection of the environment which is of ‘paramount importance’ (Ibid, 2014) thus reflecting a rare environmental approach towards business philosophy and practice. Such an adherence to Māori values in the strategic planning process: ‘guarantees sustained prosperity for current and future generations and ensures that the footprint they create today does not adversely affect the future’ (Ibid, 2014).

In one example of the unique environmental practices utilised by the organisation, and in a world first for the milk powder industry, the Miraka plant uses renewable electricity and steam sourced from the Mōkai geothermal field to run its processing operations. While in use a number of monitoring bores around the property ensure the water table suffers no adverse impact and any biological waste created during the process is composted at the local Tūaropaki Trust worm farm. In turn, the worm castings go to their local native plant nursery from which plants are used for riparian planting protecting waterways from pollution and/or sediment. Such environmentally friendly and sustainable alternative measures utilised by Miraka for milk production, drastically lower greenhouse gas emissions and other potential environmental pollutants. Furthermore, the bulk supply of the raw milk needed for plant processing is sourced locally, as Chief Executive Officer Richard Wyeth emphasises:

> *The shareholder suppliers contribute a significant amount to the factory with the remainder of suppliers being other Māori Trusts and private farmers within the region attracted by the guaranteed milk price and the fact that there was no requirement to take up shares. (Ibid, 2014)*

The Miraka plant, its central communal, ecological and environmental strategic approach to business was ignored in the '*Mind the Gap'* documentary, which failed to acknowledge the idea that Māori people and Māori knowledge systems would be able to offer any insight into these contemporary national and even international economic problems. Such a view again plays into the old Eurocentric notions of knowledge hierarchy, whether consciously or subconsciously Bruce reiterates to our nation that Māori and Māori knowledge in general couldn't possibly hold answers to such questions. This is despite a recent Berl report predicting an extra $12.1 billion a year and 160,000 new jobs by 2061 if Māori invest successfully in science and innovation (King, 2013). If milk production can be successfully embedded within a strategic framework of the sort proposed, then other industries, including the creative, may follow suit. However, the framework within which the Miraka factory operates is only apparent through its actual practices.

3.1.17 Faith in our Ancestors

Let our Past Guide the Present

'Ehara i te mea poka hou mai, nō Hawaiki mai anō'
(It is not new; it is of ancient origin. My own free translation)

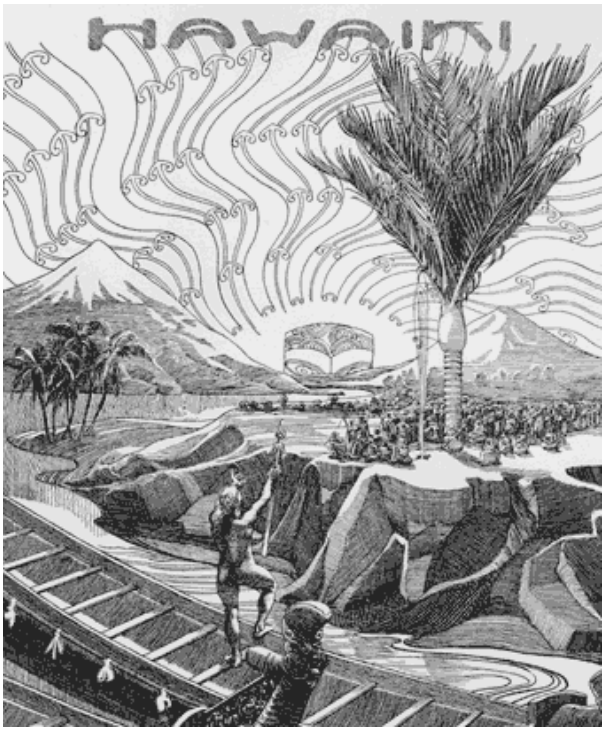


Figure 20: 'Hawaiki', by Wilhelm Dittmer

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PUBL-0088-095, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Such strategic models of change as the Miraka factory shall rely on a Māori knowledge renaissance that takes our traditional beliefs and values and sets them next to Western values, on the basis of equal worth, as Royal affirms:

> *'Lest we Māori think that the knowledge our children obtain at school is the only kind of knowledge. I say, no. This is but one kind of knowledge, knowledge of the European – writing, counting, reading and European languages… There is another body of knowledge and that concerns the*

> *Māori people and our customs. When a person has obtained this kind of knowledge, then he/she is truly knowledgeable of both 'sides' (Royal cit in Hook, 2007, p. 2).*

The central objective of a Fourth Cinema strategic framework is to unhinge us from the dominant western Eurocentric notions of filmmaking and filmmaking practice. Such a filmmaking framework is a way of both decolonising minds by re-centring Māori beliefs and values and placing these philosophies and practices into mainstream, dominant discourses which have largely relegated Māori knowledge to marginal positions.

To develop a foundation founded upon the 'customs and laws of the community' (Barclay, 2003) one must have a sound fundamental knowledge of what exactly these beliefs and values are. I would also argue further that simply being born of a particular Indigenous ethnicity does not give one any greater qualification for understanding. My framework will seek to demonstrate that it is actually in the act of living in a culture, of 'being', rather than 'being born' of an Indigenous people which gives applicable insight into the beliefs and values from which a Fourth Cinema film derives singular focus and direction.

A framework for Fourth Cinema cannot be developed by someone who lives 'outside' the beliefs and values which give it shape and form, albeit Indigenous or non-Indigenous alike. These cultural understandings cannot be gleaned through dictionary definitions, they must be 'lived' values, values which inform every aspect of one's life. Then and only then can one gain an adequate insight into their function and respective application. In reality, to attempt to construct a framework devoid of such an understanding is impossible, therefore what follows will reaffirm the proposition purported by Barclay, that this is a foundational framework that must come from within, it cannot come from without. For no matter how hard an academic or author might research and analyse, no matter how hard they hypothesise and postulate, they will forever remain 'outside' the knowledge base essential in accomplishing the task, if the knowledge is not lived.

3.1.18 The Instructive Historical Moment



Figure 21: Māori bartering a crayfish - Drawings illustrative of Captain Cook's First Voyage (1769)

Source: British Library digital collection. Reproduced with permission.

'We need to enter into commerce at the same speed that our ancestors did in the 1810s. From the 1810s to about 1855, Māori controlled commerce in the South Pacific. Even though you had the English, French, Russians, the Americans, and some Dutch, we controlled commerce for that 45-year period, and we have to get ourselves back to that place again' (Wilson, 2013, p. 10)

The inspiration in relation to the initial components of a Fourth Cinema filmmaking framework was gained through an insightful and memorable conversation I had with Dan Te Kanawa, CE of the Tūhono Trust the son of the late master weaver, Diggeress Te Rangituatahi Te Kanawa. In the conversation, Dan explained that for many years he had puzzled over a specific conundrum in our collective New Zealand histories. This conundrum was how Māori roughly 15 years after the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 were excelling economically, effectively adopting and utilising western technology in a multitude of successful economic endeavours, for example:

'In 1857 in the Bay of Plenty, Taupō and Rotorua Māori consisting of roughly 8,000 people had upwards of 3,000 acres of land in wheat, 300

acres in potatoes, nearly 2,000 acres in maize, and upwards of 1,000 acres of kumara. They owned nearly 100 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5,000 pigs, 4 water-power mills, and 96 ploughs, as well as 43 coastal vessels averaging nearly 20 tonnes each. Equally there was also a strong desire by Māori to gain the literacy skills of the Europeans. Māori tribes encouraged missionaries to settle in their areas to acquire these skills and often gifted land for this purpose. This not only gave them increased standing with other tribes, but opened up further trade with other Europeans' (Fenton, 2003, p. 45).

Dan further articulated that this economic achievement was so rapid and so prosperous that Māori at the time, were not just able to rival, but directly challenge economically, the most powerful and technologically advanced people on the planet, the British Empire. Numerous historical accounts of the blistering business and entrepreneurial acumen our ancestors exist, such as the 1838 account of Robert Jarman, who reported a great many Māori in Sydney when he visited in 1833, and described Māori generally as 'industrious, intelligent, bold, and enterprising'. He predicted that the size of their country, the productiveness of its soil, the spirit of its inhabitants, and its convenient situation for trade with Australia, Tahiti, and Hawaii, would cause it to become 'a place of considerable importance' (Jarman, 1838, p. 139). Furthermore, in 1848, Governor Sir George Grey himself suggested to Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies that: 'the Maori market for manufactured goods was already of considerable consequence to British merchants' (Grey, 1848, p. 103-104).

Such historical evidence brought to the fore a perplexing question for Dan, how was this made possible? How was a people, then largely regarded by the British coloniser as a barbarous heathen, able to adapt at speed, compete and succeed against the most powerful and technologically advanced race on the planet. A view evidenced in an 1848 editorial in the *New Zealander*, which affirmed that Māori were the largest purveyors of foodstuffs, and added pointedly: 'so large indeed as nearly to monopolise the market and to exclude the European settlers from the field of competition' (New Zealander Editorial,

1888). What were the essential elements of our culture that enabled such rapid economic success? Now in contemplation of such perplexing questions, Dan asked the renowned Māori scholar Te Wharehuia Milroy for his insight. Te Wharehuia's response was to allow him adequate time to contemplate the question. Two weeks later Te Wharehuia contacted Dan and gave him an answer, one simple in its complexity. It is this very answer as articulated by Te Wharehuia that I have adopted to form the foundation of my Fourth Cinema strategic framework.

3.1.19 The Ties that Bind

He taura waka e motu, he taura tangata, e kore e motu

*(*The tangible bonds that bind a canoe can be severed, but the intangible cultural bonds that bind us as a people cannot. My own free translation*)*

Te Wharehuia explained to Dan that our ancestors employed within all their economic and entrepreneurial endeavours three fundamental cultural principles, principles that are still in wide use at the present, these being: **Kawa**, **Tikanga** and **Kaupapa**. The effective utilisation of these concepts allowed our ancestors to collectivise intent and action for communal benefit to a staggering degree. Petrie (2002) supports this understanding:

> *Extractive industries such as sealing, whaling, flax and timber, rose and fell with the demands of an international economy, but the fluidity of Maori society and the negligible capital investment required for profitable participation, allowed Maori to adjust and adapt quickly (p. 4).*

This social and cultural approach to business gave rise to a unique economic model that for all intents and purposes not just rivalled the European model but surpassed it in effectiveness and efficiency, it was flexible, adaptable and could be interconnected at whim to fit with the demands of the moment or as new circumstances arose:

> *The norms and standards that constitute the custom of a society change with it, and Māori society and custom are no exception. There is compelling evidence that custom did not constrain Māori adaptation and development. Māori tradition, like Western tradition, is always changing, adapting and responding to new needs, challenges and ideas. There is no rule that things handed down cannot be passed on with improvements.* (Ministry of Justice, 2001, p. 5)

What is fascinating is that this Māori economic model, the values which underpinned it and its central focus upon environmental, collective and communal outcomes, was the ideological opposite of the western capitalist model brought by the British where the majority of profits are held by a small pool of individuals and utilised for personal gain. Such an economic model which valued and emphasised the individual over the collective was considered a dystopian one by Māori, one limited in horizon, stagnant and separated. For central to the Māori economic model and what distinguished it most sharply from the Western capitalist one is that it put spiritual and communal matters ahead of material and individualistic needs, as noted by the Waitangi Tribunal in its Wai 8 report:

> *It might be considered that Western society, although espousing a religion, is predominantly secular and individualistic in its world-view. Although there is a religious premise for the presumption that humankind has authority over nature, that view probably springs from the secular and rational characteristics of their society. Maori society on the other hand is predominantly spiritual and communal. The Maori world view emphasises the primacy of nature and the need for man to tread carefully when interfering with natural laws and processes. (1985, p. 5)*

Such collective welfare is characterised in a text written in 1979 by Roka Paora of Te Whānau a Apanui tribe:

'*I haere katoa hei painga mō te iwi, arā, hei mahi wharenui, whare karakia me ngā mahi e hiahiatia ana e ngā tāngata mō te painga o te katoa*' (Paora cit in Moorfield, 2001, p. 20)

(All proceeds went to benefit the tribe, that being to build communal meeting houses, churches and whatever ventures where considered by the people to best advantage the whole. My own free translation)

These cultural principles, **Kawa**, **Tikanga** and **Kaupapa** were embedded within this economic model and allowed our people to unite in collective purpose and endeavour to an extremely high proficiency, one where it can be argued that the colonial government needed to crush Māori economically to enable effective colonisation. It was an economic and cultural destruction from which Māori have never recovered, characterised in the saddening account of the confiscation of the lands of the Whakatōhea tribe of Ōpōtiki:

The loss of their land and main kāenga through confiscation had major economic, spiritual, social and physical effects on Te Whakatōhea well-being. Their means of making a living, their personal property and agricultural equipment, their wāhi tapu including burial grounds, and significant cultural property such as carvings had all been taken from them. Reserves that were allocated to them were on marginal less-productive land and areas for which they had little or no spiritual attachment. Rev. T. S. Grace visited the area again in 1877 and commented on the major changes that had taken place for Māori since 1865: 'Instead of their large populous village and good native houses, they are now living in small places – each a mere apology for a good native village – in scattered parties, from five to ten miles out of Ōpōtiki.' His comments include descriptions of their depressed poor state and that 'our missionary efforts among them have been of a nominal kind.'
(Opotiki Town Centre Historical Study, 2006, p.40)

In summary Cram (2011) notes that the harrowing colonial legacy of destruction and marginalisation has seen the 'differential distribution of social,

political, environmental and economic resources and wellbeing within this country with Māori bearing the brunt of disparities in many areas' (p.156). By recovering the instructive significance of the pre-destruction moment of Māori success, we can recognise that our ancestors adopted the three specific cultural principles, **Kawa**, **Tikanga** and **Kaupapa** and utilised these principles to collectivise effectively for a common purpose. These are the very principles that can provide the foundation for the development of a Fourth Cinema filmmaking framework.

3.1.20 Positioning the Foundation

He pakiaka anō te rākau i tū ai

(A tree can only stand with a strong root foundation. My own free translation)



Figure 22: The Great Tāne Māhuta, Waipoua Forest, Northland

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Authors Private Collection.

3.1.21 KAWA

The Sacred Thread

Although the focus and definition of Kawa in this specific context is its applicable use in contemporary times, it must be recognised that its origins are ancient and deeply embedded in Māori constructions. It is a principle that defies any single definition, the *Williams Dictionary of the Māori Language* giving nine separate definitions of Kawa alone. This thesis will not to focus specifically upon the principle as Meihana Durie's 2011 PhD thesis entitled 'He Kawa Oranga' has already delved into its numerous complexities and in doing so reiterated its varying interpretations. Rather in the context of this study and in respect to my own understandings I shall draw upon similar elaborations and explanations of the principle as articulated by Ngāti Porou Tohunga New Amsterdam Reedy,

Ngāti Maniapoto Businessman and Tūhono Trust CE Daniel Takutaimoana Te Kanawa, the late Ngā Puhi minister and tohunga Māori Marsden and finally Whangānui Iwi leader Che Wilson. The following explanations effectively encapsulate the latent power of Kawa and how it can be utilised as an enabling process in filmmaking to 'enhance performance, generate cohesion, inspire achievement and provide a measure of certainty' (Durie, 2011)

'Mēnā ka tika te aho tapu, ka oti pai te kaupapa'

(Only if the first warp is correct, will the work will be successfully completed. My own free translation)



Figure 23: Weaving tāniko, around 1910

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PA1-o-042-14-1, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

The above whakataukī was explained to me at length by Dan Te Kanawa. At the mere surface level of understanding, the proverb harkens to the weaving of a korowai (Māori Cloak) or more specifically the preparation of the first aho (warp, longitude strand) of the korowai from which all successive aho (warp) and whenu (weft, latitude strand) would respectively descend. The whakataukī states emphatically that if there is any mathematical fault at this very first aho, all

successive aho and whenu would also be flawed and the whole garment at some point would need to be unravelled and rewoven, hence the name of the very first thread as the 'Te Aho Tapu' or the sacred thread. Dan went further to explain that at the deeper level of understanding this whakataukī hearkens to the utmost necessity of having the correct foundational thinking required for whatever future endeavour you seek to accomplish. Dan likened this foundation thinking to the guiding principle of 'Kawa' or the guiding aspiration or collective philosophy that informs all subsequent 'Tikanga' or practice.

This explanation of Kawa as a guiding philosophy is a view also shared by Ngāti Porou tohunga New Amsterdam Reedy (2012) who in explanation of an Oriori (Children's Lullaby) discussed the Kauwae Runga (Upper Jawbone) and the Kauwae Raro (lower Jawbone) branches of Māori knowledge or the celestial/exoteric and terrestrial/esoteric branches of Māori knowledge respectively. Reedy stated emphatically that in essence, these branches of knowledge are merely the divisions of Kawa (philosophy) and Tikanga (practice). The utilisation of the metaphorical reference is that the upper jawbone is set into the skull and therefore unmoving, reiterating that its principles or Kawa are of celestial or godly origin and are bound, solid, unmovable and permanent. The lower jawbone is detachable and moveable hence representing things terrestrial or in this case Tikanga, those practices of man which are mouldable and malleable.

In respect, Māori Marsden (1993), in his paper on Kaitiakitanga, continues this theme by articulating that guiding Kawa are of heavenly origin created by atua (gods) who have the control and mana over the particular domains of the earth. It is in their domains that the Kawa, therefore, is employed and practised. Following this chain of thought, it may be understood that the utilisation of Kawa lead to outcomes, when humans employ the guiding Kawa, the outcome is their acquisition of the fruits of that domain. For example, Tangaroa is the atua of his domain, the sea. The fruits of that domain are plentiful and by adhering to a certain Kawa, or guiding philosophy and therein incorporating appropriate practice, humans may acquire the fruits of the domain of Tangaroa, that is, the

bounty that it provides. This understanding of heavenly origin is again echoed in the words of another respected Ngāti Porou elder Parekura Kupenga who articulated to me succinctly 'Ko te Kawa, nā te atua i hanga, ko te Tikanga nā te tangata tēnā,' to offer a basic translation: Kawa is shaped by the gods, Tikanga by man.

Well known Whangānui tribal leader Che Wilson when posed with a similar question in relation to the difference between Kawa and Tikanga succinctly articulated the difference in a beautifully easy and understandable manner which I shall always remember, 'Tikanga is the practical implementation of the principles of Kawa.' When I enquired further into what were the principles of Kawa he stated empathically, 'the guiding principles' and in further explanation he gave the example in relation to the tapu (sacredness) of the human body or Te Tapu Māheuheu. Che stated that if the Kawa of your person was that your body was tapu (sacred), i.e. this was the guiding principle, then the Tikanga or practices you would therein initiate and maintain would be to ensure that this 'Kawa' was always respected and maintained. Once again what is important to note in Che's understanding is the notion of an overarching philosophy feeding practice for specific purpose.

Such learned wisdom as articulated by Reedy, Te Kanawa, Marsden Kupenga and Wilson bought me to the subsequent conclusion that for any successful endeavour Kawa is a vital element. For it is the Kawa or the overarching philosophy that guides the Tikanga or practice which is then utilised for whatever Kaupapa or endeavour you seek to accomplish. Kawa therein provides a specific element for the philosophical 'centre' of Fourth Cinema. The eloquent words of Māori Marsden (2003), explain succinctly the importance:

> *All things, no matter how specialised must be connected to a centre. The centre is constituted of our most basic convictions – ideas that transcend the world of facts. A truly educated person is not one who knows a bit about everything, or everything about something, but one who is truly in touch with his centre. He will be in no doubt about his convictions, about*

his view on the meaning and purpose of life, and his own life will show a sureness of touch that stems from inner clarity. This is true wisdom. (p.67)

The paramount question now arises. If Kawa is the most essential ingredient in the completion of any successful endeavour, what then would be the appropriate Kawa for Fourth Cinema Filmmaking?

3.1.22 Kawa of Fourth Cinema

Tohunga Pūrākau



Figure 24: The Author and Tautohe Kupenga, Whaikōrero Wānanga, Awatere Marae, 2015

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Authors Private Collection.

We need not look far back into our tribal histories to find our Tohunga Pūrākau or our traditional storytellers, those knowledge adepts that conveyed the multi-layered mythology of our people in oral and visual form. In fine example of this ilk, Tautohe Kupenga of Te Aitanga a Mate is an elder whom I would define as a contemporary Tohunga Pūrākau, he is a man who can capture and hold the attention of an entire audience both old and young with his mere words and gestures, conveying mythological stories of beauty and meaning. Now

in contemplation of the role and responsibilities of these Tohunga Pūrākau, both past and now present adepts such as koro Tautohe, I came to the fundamental understanding that although their stories were largely individualistic in nature in that they embellished their stories with their own distinct waiata (song), karakia (prayer) whakataukī (proverb), making them unique to the storyteller, there was nevertheless a commonality, or a collective unity of purpose which united them all as storytellers. That their storytelling voices in essence were vessels that carried our beliefs and values, that carried the language and the culture of our people.

And so, in acknowledgment of this simple but vital understanding, if we as filmmakers are to accept the role as contemporary storytellers for our people, though the medium or the technology in how we tell our stories may change the ultimate reason for us telling them should remain constant. Therefore, my answer to this fundamental and all important question of 'Why' is a simple one, it is not an answer cloaked in rhetoric, neither is it an answer that could ever be misinterpreted, misjudged or misunderstood. In respect therefore, I offer the following 'Kawa' which shall define our Fourth Cinema Filmmaking and equally our Fourth Media sector:

Te Mana me te Orangatonutanga o Te Reo Māori me wōna Tikanga

'The survival and prosperity of Māori language and culture as expressed through the voice within'

Such a guiding Kawa dictates that Fourth Cinema films and Fourth Media communications are in our language and equally importantly embedded within our culture. This is the collective aspiration, this is the shared communal goal, this is the guiding philosophy, and this is what feeds, informs and focuses every single element of the practice. No single person, no agenda is greater than this Kawa, the Kawa is what leads, though simple in its complexity, I believe in essence that this is true leadership, for if leadership is a communal goal, a

collective aspiration, it is far more secure for it is a leadership that anyone can carry, this is the power of Kawa and our ancestors understood this and have passed this understanding down through the ages. This is the 'Why' of Fourth Cinema.

We can now locate the voice within more precisely, with reference to Styres' concept of 'the voice within the space' (Styres, 2008). Styres argues that this space is the space of historical silencing. I have sought to capture some sense of this space in the earlier parts of this thesis, and also the releasing of voice that is a defining feature of my autoethnography. This sense of a released voice, in a collective rather than individualistic sense, is vital to the offered Kawa. As Styres says, with reference to Canadian First Nations, 'This space contains all the truths, apprehensions, fears and assumptions' that have not been voiced (ibid, p.93)

Therefore, Fourth Cinema is not merely about textual or aesthetic issues but moreover, the realisation that the film in itself is a voicing of knowledge, a vessel to arouse the imagination, inform and inspire, warn and persuade, maintain relationships, protocols, rituals and rules, a vessel that carries the wairua of our ancestors. Filmmaking practice then becomes not about the individual, i.e. an auteurist endeavour whereby a writer/director reflects their own personal creative agenda. But rather it is an acknowledgement by the writer/director of the overarching purpose and the Why. To approach filmmaking from such a belief and understanding is a vitally important notion for Māori filmmakers, one reflected in the words of the late Don Selwyn:

> *It's not about you, it's about the kaupapa. If you keep the philosophical position [of] the value in front, then you will never become more important than the value. The philosophy, the kaupapa is in front of us and we have to support it. We support the philosophy that is going to uplift our people. (Selwyn, 2001)*

3.1.23 TIKANGA

Wefts in the Weave



Figure 25: Photograph of a person demonstrating the plaiting and weaving of flax

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PA1-q-257-42-5, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

As previously articulated, this thesis argues that there are three interrelated levels of hierarchical importance for the successful completion of any Indigenous endeavour, **Kawa**, **Tikanga** and **Kaupapa**. Firstly, Kawa as explained earlier, is the guiding philosophy and sits at the highest level of hierarchical importance, secondly is Tikanga, the supportive practice of core values informed by the guiding philosophy. The final level is the practice and application of these core values towards a Kaupapa or current focus or endeavour which in this specific case is Fourth Cinema. It must also be acknowledged that though these three fundamental principles are being utilised

in the development of a filmmaking framework, they are highly applicable in all cultural, social, political and economic endeavours.

As stated, I have defined Tikanga as the practice which supports the guiding Kawa or philosophy, but again it must be recognised that this is only a surface level understanding of a complex concept. For one to gain a semblance of understanding into the inherent complexity of Tikanga, one must appreciate the central core beliefs and values which support it, as it is these very concepts which provide the primary guide to appropriate practice, i.e. conduct and behaviour. Before listing and elucidating these interrelated concepts in the following section, I must firstly reiterate that the listing provided is by no means exhaustive or definitive as each iwi (tribe) would have its own variations of each of these values. Therefore, it must be seen as a general listing which may be subject to addition, subtraction and reconfiguration. Secondly, in relation to language and translation issues, it must be acknowledged again:

- That these concepts cannot be directly translated from Māori to English (due in no small part to differences between the worldviews of each). When one attempts to describe the concepts and values of one culture using the language of another culture misinterpretations invariably arise.
- That many of these words are both amorphous and contextual. They are concepts similar to the English word 'sustainability' which can be defined by different people in different ways within different contexts. This makes the concepts extremely difficult to define outside of a context. These Māori concepts are best explained within a context.
- And that the properties and characteristics of these words differ from iwi to iwi, hapū to hapū and whānau to whānau. They are best described in direct discussion with iwi, hapū or whānau. Each iwi, hapū or whānau therefore reserves the right to define these concepts in any way they wish to do so and change the definition and use of these concepts at any time. As such these definitions are relevant to this thesis only and stem from the

authors own knowledge base. They may or may not be 'true' for other contexts.

In a broad conceptual explanation, Tikanga is a concept used to describe an interconnected set of cultural beliefs, values and practices that inform the 'tika' or 'right' actions in a cultural sense (Porima, 1999). Dei, Hall and Rosenberg (2000) refer to Tikanga as the 'traditional norms and social values, and mental constructs that guide, organise, and regulate the people's way of living and making sense of their world' (p. 6). In holistic conjunction, these interrelated practices provided a state of being that allowed for and ensured physical and spiritual protection and safety. Therefore, Tikanga can best be described as behavioural guidelines for living and interacting with others and the natural environment. Importantly, Tikanga should not be seen as a rigid set of rules and laws, but rather as a set of malleable values which allows flexibility and adaptation, as articulated by Jury (1994):

> *The adherence to principles, not rules, enabled change while maintaining cultural integrity without the need for a super-ordinate authority to enact amendments. Custom does not, therefore, appear to have been lacking for vitality and flexibility. Inconvenient precedent could simply be treated as irrelevant or unrelated to current needs, but precedent nonetheless was regularly drawn upon to determine appropriate action. Accordingly, while custom has usually been posited a finite law that has always existed, in reality customary policy was effected with adherence to those fundamental principles and beliefs that Māori considered appropriate to govern relationships between people and the environment.* (Jury cit in Ministry of Justice, 2001, p. 5)

As the environment changed or new situations arise, Tikanga were enacted or adapted to provide context-specific responses. Tikanga provided a vital framework of reference to actively engage with issues whilst considering the ethical ramifications that the subsequent action may have. Tikanga therefore provided and still provides the primary interface for accessing repositories of

cultural knowledge and experience that can be used to inform ethical, cultural, social, political and economic deliberations. It is this vital flexibility that keeps Tikanga constantly relevant as the wisdom from which it was fashioned still has contemporary application. As Mead's (2003) quote suggests, 'tikanga provide a link to our ancestors, but they can be changed or developed to suit our needs' (p. 140). By reference to the Kawa (that guide Tikanga), the interrelated system is mouldable and malleable and possesses the propensity to provide solutions to contemporary issues as they arise, as exampled in previously mentioned historical and contemporary Māori entrepreneurial success.

There are a number of Tikanga that directly affect the way Fourth Cinema filmmaking is both perceived and managed. What now follows is a list of these core values followed by a brief explanation of each, again, this thesis does not attempt to provide an in-depth understanding of each principle but rather seeks to provide a broad overview of Tikanga so the reader may gain insight into the core structure that supports and informs every aspect of the decision-making process in the framework for Fourth Cinema filmmaking. By utilising these Tikanga principles in support of my guiding Kawa is to again recognise that Māori values underpin our cultural, physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing as Māori.

TIKANGA

1. **Kaitiekitanga**

Is about the stewardship or respect and guardianship of the natural environment. In former times kaitiakitanga was spilt into a three-tiered structure of hieratical importance, Gods, people and the individual. The role and responsibility of each was to manage a particular natural resource in a healthy and productive state. Everything acted in symbiotic unity to maintain the environmental resource and its physical and spiritual productivity, potential and balance.

2. **Whānaungatanga**

Is derived from whānau or family and refers to relationships or bonds of kinship. In the Māori world relationships were all important, relationships between people; relationships between people and the physical world; and relationships between people and the spiritual world. Whānaungatanga could then be described as a kinship and socio-economic alliance which governs relationships between individuals, individuals and groups, and individuals and the natural world. In traditional society Whānaungatanga also emphasised the role and responsibility of the individual as part of a collective. In doing so it gave people a sense of belonging, togetherness, and relatedness. The whānau rather than the individual takes precedence.

3. **Mātauranga**

Can be described simply as traditional and contemporary knowledge. In reference to Mohi (1993) who defined Mātauranga Māori as 'the knowledge, comprehension or understanding of everything visible

or invisible that exists across the universe' (p. 8). Importantly, Mātauranga is not based on Western 'objective' notions or models of science, its parameters are wider than this including traditional belief, protocol and ceremony, an approach which surpasses the physical and centres the spiritual. Its role is to preserve and protect (while utilising) the environment and all taonga related to the environment.

4. Mauri

It can be defined as the life principle or force, present in all things both animate and inanimate. The presence of Mauri in all things requires people to appreciate and respect that resource. The overuse, depletion or destruction of natural resources leads to a diminishment of Mauri. This is unacceptable as pollutants that diminish the Mauri of a resource cannot be supported and things that enhance Mauri are to be encouraged. Mauri is not static, and the mauri of any particular thing can be affected by the environment in which it exists. Barlow (1991, p. 83) gives an example of how depletion of the food supply (in the oceans, rivers and forests) can result in the mauri or health of that food supply decreasing. He notes that mauri is able to be restored through conservation measures, such as the imposition of rāhui, and through the carrying out of rituals/ceremonies. The maintenance of mauri is therefore very important to ensure the wellbeing of the environment as a whole.

5. Wairuatanga

Is closely associated with Mauri. It can be described as the spiritual element or the spirit of things, matters and deeds. Every living thing has a wairua, wairua applies to more than just people; it applies to the Earth and all life forms within it. Wairua is bound to the physical body by mauri. Barlow (1991, p. 152) explains that it is only when the person (animal or plant) dies that the wairua is separated from the body.

Wairuatanga is an expression of forces beyond those of this world to the next. While there is an important relationship between life and death, so there is also a crucial relationship between the physical and the spiritual. Māori acknowledge the wholeness of life in which the wairua is ever present, it pervades all aspects of Māori culture.

6. Tapu

In historical times, tapu was central to the belief system of Māori, an all-pervasive force that touched many facets of Māori life (Walker 1990). Recognition of tapu involves an appreciation of and respect for another life force and other life in general. Further, 'Tapu is also used as a protective measure, a social control, a means for developing an understanding and awareness of spiritually and the divine origin of all things' (Ngāi Tahu, 2008, p. 27). There are many meanings and conditions associated with tapu and it had many purposes.

7. Noa

Tapu and noa are complementary opposites, which together constitute a whole and therefore refers to a perpetual state of balance. Noa denotes a state of relaxed access, requiring no particular protective mechanism or restrictions, the value of everyday, ordinary relaxed human activity. Shirres (1997, p. 142) clarifies that when 'noa' is interpreted as being 'free from tapu', this only applies to restrictions imposed as part of the extended meaning of tapu, it does not remove the inherent tapu of that person or thing.

8. Utu

Utu is often understood to mean revenge for wrong doing, this is partly correct. But utu can be defined more succinctly as 'reciprocity' or

an ‘ethic of reciprocity’. This is expressed in acts of always giving back or replacing what you take or receive. If one takes something from an individual, group or environment then one is obliged to give back to it. In this way the physical and spiritual environment is kept in balance.

9. Whakapapa

Whakapapa is genealogy and is the basis on which an individual or a group of people determine the role and relationships within their whanau, hapū and iwi. Whakapapa is not only about the relationships between people through generations but also about the relationships of all life forms and phenomenon to each other as well as to people and the atua (gods).

10. Kotahitanga

Is usually defined as one or some of the following; ‘oneness’, ‘unity’, ‘solidarity’ or ‘holism’. On one hand kotahitanga is about acknowledging and respecting individual differences but on the other hand it is about the desire to reach consensus and seek unity. It is about accepting and keeping in balance both the perspective of the individual as well as the community.

11. Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga means to care for a person's wellbeing in a holistic sense that is physically, mentally and spiritually. It is a concept that extends beyond the bounds of the family and involves all people. Durie defines Manaakitanga as ‘generosity, caring for others and compassion’ (Durie 1994, p. 6). It is one of the main factors in judging a person's status as a leader, and that is by their generosity in taking care of others which reflects an expected standard of behaviour, an ideal that one should

aspire to. Therefore, this concept is about reciprocal and unqualified acts of giving.

12. Mana

Is often defined simply as status and pride. It is much more than this, for it also includes the ideas of authority and legitimacy. Mana has a number of dimensions, including mana atua (God given power) mana tīpuna (power handed down from by one's ancestors) mana whenua (power of Lands) and mana tangata (authority derived from personal attributes). The nature of mana is important because it explains the dynamics of Māori status and leadership and the lines of accountability between leaders and their people.

13. Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga means 'self-determination' or the ability to determine one's own destiny. Māori society is not egalitarian in the Pākehā sense but is infinitely status graded. Each person has a right only to a specific place and must behave accordingly or lose it. The structure of authority depends upon significant acts that establish ascendency of one person over another, but status is not fixed. Position must be maintained and can be advanced. A person displays status or mana by supporting, not punishing, by affirming, not ordering, by humility, not arrogance. Many have great difficulty understanding rangatiratanga because Western notions of authority forgo communality and endorse individuality.

14. Aroha

Aroha is an expression of love, care, respect and affection in its widest sense. It is the essential element in interpersonal relationships. It

begins from birth and continues till death. Aroha encompasses respect, friendship, concern, hospitality and the process of giving. Thus, every person is concerned for and respects the rights of others. In short, it is valuing another person. According to Barlow (1991), 'A person who has aroha for another expresses genuine concern towards them and acts with their welfare in mind, no matter what their state of health or wealth' (p. 12). However, it must be recognised that aroha is not a simple concept, it is usually impossible to act with everyone's best interests at heart, and compromises are often necessary.

3.1.24 Principles in Practice



Figure 26: Ngāti Porou leader Hon Sir Āpirana Ngata gives a whaikōrero on the Raukawa marae at Ōtaki, on the centennial of the Rangiātea Church, 1950.)

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-058067; F, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

To find a first-hand entry point into the effective utilisation of these principles in everyday practice, one merely needs to observe the various gatherings held at marae and in particular that of a pōwhiri or ritual welcome. While in attendance at any pōwhiri one will observe that there are a multitude of roles and responsibilities in operation both in front and behind the scenes, but that these respective roles and responsibilities operate in seemingly seamless

unison. I shall elaborate further on the intricacies of pōwhiri to establish an understanding of these intertwined roles and responsibilities that are vitally essential for any significant gathering on the marae to succeed and more importantly why.

In brief pōwhiri is a ritual encounter between two groups of people, i.e. the tangata whenua (the hosts or people of the marae) and the manuhiri (visitors), but pōwhiri can happen anywhere that hosts wish to formally welcome a group of visitors. The tangata whenua are people associated with the marae through whakapapa (genealogy) or mana whenua (pride/prestige over land). Mana whenua affords them the right to determine the protocol, define the roles and adequately care for the manuhiri. While pōwhiri may vary according to the occasion and the tribal region, the Māori language and culture is used specifically to conduct proceedings which usually (but not always) flow according to the following stages:

- **Wero** in traditional times a wero or challenge was performed by an armed warrior or warriors, who advance on the manuhiri to establish intent.
- **Karanga** is a unique form of female oratory in which women bring a range of imagery and cultural expression to the first calls of welcome (and response) in the pōwhiri.
- **Whaikōrero** or formal speech making follows the karanga. Some of the best Māori language orations are given during pōwhiri when skilled speakers craft the language into a series of verbal images. The protocols for whaikōrero during pōwhiri are determined by the Kawa (practices) of the marae or local iwi if the pōwhiri is not held on a marae.
- **Waiata** or song is sung after each whaikōrero by the group the orator represents. It is common to hear traditional waiata during pōwhiri.
- **Koha** or gift, is generally an envelope of money, which is laid on the ground by the last speaker for the manuhiri (visitors). A local kuia (female

elder) may karanga as an expression of thanks. A male from the tangata whenua may also pick up the koha and briefly reply in thanks.

- **Hongi** – the pressing of noses signifies the joining together of tangata whenua and manuhiri. Tangata whenua invite the manuhiri to come forward to shake hands (hariru) and hongi.
- **Hākari** – the feast, a meal is then shared. This usually signifies the end of the pōwhiri.

  (Taura Whiri, 2014)

Being gradual and graduated, the pōwhiri process is also necessarily sequential. Since each level of understanding and intimacy is constructed on earlier understandings, each segment of the process contains its own degree or level of intimacy, extending from the most formal (as of that between potential aggressors during the wero or challenge) to the most intimate (that of the hongi or the mutual touching and breath-sharing). Each sequential step, therefore, is more intimate than the last, and it is important to keep the sequence in the correct order. The final act of hongi only comes after a whole process of challenging, remembering the dead, crying, speaking and gifting. Up to this point each step explores and expresses not only a different and increasing level of intimacy but also a different level of sensory experience. In this way, the mutual experience operates not merely in a linguistic or rational domain, but also at a spiritual and emotional level and in doing so, all aspects of human consciousness are involved and engaged.

In Pōwhiri, all the previous mentioned Tikanga concepts, i.e. Manaakitanga, Kaitiektanga, Aroha, Whakapapa, Whanaungatanga, Tapu, Noa, Mauri, Wairuatanga, Matauranga and Mana meld in unison to form a state of being that allows for and ensures, holistic protection and safety for all participants during the rituals of encounter. It is through these states, that the mauri or vital life force is able to be sustained and nurtured. Based on the thinking exemplified in Pōwhiri, Māori effectively managed every part of their natural environment and all of their inclusive relationships within it. This was

undertaken to achieve balance and sustain the wellbeing of people, communities and natural resources. Tikanga was therefore an essential means by which Māori society was regulated. Mead (2003, p. 12) further reiterates:

> *Tikanga are tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. They provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions and help steer us through some huge gatherings of people and some tense moments in ceremonial life. They help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities we engage in. There is a right and proper way to conduct one's self.*

3.1.25 Reclaiming, Reawakening

Our environment, like that of our ancestors before us, is constantly evolving and we are locked as a people in constant change. But I believe that by adopting a culture of reflection, by stressing constant values and beliefs rather than rules and regulations, Tikanga is relevant to whatever circumstance we engage in. For importantly, irrespective of the attitudes and time of our ancestors, if Tikanga are to be relevant to us now, they need to serve our situation today, as reflected in the words of Mead (2003):

> *'There are some citizens who go so far as to say that tikanga Māori should remain in the pre-Treaty era and stay there. To them tikanga Māori has no relevance in the lives of contemporary Māori. That body of knowledge belongs to the not so noble past of the Māori. Individuals who think this way really have no understanding of what tikanga are and the role tikanga have in our ceremonials and in our daily lives. It is true, however, that tikanga are linked to the past and that is one of the reasons why they are valued so highly by the people. They do link us to the ancestors, to their knowledge base and to their wisdom. What we have today is a rich heritage that requires nurturing, awakening sometimes,*

adapting to our world and developing further for the next generations.' (p. 21)

It is now important that we as Fourth Cinema filmmakers, reclaim our filmmaking practice as founded upon Māori philosophy. Otherwise there is a risk that such practices will be misappropriated by non-Fourth Cinema filmmakers and reframed in ways that remove or invalidate the cultural context from which they derive their meaning and effectiveness. Assimilation into a Western filmmaking paradigm strips Fourth Cinema filmmakers of their value in producing filmatic outcomes that benefit Māori. This must be resisted, and it is important that we continue to assert the need for theoretical and methodological refinement and innovation within Māori frameworks to remain consistent with the aspirations of Fourth Cinema filmmaking and positive Māori development approaches. Kawa and Tikanga are vitally important principles in this task, they reflect our beliefs and values and the unique way we view the world. Such cultural competency incorporates invaluable awareness, knowledge and skills in the filmatic process. Therefore, the next step for Fourth Cinema filmmaking practitioners is to utilise these processes and concepts in a meaningful and respectful Kaupapa in order to positively enhance the entirety of the filmatic process.

3.1.26 KAUPAPA

Creating Vessels of Learning



Figure 27: Pineamine Taiapa

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/1-003882-G, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

3.1.27 Pūrākau Methodology

> *A famous English writer, William Shakespeare, once wrote that the whole world is a stage. In the Māori world, the whole world is a story. The world is family of stories, beginning with Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Your own story, your life story, is a part of this great family story. The stories of our gods set examples of how to live our lives, how to live well and to live with each other. The gods weren't perfect…but the gods were there to guide us and our ancestors who came after the gods. (Sullivan, 2002, p. 28)*

These same Māori philosophies and practices underpin a personal drive to explore the issue of scriptwriting/filmmaking further, namely, the way in

which a traditional genre of Māori narrative, in this instance 'Pūrākau' (stories, storytelling), can have contemporary application and inform the emergence of a new theoretical approach to Māori scriptwriting/filmmaking. This is not in reference to a specific cinematic style but rather a theoretical base that can inform the scriptwriting/filmmaking process. Specific examples of this Pūrākau methodology shall be given at length in the following chapter through examples of characters and story elements taken from the author's own feature length screenplay *The Prophet*. But firstly, a brief explanation shall be given of the applicability of this unique genre of Māori oral tradition.

Pūrākau in itself is a Māori expression for stories which contain mythological perspectives concerning the nature of reality and the human condition. Though now often carrying the negative connotation of untruth as 'it's only a myth' Pūrākau were in actuality, far more than the mere verbalisations of tales, fictional accounts or invented imaginings of a pre-literate society. The art of Pūrākau, in union with other traditional narrative forms such as whaikōrero (speechmaking), mōteatea (traditional songs), whakapapa (genealogies), and whakataukī (proverbs) (each with their own categories, style, complex patterns and characteristics) were an integral part of a tribe's 'world-view' or philosophical standpoint (value and belief system) reflecting the ideals and norms of the people and fulfilling explanatory, integrating, validating, historic and socialisation functions. In essence, Pūrākau encapsulated and condensed into easily assimilable forms, the epistemological, theological and metaphysical beliefs of the people. The eloquent words of the late Rev Māori Marsden (2003), explain the importance of Pūrākau in Māori society:

> *Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be, of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the 'world-view' of a culture. The worldview lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture. In terms of Māori culture, the myths and legends (pūrākau)*

form the central system on which their holistic view of the universe is based (p. 55).

In relation to the significance and virtue of its traditional performance and delivery, Pūrākau were considered an art form of the highest order, the complex narratives were highly prized, carefully constructed and skilfully delivered by talented and consummate Pūrākau artists (storytellers) firmly 'grounded' in Māori experience and knowledge. With the power to entertain and engage all age groups, and the fundamental protocols for ensuring authenticity, Pūrākau were highly stimulating and appealed to the audience's aural, visual and emotive senses, arousing the imagination, informing, inspiring, warning and persuading. The late master carver and storyteller, Pine Taiapa (1953), beautifully conveys the appeal of the Pūrākau artist in traditional Māori society:

Try to picture with me, the scene of old. The dying embers in the meetinghouse at night, the howling wind and the pelting rain – these were the atmosphere for such stories and the lively mind of the listener filled in the gaps. The young fry clinging apprehensively to their scantily, tattered shawls while the story-teller chanted on, kindling the imagination with his vivid word-imagery (p. 3).

Although Pūrākau derives from an oral tradition, it can continue to provide the stimulus to write and create in contemporary ways that are culturally responsive. Te Kapunga Dewes (1975) asserts that oral tradition of old can continue to contribute to our present literary activities:

The oral arts in Māori should provide continuity and inspiration for written literature. Far from being irrelevant, the traditional arts challenge us to create with artistic integrity and seriousness, in a manner relevant in contemporary experience and dimensions (p. 54).

In reference to this understanding and highlighting the relevance of Pūrākau and Fourth Cinema Filmmaking in contemporary context, Dr Ranginui Walker (1978) refers to the 'myth-messages' embedded in Māori mythology, and

how in contemporary society these myth-messages need to be more clearly understood. In addition, he writes:

> *The validity of myths was not questioned by the Māori until the post-Christian era when they were displaced by the mythology of a new culture. Today* ‘kōrero pūrākau’ *has the same negative connotation of untruth as it is only a myth. This is unfortunate, since an analysis of Māori myths will show that even today Māori will respond to the myth-messages and cultural imperatives embedded in their mythology…The myth-messages now need to be spelled out to the modern Māori. (Walker, 1978, p. 20)*

3.1.28 NGĀ WHĀINGA

Building a People

'The power of Knowledge to organise, select, learn and judge comes from beliefs and values as much as, and probably more than, from information and logic'

(Davenport & Prusak, 2000, p. 12)

At present, the majority of government investment towards Māori language revitalisation initiatives has been directed into education, television and radio, with less than 2% of that funding going into initiatives in the home (Te Reo Mauri Ora Report, 2011, p. 6) or investing in people. We should perhaps be less focused upon developing and revitalising a 'language' and more focused upon developing and revitalising a 'people' to speak a language. I will contend that the current endangered state of our language directly reflects the current state of wellbeing of our people, to save our language we must uplift our people through the direct development of individual, whānau and community potential. A case can then be made for creative practices such as filmmaking being a key part of such a development focus.

3.1.29 He Kawa Oranga: A Cycle of Wellbeing

So of course, the crucial question arises, how do you build or uplift the wellbeing of an individual, whānau or community? Though many politicians, economists and academics alike continue to postulate numerous and varying theories, I will turn to my tribal teachings: to begin to develop or uplift an individual, a whānau, or community, you must return to the moral basics of their being, what they value in their lives, the very beliefs and values that guide their everyday attitudes and behaviour.

Once again, the importance of Kawa, Tikanga and Kaupapa are not to be undervalued in this positive redevelopment for they provide the bedrock

foundation for such change to be built. Once instilled within an individual, whānau or community, these core beliefs and values provide an essential moral compass which directly guides attitude and behaviour and therein the quality of life. This cycle of wellbeing I have entitled He Kawa Oranga (Cycle of Wellbeing) and it is illustrated in the following figure which depicts the relationship between Kawa, Tikanga and Kaupapa and the direct role this plays in positive personal/whānau/community developmental change.

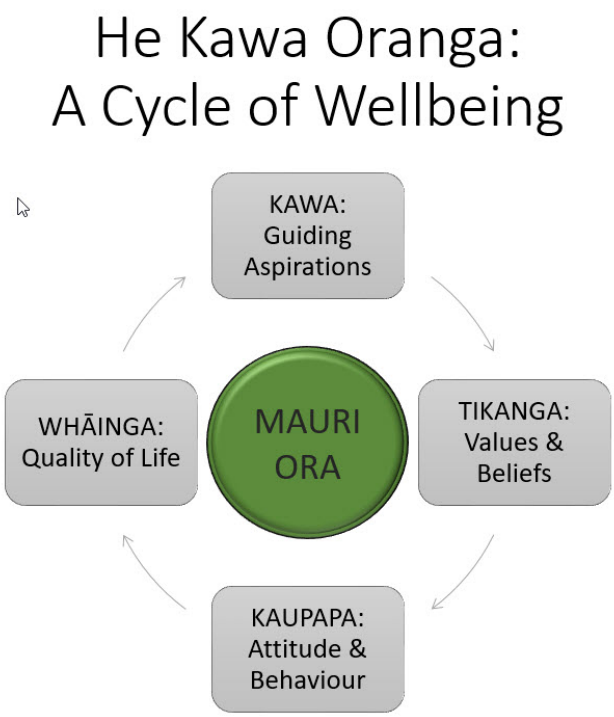


Figure 28: He Kawa Oranga

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

There are five major principles of my Kawa Oranga model:

1. **Kawa**: The guiding aspirations driving change, those being identity, wellbeing and potential.
2. **Tikanga**: The supportive and interwoven beliefs and values systems of Kaitiekitanga, Manaakitanga, Kotahitanga, Whanaungatanga,

Rangatiratanga, Mātauranga, Wairuatanga, Aroha, Mana, Tapu and Noa, Utu.

3. **Kaupapa**: The appropriate value and belief systems directly influence attitude and behaviour. Only with a positive attitude will there be motivation, engagement and intention to succeed in any specific endeavour.

4. **Whāinga**: Cultural, social, economic and educational wellbeing is the ultimate goal for individual/families/communities. Importantly, this quality of life is only achievable after cycling through the previous tenets. Once achieved, it reciprocally reinforces the guiding aspirations

5. **Mauri Ora** – Once all states are fluid and flow unabated, a state is achieved where a person's mauri, or life force is vibrant and empowering, thus effecting positive change in their lives and the lives of others.

Through colonisation, i.e. the loss of land, language and culture, this once positive reciprocal flow of wellbeing has now reversed upon itself and cycles in the opposite direction to devastating effect. An incapacitating, self-perpetuating cycle of hopelessness is where many Māori individuals, families and communities are now currently trapped. To empower our people, we must strive to reverse this cycle and this is where our Fourth Cinema films will act as an important conduit to contribute towards re-instilling these essential beliefs and values. By no means am I purporting that Fourth Cinema is a panacea to all ills, but rather that we understand the role and positioning we occupy as image-makers and support and acknowledge the importance of utilising our stories to imbue these principles within everything we create.

3.1.30 Progressive Empowerment

I will argue that the role of Fourth Cinema filmmakers has never been more important than it is now. We, as Fourth cinema filmmakers, possess the

special ability to travel between the interiority and the exteriority, the living and the dead, the sacred and the profane, night and day, sex and race. This is the valuable in-between 'specific' space of 'Te Whai Ao', which the Fourth Cinema filmmaker occupies.

3.1.31 Current Challenges for Fourth Cinema

- More rigorous story development
- Tell bigger and bolder stories
- Urgency to collect specific cultural stories
- Increased level of skills and confidence of practitioners
- Actively pursue new technology and skills for development opportunities
- Maximise existing partnerships and market opportunities and create new employment opportunities;
- Access to mainstream opportunities for Fourth Cinema practitioners.

These are the kinds of issues that can be addressed if the appropriate framework is in place. I shall now bring this chapter to a close by presenting the draft framework.

3.1.32 Construction & Formation

Te Manutaki i Te Kāhui

It is well understood that Māori looked to the natural environment for appropriate examples of social conduct, this was done in the sound understanding that nature is the ultimate teacher about life. To ensure success in fishing, long journeys, or handling life's challenges, you have to trust your ancestors, who for Māori included the entire natural world. One fitting example which I shall now focus upon was seen in the flight patterns of birds, specifically those that fly in a triangular shaped formation known as a kāhui (flock). Māori who often marvelled at this spectacle named the leading bird, Te Manutaki i te Kāhui, or the leader of the flock. Interestingly Māori observed that the Manutaki (leader) only leads until though fatigue can lead no longer, he then falls back and another bird rises to take this place of leadership. What is important to recognise in this instance is that 'all birds' have the inherent capacity to lead and the flock therefore traverses immense distances not through the drive and want of the one, but through the collective vision of the whole.

To view Kawa as a similar 'shared vision' i.e. an idealised future to which one strives, is an understanding that cannot be undervalued. For if the vision for Fourth Cinema filmmaking was one vested solely in the hands of an individual, it would be weak and fragile. But if was rather a vision for filmmaking founded upon communal aspirations, beliefs and values, it will endure, for it is a vision for film that anyone can uphold and carry. The following framework depicts Kawa, Tikanga and Kaupapa in a hierarchical order of importance transposed upon the kāhui triangular flight pattern framework and utilising the Māori Niho Taniwha (dragons tooth) design pattern representing collectivised strength. This flight pattern and the central understanding of collective unity has been drawn upon to reflect the interconnectedness and relationship Māori have with the natural world. The whenua (land), moana (sea), ngahere (forest), roto (lake), awa (river)

and maunga (mountain) are important components of our collective wellbeing. When considering the development of a framework for filmmaking it was a necessity that our natural environment was reflected.

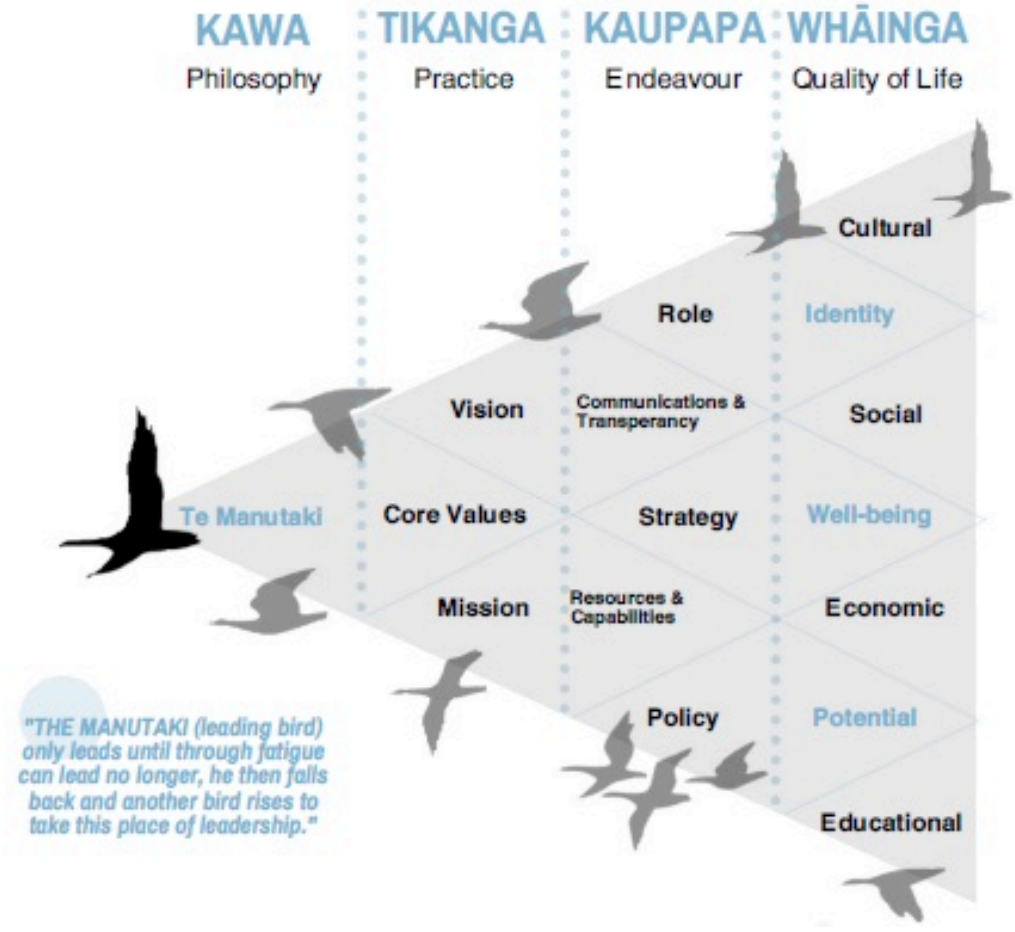
3.1.33 Te Whai Ao – The Realm of Becoming

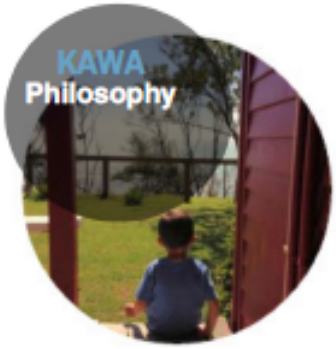
I will take the abstract nature of my Fourth Cinema framework and demonstrate how it connects from the large scale overarching social, economic, political process, all the way down to the 'vital interiority' of the image. Building upon an understanding of hybridity and interconnectedness, I have contended that Fourth Cinema resides in a specific space of Indigenous aesthetic and artistic creative practice, a theoretical space I have termed 'Te Whai Ao', or the realm of becoming, a space between spaces, a space where change happens, where transformation takes place.

The specific space of Te Whai Ao is where the complexity of the relationship between the colonial and post-colonial exists, for this integrated and inclusive space brings together post-colonial theoretical paradigms as well as Indigenous knowledge and contemporary Western knowledge systems thereby bridging worlds that, at first, seem to be strangers to one another, but may be more connected than they are different. Fourth Cinema Film therefore adds a new, valuable, and necessary Indigenous 'specific' dimension to the paradigms through Te Whai Ao theoretical proposition and offers a philosophical lens which can potentially make filmmaking more meaningful.

3.1.34 Fourth Cinema Strategic Framework


Fourth Cinema
Strategic Framework
TE MANUTAKI


KAWA
Philosophy
TIKANGA
Practice
KAUPAPA
Endeavour
WHĀINGA
Quality of Life
Cultural
Role
Identity
Vision
Communications & Transperancy
Social
Te Manutaki
Core Values
Strategy
Well-being
Mission
Resources & Capabilities
Economic
Policy
Potential
Educational
"THE MANUTAKI (leading bird) only leads until through fatigue can lead no longer, he then falls back and another bird rises to take this place of leadership."



Te Manutaki

The survival and prosperity of Māori language and culture, which empowers identity, well-being and potential of Māori.

Vision

Fourth Cinema is widely recognised, valued and supported by Māori as a vital element in promoting and facilitating the survival and prosperity of Māori language and culture.



Core Values

The following Māori beliefs and values are critical to the ongoing success of the Fourth Cinema; Kaitiekitanga, Manaakitanga, Kotahitanga, Whanaungatanga, Rangatiratanga, Mātauranga, Wairuatanga, Aroha, Mana, Utu, Tapu and Noa

Mission

Fourth Cinema film utilises Māori beliefs and values to foster Māori identity, wellbeing and potential.



Role and Purpose

The Role and Purpose of Fourth Cinema is the production of film imbedded with Māori language and culture. Therefore Fourth Cinema is not merely about textual or aesthetic issues but moreover, a strategy focused upon building human and social capacity in cultural, social, economic and educational areas therein providing a mechanism for progressive empowerment and change.

Fourth Cinema films will:

1. Contribute towards the survival and prosperity of Māori language and culture.
2. Foster Māori identity, well-being and potential.
3. Support the development of storytelling and production opportunities to tell strong, creative and imaginative narratives to local, national and international audiences.
4. Increase the employment opportunities for Māori writers, directors and producers by providing a focus on business, practitioner and skills development programs.
5. Develop practitioner skills to optimise current technology and cross platforms, particularly as it relates to Māori and Indigenous communities.
6. Facilitate opportunities to increase annual production of Māori content, i.e. that content containing Māori beliefs and values as a central element of the story/subject matter and employing Māori people in major key creative roles.

Connections and Relationships

Fourth Cinema occupies an interconnected position within a broader Fourth Media Sector strategy and operates on the belief that all broadcasting entities share a collective vision and purpose. Fourth Cinema is therefore an advocate for and contributes to a network of Māori individuals, organisations and other entities who engage with each other in fostering Māori identity, wellbeing and potential. This interrelated level of co-ordination is paramount in ensuring that the ownership of Fourth Cinema is clearly that of Māori, and guardianship and revitalisation of our language and culture lies with Māori themselves.



Importance...

"All birds have the inherent capacity to lead, and the flock therefore traverses immense distances not through the drive and want of the one, but through the collective vision of the whole."

Communications and Transperancy

Fourth Cinema relationships with its many stakeholders are guided by its vision and driven by its core values. In doing so, Fourth Cinema cultivates a strong communication network which ensures organisational accountability and transparency.

Strategy and Policy

A Pūrākau filmmaking strategy enables Fourth Cinema filmmakers to express stories, to convey messages, and embody experiences, while keeping Māori cultural notions intact. The epistemology of Pūrākau methodology is not restricted to the knowledge presented in the stories, but concerned with the dissemination of the knowledge itself.



The responsibility of ensuring that Fourth Cinema is effective and efficient for all stakeholders, has confirmed the necessity of clear governance and organisational policies, and merit of adopting the following five key strategic imperatives:

1. **Central Platform** — A central and united platform of the Fourth Media Sector is essential for the co-ordination of efforts, sharing information and resources, transparency for all stakeholders, and robust communications.
2. **Strategic Networking** — Expanding Fourth Cinema horizons through developing and nurturing new positive relationships.
3. **Information & Communications** — Vital information is articulated well in messaging, and clear channels of communication are open.
4. **Ownership** — All stakeholders feel a sense of ownership and see benefits. This therefore sustains stakeholder contribution to the survival and prosperity of Māori Language and culture.
5. **Innovation & Technology** — Find new and innovation ways of thinking, planning, implementation and production

Resources and Capabilities

Driven by the mission of Fourth Cinema, and the core values, defines the role and purpose of Fourth Cinema and its stakeholders. Stakeholder's statement of purpose then identifies the required resources and capabilities needed to fulfil its mission.

SUCCESS FACTORS

Critical for success of the Fourth Cinema:

- The survival and prosperity of Māori language and culture through the art of storytelling as the industry's core function;
- Support for projects that embrace and acknowledge specific Māori beliefs and cultural values;
- Focus on attracting practitioners to the industry;
  Collaboration with established media and arts organisations at a national and international level;
- Entrepreneurial spirit;
- Adherence to Māori cultural protocols and intellectual rights.

CHALLENGES

Current challenges for the Fourth Cinema industry include:

- More rigorous story development;
- Tell bigger and bolder stories;
- Urgency to collect specific cultural stories;
- Increased level of skills and confidence of practitioners;
- Actively pursue new technology and skills for development opportunities;
- Maximise existing partnerships and market opportunities and create new employment opportunities;
- Access to mainstream opportunities for Indigenous practitioners.



Identity, Well-being and Potential

Fourth Cinema filmmaking is a vessel possessing and reflecting the beliefs, values and aspirations of Māori. Through the utilisation of strategic filmmaking intent it promotes holistic development and offers a strategic direction towards empowerment and advancement of Māori autonomy, self-determination and the building of social communal capacity in an effort to capitalise on opportunities in the 21st century. Fourth Cinema film aspires towards improved Māori wellbeing and standards of health, increased human and social capacity, and strength of cultural identity. Central to this holistic development are Māori beliefs and values, a strong sense of cultural identity and purpose, and the retention and use of Māori knowledge and understandings.



CHAPTER FOUR: TE ŪNGA

MANO KI HAWAIKI

Mano ki te Hawaiki,

Ka tū hakehakea,

Mai te kōwiwini, mai te kōwawana,

He toki tauminamina, he toki mai anarea,

Ka hirahira,

Ko wai e tū mai ana,

ko te tangata ki te pū o te rākau,

Kani iho, kani ake, kani tua,

Te kaha o Tangaroa,

Tangaroa te toi, Tangaroa te meha,

Tangaroa whakamau tai

Ko au matakakā, ki tua o Hawaiki,

Katea te rawaka mai

Ko Tāne ka haruru rutu,

Auē Kī

Whano, Whana,

Hara mai te toki,

Haumi e, Hui e, Tāiki e

4.1 The Arrival

'He ara one e kitea tūranga tapuwae, nā wai te ara pūkaka nui o Hine-moana e kitea te mata tapuwae'

'On sandy paths are footsteps seen, but who shall scan footprints on the far-flung ways of the Ocean Maid'

4.1.1 Following Footsteps

The skill and ability of the ancient Polynesian mariners have been preserved in thought and memory through a multitude of oral histories, such as Pūrākau, karakia and pātere. From these collective memories recorded in song and verse we remember as a people their courage and fearlessness. The late Barry Barclay and Merata Mita also traversed the deep, it was they who braved the wind, rain and storm and held fast when land was far from sight. It was they who held faith in the teachings of the generations before them and in doing so inspired and guided the generations of the present to Indigenise the cinema screen, to fill it with Māori faces and voices and the ways in which we see the world.

4.1.2 Beyond the Horizon

'The simple act of reaching the mainstream is not in itself liberating. It is one of the tactics we should adopt within a theory of human liberation. What we must do is struggle for a different system and present alternatives to the existing system. Our artistic productions should subvert dominant ideology rather than reproduce it.'

(Fregoso, 1985, p. 151)

Māori filmmaking pioneers Merata Mita and Barry Barclay cut a filmatic path by rejecting the dominant filmmaking paradigm as aggressively imperialist, racist and oppressive and in their films cast themselves as a revolutionary cinema of opposition. The pertinent question which now arises for Fourth Cinema scriptwriters is how to further build upon this foundation i.e., how do we work around the dominant narrative paradigm and counter a system of representation that has misrepresented Māori for decades. How, as Charles Burnett (1989) so eloquently puts it: 'does one who is dissatisfied with the way things are going set about transforming society?' (p. 223). For a Fourth Cinema scriptwriter, this is the fundamental philosophical, practical, creative and political question which now arises.

In devising practical answers to that question, screenwriting texts are little help, largely obsessed with the three-act dramatic structure. For all the detailed discussions about plot points, crises and confrontations, not one of these 'how to' manuals raises questions about the ideological implications of the dominant narrative paradigm they are so intent on reproducing. With few exceptions, it would seem that many scriptwriting courses follow suit, training students to write 'professional,' i.e. Hollywood-style scripts which are often deficient when it comes to addressing or even acknowledging the problems of mainstream cinema's depiction of Māori and other Indigenous peoples within the dominant paradigm. In my experience, academic discourse on screenwriting has had little to say on the matter, offering few if any practical strategies an Indigenous writer may implement to infuse their beliefs and values within their work.

Therefore, as Māori Fourth Cinema scriptwriters working within the dominant industry, our work is effectively doubled. For credibility's sake, we must master the dominant screenwriting paradigm. However, in order to alter its pervasive stereotyping, we also need to question and therein transform it wherever and whenever we can through utilising our cultural knowledge as a combative means to do so. This chapter therefore focuses specifically on the 'how' question as outlined in my Te Manutaki strategic framework by identifying

some key writing strategies I have adopted in the writing process to modify the dominant paradigm, strategies that are potentially subversive. In doing so I am building upon suggestions made by Barclay and Mita whose works exemplified how progressive filmmaking can counter the power of the dominant colonial lens.

4.1.3 The Voice of Many

> *The Maori filmmaker carries the burden of having to correct the past and therefore be concerned with demystifying and decolonising the screen. The expectation of positive imaging means destroying the stereotypes that come from cultural appropriation, and clearing the refuse out of oneself in order to make a fresh new start (Mita, 1992, p.40).*

Fourth Cinema filmmakers need to radicalise the dominant narrative paradigm. Since 'only with ideas can we confront ideology,' (Wood, 1978, p. 654) our screenwriting ideas must be our tools for reform. What follows, then, is a Pūrākau writing methodology I have developed entitled 'Ngā Kāpura a Mahuika,' a series of scriptwriting strategies which avoid replicating and reinforcing the dominant voice and in doing so, define and solidify our own. In support, I shall draw upon examples from Barclay and Mita, and examples from my own feature length screenplay *The Prophet* as a working model of how these strategies may be applied. It must be understood that these strategies are not non-negotiable scriptwriting demands; they are open for amendment and elaboration, but importantly such a list is a 'beginning' to providing a methodology for Fourth Cinema screenwriters who are concerned about what sorts of meanings their scripts are constructing. The driving impetus for such an approach is that despite an ever-growing Māori image making industry, no such strategies currently exist to inform the writing process for Māori scriptwriters/filmmakers. The closest I have come thus far to any type of strategy in relation to the filmmaking process is an ethical guide to industry filmmaking written by Tainui Stephens. I have included this in its entirety as a starting point.

CODE OF ETHICS (Source: Tainui Stephens)

A New Zealand industry guide to bi-cultural integrity

Me hui ā kanohi, ahakoa te aha

Gather to meet, face to face, no matter what.

The most succinct, direct, and open way to communicate amongst the creatives, the production team, and with the talent, is through face-to-face meetings. It is best done with the assistance of the normal protocols of hui Māori. Mihi, poroporoaki and karakia pave the way well, for good communication and joint effort.

Me ū tonu ki ngā tikanga Māori

Have meaningful respect for Māori lore.

There must be acknowledgement of the values that tikanga Māori bring to any endeavour. Conscious and sincere adherence to them forges good professional and personal relationships. Implicit in this, is to recognise the need for guidance in the customs of the culture. This is best achieved by the input of recognised kaumātua.

Me mātau ki tō te kaupapa

Understand everything about the kaupapa.

When a project has a clear vision, all efforts by all people are directed towards its fruition. Lucid communication of all goals is necessary. Actions and their ramifications should be understood. All should be in the loop and know about their bit of loop.

Me mārama te katoa ki ngā piki me ngā heke o ngā mahi

Everyone should be aware of the challenges and the fulfilment of the business.

Producing feature films and broadcast television is complex work. The best practitioners are highly skilled professionals. They understand the considerable challenges every production faces. The average citizen does not. When members

of the public consent to a television or film production they must understand the consequences and benefits of their participation.

Me whai mana tonu ngā mea e mana ana

Ensure authority is appropriately acknowledged.

The unique mana tūturu of all individuals and their specific roles in a production should be respected. Anyone and anything with mana is to be honoured: This includes stories and ideas, as well as their authoritative ownership: Intellectual Property, Copyright and Tino Rangatiratanga.

Me whai hua te katoa – mai runga mai raro

There will be benefits for All.

Our industry is a huge exercise in teamwork and partnerships. Every party involved in the creation of a TV or Film taonga should receive benefits from their involvement. Those benefits may be great or small, but they need to be apparent. Be win win.

(Tainui Stephens, 2015)

These ethical strategies as articulated by Tainui Stephens largely lend themselves to the practical filmmaking process, not the philosophy underpinning the writing of the film itself. My proposal for a Pūrākau writing methodology therefore, provides filmmaking strategies that serve to remind us that we as Fourth Cinema filmmakers engage first with the scriptwriting process. For the danger I see eventuating is that in the furious competition to enter the filmmaking and television mainstream we forget who we are and 'why' we need to produce images of meaning and substance, rather than being reflected poorly in the tainted mirror of another.

Pūrākau writing methodology offers an alternative to that tainted mirror. As Anna Hamilton Phelan, the writer of *Mask* (1985) and *Gorillas in the Mist* (1988) says,

'You just have to write from the heart, though many people and your friends and your family will tell you it's not commercial, but you just have to go ahead and write it if you want to write it. It has to come from your heart, because if you write it from your head or from your wallet…forget it.' (Phelan cit in Beker, 2008, p. 44)

As Fourth Cinema filmmakers, we can share that ideal but we need to make movies from our cultural hearts, using our cinematic eyes and keeping our ideological heads.

4.1.4 The Master's Tools: The Dominant Paradigm

4.1.5 Narrative

To combat the dominant voice, we must clearly comprehend the tools utilised to frame us. Over time a structural paradigm has evolved, based on the classic Aristotelian three-act structure. The massive increase over the last twenty years in the number of books dealing with screenwriting and incorporating this paradigm in one form or another has resulted in the elevation of the paradigm to the level of orthodoxy (Sundberg, 2013). The paradigm can be seen to have taken on the dimensions of a model, the key points in which have to be 'hit' by the writer in order for the story to be considered to be told 'correctly.' The three-act story structure basically reads as follows:

ACT I

This part of the story introduces the main character, the dramatic premise, and the dramatic situation.

- **Main character**: the person in the story who has a need/objective to fulfil and whose actions drive the story.
- **Dramatic premise**: what the story's about.
- **Dramatic situation**: the circumstances surrounding the action.

- **Inciting Incident**: an event that sets the plot of the film in motion. It occurs approximately halfway through the first act.

ACT II

- **Obstacles**: In the second act, the main character encounters obstacle after obstacle that prevent him from achieving his dramatic need.
- **First Culmination**: a point just before the halfway point of the film where the main character seems close to achieving his or her goal/objective. Then, everything falls apart, leading to the midpoint.
- **Midpoint**: a point approximately halfway through the film where the main character reaches his/her lowest point and seems farthest from fulfilling the dramatic need or objective.

ACT III

- **Climax**: The point at which the plot reaches its maximum tension and the forces in opposition confront each other at a peak of physical or emotional action.
- **Resolution**: The brief period of calm at the end of a film where a state of equilibrium returns.

Plot Point: The three acts are separated by two 'plot points'. A plot point is an event that thrusts the plot in a new direction, leading into a new act of the screenplay.

(Field, 1984)

Sundberg (2013) collates elaborated versions of this structure from numerous sources. Among the most well-respected writers/teachers promulgating this narrative structure are Syd Field, Linder Seger, Robert McKee and Chris Vogler. These four have done more to define and entrench the paradigm, than have any other influences. All of them acknowledge the three-act structure as being at the heart of the screen drama story structuring, and acknowledge its roots in ancient Greek storytelling. Despite variations in

terminology, their scriptwriting models all advocate the basic Aristotelian three-act structure. Although the authors also vary in degree to which they espouse the importance of character to story in comparison to structure, all can be seen to reinforce the dominant orthodoxy of film story structuring. Though the three-act structure will not guarantee a good screenplay or a good film, all good screenplays are said to fit into this paradigm.

4.1.6 Plot

The dominant paradigm is not just about narrative structure it is also about plot types, the plot may be defined in this instance as a pattern of all of the things that permit the story to continue. It was Gustav Freytag (1816 - 1895), a German dramatist and novelist who perceived common patterns in stories and novels and developed a diagram to analyse the plot structure. In doing so he divided a drama into five parts which is now widely known as the Freytag pyramid:

1. **Exposition**
2. **Rising Action**
3. **Climax**
4. **Falling Action**
5. **Resolution and Denouement**

The Exposition: contains all of the necessary background information that is needed to understand the story. This information can include the characters, setting, etc. The dramatic situation is usually placed here, the conflict by which the characters are motivated and the obstacles they have to overcome.

The Rising Action: is what happens before the climax. The rising contains complications, anything that changes the motivation or obstacles of the

characters: an antagonist is introduced, the protagonist is cast adrift to deal with new problems, etc.

The Climax: is considered the highest point of interest of the story. This is where all the action of the story reaches a peak. It is usually the moment of greatest tension.

Falling Action: deals with events which occur right after the climax. These events are usually the after-effects of the climax.

Resolution/Denouement: This is the end of the falling action and the conclusion to the story. Denouement comes from the French meaning 'to untie'. The denouement is the 'untying' of the plot (Welton, 2014).

As film theorist David Bordwell (1985) has pointed out, a goal-oriented hero experiences 'something new to his/her situation, or he seeks to restore an original state of affairs' (p. 10). Importantly a UCLA study (2015) revealed that 'white actors still play 83.3 percent of all Hollywood lead roles' (p. 10). So the 'hero' described by Bordwell tends to be a very specific one in much mainstream cinema.

4.1.7 Pūrākau, an Archetype of Change: Experience beyond the Self

> *Every culture has a right and responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them. Furthermore, any culture living closely with another ought to have regular opportunities to express itself to that other culture in ways that are true to its own values and needs (Barclay, 1990, p.7).*

Mainstream films in Aotearoa/New Zealand have often been far from racially, ethnically or culturally sensitive and when Māori characters were represented at all, they were typically characterised as oversexed, immoral, criminal simpletons or comedic contrasts to their white protagonists. The writing of the feature length screenplay *The Prophet* therefore aspired to materialise

resistant perspectives aimed specifically at subverting those long-held and dominant discourses.

Such an approach is also underpinned by a personal aspiration to explore the mechanics of scriptwriting further, namely, the way in which a traditional genre of Māori narrative, in this case Pūrākau, might inform a new approach. The implementation of a Pūrākau approach creates the opportunity to write about culture as well as writing culture into the text, an important view shared by Mita:

> *For Māori and the indigenous people around the world who have their spirituality continuously under attack, sharing their dreams and visions of others is an experience beyond the self. The value of that should not be underestimated (Mita, 1994, p.40)*

Films like *The Piano (1993), Whale Rider (2003), Once Were Warriors (1994), River Queen (2006), Boy (2010) and The Dead Lands (2014)* largely underestimate this value, and participate in the dominant paradigms undervaluing experience beyond that of the three-act structures protagonist.

4.1.8 A Cross Cultural Approach?

So a fundamental problem I had to address in writing *The Prophet* was how to deal with 'hero' in the sense of the classic protagonist who draws all of the represented experience into himself. The proposed solution to this fundamental problem is not to reject this narrative functionary outright, but to put him into play in the story and then to break the represented experience out of the container that he represents, using the Pūrākau inspired approach. In the writing of *The Prophet* I adopted the three-act story structure known as 'The Hero's Journey' as promoted by Chris Vogler, and Christopher Booker's 'The Quest' plot archetype, as well as infusing my Pūrākau inspired scriptwriting methodology entitled 'Ngā Kāpura a Mahuika'.

Martin Nakata, a Torres Strait Islander, was the first to coin the phrase the 'Cultural Interface' and asserts that such a reconciling dynamic is a 'crucial

element in any future methodological position', while also warning that it is 'more easily said than done' as academics tend to 'take sides' rather than explore the complex intersections of the Interface (2001, p. 164). Nakata has described the application of the Cultural Interface as beginning in Indigenous lifeworlds and then extending into non-local realities. He asserts that an Interface approach is not simply a vehicle for Indigenous transition into the mainstream, but 'a source of innovation, critical thinking and problem-solving skills' (2001, p. 165). Nakata proposes the Cultural Interface as a way to work with opposite systems in a non-oppositional way, neutralising the factor of their supposed incompatibility.

This emphasis of being well educated in the worlds of both Māori and Pākehā to achieve at the interface is not a new concept for Māori, one perfectly epitomised in the late Sir Āpirana Ngata who was a physical manifestation of this ideal. In example, in 1949 in the book of schoolgirl Rangi Bennett he wrote:

> *'E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tō ao, ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna, ko to wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.'*
>
> (Thrive in the days destined for you, your hand to the tools of the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of your ancestors to adorn your head, your soul to God to whom all things belong. My own free translation)

Building upon this understanding of hybridity and interconnectedness, I have also contended that Fourth Cinema resides in a specific space of Indigenous aesthetic and artistic creative practice, a theoretical space I have termed 'Te Whai Ao', or the realm of becoming. Te Whai Ao was explained as a space between spaces, a space where change happens, where transformation takes place. In this theoretical context, I offered Te Whai Ao as an Indigenous filmatic space for Fourth Cinema filmmaking that spans the post-colonial space of the 'specific' as defined by Hallward and secondly the 'Cultural Interface' as defined by Nakata.

For the specific space of Te Whai Ao is where the complexity of the relationship between the colonial and post-colonial exists. Fourth Cinema as conceived here adds a new, valuable, and necessary Indigenous 'specific' dimension to the dominant narrative paradigm through the Te Whai Ao theoretical proposition. It is this exact understanding of synergy, reciprocity and balance that has unpinned the writing of *The Prophet*, and it is therefore pertinent at this juncture to briefly discuss the dual narrative approaches which were adopted.

4.1.9 The Hero's Journey

Chris Vogler in his 1999 book *The Writers Journey: Mythic structure for storytellers and screenwriters* takes the three-act structure and relates it to archetypes of the collective unconscious that pre-occupied Carl Jung and Joseph Campbell. Vogler explores the historic and fundamental relationship between modern storytelling and classical mythology, and in the process, reveals a set of useful myth-inspired storytelling paradigms, as well as step-by-step guidelines to plot and character development. The mythically flavoured titles apart, Vogler's matrix tallies closely with the established three-act paradigm previously articulated. I have therefore listed the matrix and attached the corresponding stages of the *The Prophet* illustrating how the screenplay integrated strategically into the Vogler matrix.

(Act 1)

(Approximately 30 pages)

- **Ordinary World** (Te Kooti at home)
- **Call to Adventure** (Irihāpeti tells Te Kooti of the Hauhau movement))
- **Refusal of the Call** (Te Kooti refuses to fight with the Hauhau)
- **Meeting with the mentor** (Te Kooti is unjustly arrested and meets Kahutia in prison)
- **Crossing the first threshold** (Te Kooti is exiled to the Chatham penal colony)
- **Test, allies, enemies** (Te Kooti's incarceration on the Chatham penal colony)

(Act 2)

(Approximately 60 pages)

- **Approach the innermost cave ordeal** (Te Kooti contracts tuberculosis and is isolated to die)
- **Reward** (Te Kooti miraculously recovers, leads a daring escape back to New Zealand and then treks inland to find safety)

(Act 3)

(Approximately 30 pages)

- **The Road Back** (Te Kooti returns to Tūranga for vengeance)
- **Resurrection** (Te Kooti is cornered at Ngātapa but prophesies his survival)
- **Return with the elixir** (Te Kooti miraculously escapes death and begins a religion which continues to this day)

(With reference to Vogler, 1999, p.33)

The line above between narrative stages in bold and the parentheses in each instance is the line of the Cultural Interface. Rather than thinking of the parentheses as particular instances of the stages, I viewed them in the writing as existing in tension with the stages, of which they are none the less an acknowledgement. The Pūrākau inspired method of writing could then develop this internal tension, especially around the question of the protagonist's relations with Mita's 'experience beyond the self'. In order to do this, I put *The Prophet* into a similar condition of tension with Christopher Booker's 'universal' plots (Booker, 2004).

4.1.10 Plots

What follows then are the skeletons of Booker's 'seven basic plots.' The word 'plot' as utilised by Booker does not refer to the literal events of the story, but rather the symbolic events of the story. I am purposely providing only the minimum amount of detail in relation to the plot archetypes. The seven plots as defined by Booker are as follows:

1. **Overcoming the Monster**

Plot structure:

1. Anticipation Stage (The Call)
2. Dream Stage (Initial Success)
3. Frustration Stage (Confrontation)
4. Nightmare Stage (Final Ordeal)
5. Miraculous Escape (Death of the Monster)

2. **Rags to Riches**

Plot structure:

1. Initial Wretchedness at Home (The Call)
2. Out into the World (Initial Success)
3. The Central Crisis

4. Independence (Final Ordeal)
5. Final Union, Completion and Fulfilment

3. The Quest

Plot structure:

1. The Call (Oppressed in the City of Destruction)
2. The Journey (Ordeals of the Hero/Heroine & Companions)

   Which may include some or all of the following:

a) Monsters

b) Temptations

c) The Deadly Opposites

d) The Journey to the Underworld

3. Arrival and Frustration
4. The Final Ordeals
5. The Goal (Kingdom, Other Half or Elixir won)

4. Voyage & Return

Plot structure:

1. Anticipation Stage ('Fall' into the Other World)
2. Initial Fascination (Dream Stage)
3. Frustration Stage
4. Nightmare Stage
5. Thrilling Escape and Return

5. Comedy:

Plot structure:

1. Under the Shadow
2. Tightening the Knot
3. Resolution

6. **Tragedy**

Plot structure:

1. Anticipation Stage (Greed or Selfishness)
2. Dream Stage
3. Frustration Stage
4. Nightmare Stage
5. Destruction or Death Wish Stage

7. **Rebirth**

Plot structure:

1. Under the Shadow
2. The Threat Recedes
3. The Threat Returns
4. The Dark Power Triumphant
5. Miraculous Redemption

(Booker, 2004)

Below are the respective steps in 'The Quest' plot and again the corresponding aspects of the *The Prophet* illustrating its relationship to them.

The Quest

1. **The Call**

   Te Kooti at home, Irihāpeti reminds Te Kooti of the growing tension between the Hauhau movement and increasing colonial military presence, she calls him to fight. Te Kooti refuses to take sides in the altercation, later he is unjustly arrested for spying against the government. Te Kooti is exiled without trial to the Chatham Island penal colony for indefinite imprisonment.

2. **The Journey**

   Te Kooti's lengthy incarceration on the Chatham penal colony.

a. **Monsters**

   Te Kooti is viciously abused by the penal colony guards and commander.

b. **Temptations**

   Surrounded by death, Te Kooti receives an enticing offer from the colony commander, he refuses.

c. **Deadly Opposites**

   Te Kooti contracts tuberculosis and near death, is isolated from the populous in a cell to await his fate.

d. **Journey to the Underworld**

   Te Kooti receives a vision of the Arch Angel Michael, who informs Te Kooti that he has been chosen by god to deliver his people to freedom.

3. **Arrival and Frustration**

Te Kooti miraculously recovers from his illness, preaching a new gospel of deliverance, he organises and leads a daring escape back to Aotearoa/New Zealand and then treks inland to find safety.

4. **The Final Ordeals** After successfully defending his people from continual government attacks, he finds himself at an impasse, unable to avoid further conflict Te Kooti returns to his home and vengeance.
5. **The Goal** Te Kooti is cornered at Ngātapa but prophesies his survival, Te Kooti miraculously escapes death and begins a religion of peace and goodwill which continues to this day.

4.1.11 Finding the Interface

Every water got a song, every place got a story

(Words of Joe Brown, a Walmajarri Elder from Fitzroy Crossing, 2008)

Peter Wintonick, a Canadian filmmaker says:

> *'There are many different concepts of story: In Iceland, there's a long tradition of oral stories that last four days. There are epic sagas in Kyrgyzstan. On the other hand, stories in the Western world typically have a beginning, middle and end. There are thousands of different types of storytellers around the world.' (Wintonick cit in Cizek, 2005, p. 74-75)*

Māori storytelling reflects a similar understanding of alternate paradigms and according to Biggs (1966, p. 448), the main corpus of Māori mythology unfolds in three interlocking complexes or cycles. These interlocking cycles are reflected in the mythologies scribed by the Ngāti PorouTohunga Mohi Ruatapu in the 1870s, and referred to in my own tribal teachings as:

1. Atua
2. Tīpuna
3. Tāngata

It must also be understood that within each lengthy story that makes up a cycle there are numerous internal interwoven, whakataukī (proverbs), whakapapa (genealogy), karakia (prayers) waiata (songs) etc. Furthermore, no story within the cycle can be viewed in isolation, rather it must be seen as an incorporated part of a whole, a complex cycle composed of multiple processes that occur simultaneously and continuously. This storytelling cycle also challenges the dominant linear storytelling progression as one can 'begin' and cycle from any point in the structure either forward or backward, and therefore 'where' the story begins or ends is an open question. As a consequence, I want to argue that 'cyclical' narrative time is a vital aspect of what will be going on at the interface between dominant story structural elements and an Indigenised story practice such as *The Prophet*. At their most basic level, the incorporate stories within these three cycles read as such:

1) The cosmogonic genealogies relating the origins of gods and people
    - Rangi and Papa

- Hine-nui-te-pō

2) The Māui complex of myths
    - Māui
    - Irawaru
    - Tinirau and Kae
3) The Tāwhaki complex of myths
    - Tāwhaki
    - Wahieroa
    - Rātā
    - Mātuku-tangotango

4.1.12Ngā Kāpura a Mahuika: The Flames of Mahuika

Counterensoulment

> *'A major concern of story-telling should be restoring values, reversing the erosion of all those things that made a better life' (Charles Burnett, 1989, p. 224)*

To be clear about what is being argued here, within a space of becoming (Te Whai Ao) an Indigenised screenwriting practice will function at the Cultural Interface in order to reform the dominant structural paradigm for screen storytelling, e.g. by maintaining the significance of experience beyond the self and of cyclical time. I want to argue further that maintaining these and other features will depend on having access to specific Pūrākau strategies. 'Ngā Kāpura a Mahuika' or The flames of Mahuika, I have drawn upon the mythological metaphor of the Goddess of Fire as a way of encoding ten strategies that a writer may implement. I will argue that the embedding of cultural principles through these writing strategies infuses within the film Barclay's 'vital interiority' and what I have defined as 'Wairuatanga.'

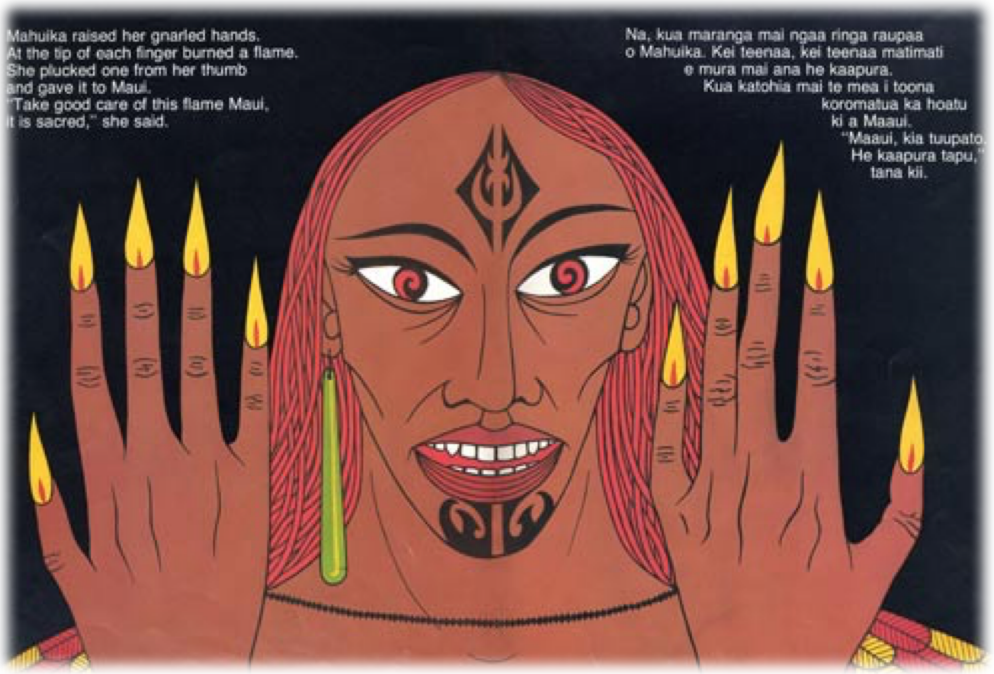


Figure 29: Mahuika

Source: Peter Gossage, How Maui found the secret of fire: Te kiteanga o te kaapura. Auckand: Lansdowne Rigby, 1984. Artwork by Peter Gossage. Reproduced with permission.

According to Māori mythology, it is said that Māui procured fire from his ancestress Mahuika the Fire-goddess. Māui, finding that fire has been lost on the earth, resolves to find Mahuika and learn the secret art of obtaining fire. He visits her and to his amazement finds that her fingernails are the source of fire, but his eventual tricks incur her wrath and although he obtains the secret of fire, he barely escapes with his life. He transforms himself into a Kāhu (native hawk), but to no avail for Mahuika sets both land and sea on fire. Exhausted, Māui pleads to his brothers for help, who answer with karakia (prayers) which bring pouring rain and extinguish the fire. It is said that the last remnants of this fire took refuge within certain trees, these trees cherish and hold the fire of Mahuika, and where it may still be found to this day and be brought fourth through appropriate means. In relation to this story and as told in detail by my tribal elders, each flame and therein each finger was named by Mahuika:

Ringa Katau - Right Hand

1) **Kōnui** –Thumb
2) **Kōroa** - Index
3) **Māpere** - Middle
4) **Manawa** - Ring
5) **Tōiti** – Little

Ringa Mauī - Left Hand

6) **Toka** – Thumb
7) **Kahawai** - Index
8) **Tīmōtī** - Middle
9) **Tauranga** - Ring
10) **Te Ahi** – Little

I have re-encoded this into the left hand of Characters, and the right hand of Story Elements. I will contend that through the effective incorporation of these ten strategies a specific imaging is able to be produced.

Ringa Katau – **Characters**

1) Kōnui –**Protagonists**
2) Kōroa - **Antagonists**
3) Māpere – **Heroines/Love Interests**
4) Manawa – **Minor Characters**
5) Tōiti – **Spirit**

Ringa Mauī – **Story Elements**

6) Toka – **Genre**
7) Kahawai – **Point of View**
8) Tīmōtī – **Locale and Setting**
9) Tauranga - **Time**
10) Te Ahi – **Dialogue**

In direct relation to the embedding of cultural elements within their programming, Māori Television offer a mere three lines in their programming application guidelines:

> *Make sure that the reo and tikanga is appropriate for the genre of programme. That all use of tikanga is clearly explained in presentation of the programme when necessary. That both aspects are nurtured and respectfully treated. (Māori Television, 2015)*

As with Te Paepae Ataata and Ngā Aho Whakaari, Māori television speaks of incorporating 'Tikanga', but provides not a single explanation of what this

actually entails. Grande (2004), a leading scholar on Native American identity and political thought, has argued in *Red Pedagogy*:

> *'[There is] a need for an indigenous theory of identity – one historically grounded in indigenous struggles for self-determination, politically centered in issues of sovereignty, and spiritually guided by the religious traditions of American Indian Peoples. The aim is to develop an emancipatory theory – a new Red pedagogy – that acts as a true counterdiscourse, counterpraxis, counterensoulment of indigenous identity' (p. 95).*

So the proposed strategies are intended to enable a 'counterensoulment' of Indigenised screenwriting in this sense.

4.2 Ringa Mauī: Characters

4.2.1 Kōnui: Protagonists

7. EXT. TŪRANGA DOCK - DAY

The merchant vessel Rua-whētuki is now docked in a busy harbour. The Māori crew members unload various stores from beneath deck to awaiting dockside carts. They work in a well-organised and disciplined fashion.

TE KOOTI stands on the dock loading boxes stamped with the word 'MURPHY' onto a cart. He stops and calls to the crew on the deck of the vessel.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
Quickly, get that cargo from below deck. We have a timeframe to keep and clients to appease. Our next Auckland run is near upon us.

A Māori man, KIWA, pops his head over the side of the vessel and humorously calls to Te Kooti.

KIWA (Te Reo Māori)
Auē (heck) Te Kooti! Do this, do that, you are worse than my grandmother!

The crew breaks out in laughter. Shaking his head, Te Kooti, looks at the man and chuckles.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
Get back to work Kiwa, don't make me come up there.

Kiwa cheekily smiles at Te Kooti and his head pops back out of sight. Te Kooti chuckles to himself, but immediately stops as he spies the approach of two well-dressed English gentlemen HARRIS and READ. Harris and Read are both in their mid-fifties overweight and balding. They speak in strong 'Queen's English' accents.

HARRIS
Te Kooti, Te Kooti, the proverbial thorn in my side. Are you aware that your petty outfit has once again undercut our shipping costs and taken the Murphy contract?

Te Kooti attempts to ignore their condescending rhetoric.

READ
A contract that should rightfully be ours, I suggest that you surrender it this instant to

its rightful proprietors. Those more adequately suited to fulfill the task.

The men snigger, Te Kooti ignores their taunts and continues to work. Kiwa pops his head over the side of the vessel and spies the two men, his face creases with anger. Te Kooti eyes Kiwa and shakes his head mouthing the words ‘Kao’ (no). Their personal attack heightens.

HARRIS

To think you could run a business? Ha! You're a Māori my good man, the only thing a Māori is good for is standing at the end of a shovel!

Both traders begin to laugh between themselves.

READ

Have you no words Te Kooti? Perhaps you do not speak the Queens English? I dare say your heathen brain could neither appreciate nor comprehend the intricacies of our language.

They again begin to laugh.

Through their bellowing laughter Te Kooti turns to see ERUERA watching silently from the deck of the ship. He has witnessed the entire incident, and fear is etched across his face. Te Kooti’s gaze pauses on the young boy, it is as if he sees a reflection of himself in the young boy’s frightened face. Te Kooti closes his eyes and takes a deep breath. He turns to face the traders. His words spit anger.

TE KOOTI

You have the audacity to come to me speaking of injustice, but am I not merely exercising the tenets of the very laws that you impose? Do I not have the right to free industry?

Both men are taken back by the fluency of Te Kooti's eloquent words and are momentarily speechless. The crew now stop what they are doing and turn to hear the words of Te Kooti.

TE KOOTI

Does your law not emphasise: To take from one because it is thought that his own industry has acquired too much, in order to spare to others, who have not exercised equal industry and skill, is to violate arbitrarily the first principle of association, the guarantee to every one of a free exercise of his industry and the fruits acquired by it?

Both traders are flustered, finally one manages an answer.

HARRIS

How, how dare you speak to me in such an insolent tone. You should show me respec-

TE KOOTI

I am not bound to please you with my answers sir, and so shall speak to you as I see fit.

Enraged and embarrassed, but with no adequate rebuttal, the two men turn tail and hastily scuttle from the dock.

HARRIS
He is not the like the others, he will not be intimidated.

READ
Yes, this will not be as easy as expected.

HARRIS
We must speak to McLean.

READ
Absolutely, other measures must be taken.

Despite the outcome, Te Kooti watches apprehensively as the two men leave the dock. As they finally disappear from sight, he lowers his head and continues his work.

Of course, in an obvious sense, the protagonist here overtly counterbalances the image of Māori men as inarticulate (and inarticulacy is linked to male violence in a dominant narrative of contemporary Māori dysfunction, see '*Once Were Warriors*' for example). But a more significant element is being set up. The gaze of the boy Eruera is, in fact, the most important feature here of a larger counterensoulment being written into the screenplay. What exactly it is the boy witnesses when he is 'watching silently' is the important question. And three scenes later, in an example of cyclical time, the 'boy' reappears but this time it is with Te Kooti himself.

10. EXT. BUSH PATH - 1839

A 9-year-old TE KOOTI walks along a bush path with his stoic father, TE RANGIPĀTAHI. Cloaked in a korowai (traditional feather cloak) with a red blanket wrapped

around his waist, Te Rangipātahi's hair is tied tightly in a topknot and adorned with huia feathers. He wears a rei puta (whales tooth) around his neck and his face is creased with deep lines of blue green moko. As they walk Te Rangipātahi looks down upon his silent son and senses something is awry.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
What troubles you my son? You have not spoken since we left the English school.

The young boy looks to his father,

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
Father, why must I go to the English school? I do not like it.

Te Rangipātahi looks to the side of the path and spies a piece of land scorched by fire. He leads Te Kooti towards it, and a single juvenile plant that grows in its center. Te Kooti stares at the solitary plant as Te Rangipātahi kneels and tenderly caresses its small leaves.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
This child of Tāne (God of forest) is the Makomako. When a flood or fire strips all life from the earth, the first new plant to grow is the Makomako.

Te Kooti looks at his father then back to the plant which stands solitarily.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
You see Arikirangi, the life purpose of the Makomako is to provide shelter so that other plants may grow. To shield them from harsh sunlight or driving rain.

Te Kooti remains staring intently at the plant.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI(Te Reo Māori)
When the plants that grow beneath the Makomako are strong enough to survive, the Makomako dies. It sacrifices its own life so that the great giants of Tāne, like the Kauri…

Te Rangipātahi gestures to huge native tress that line the bush path.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI(Te Reo Māori)
…the Tōtara, the Kahikatea may grow and flourish.

His father now turns to face Te Kooti.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI(Te Reo Māori)
You are like the Makomako Arikirangi. The years that lie ahead will be years of great change for our people. You must provide them with shelter and protection.

Te Rangipātahi places his arms on Te Kooti’s shoulders, looking intently into his eyes.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI(Te Reo Māori)
To do so my son, you must walk with confidence in both worlds, ours and that of the English.

Te Kooti looks back to the plant and then to his father.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI(Te Reo Māori)
This is the leadership the future will require my son. These are the sacrifices you must make.

Te Kooti listens intently but a worried expression creeps across his young face.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
But father, I do not know how to lead, how will I know what to do?

Te Rangipātahi smiles and places a hand upon his own heart.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
I will give you the same answer I was given Te Kooti. To help your people, you must love your people.

He now places his hand on Te Kooti's own heart.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
Your love for your land, for your family, your love for your people. This is what shall guide your actions.

Te Rangipātahi pats Te Kooti's chest.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
Always trust in this my son, it shall be your guiding star in the darkest of nights.

Te Rangipātahi smiles and hugs Te Kooti close to him.

What is going on in the relationship between Scene 7 and Scene 10 is that 7/Kahawai/Point of View is being established via a loop in 9/Tauranga/Time through which 1/Kōnui/Protagonist derives an internally reflexive gaze, materialised in Scene 7 and Scene 10 as the boy. Whatever the success or otherwise of the overt description of action and presentation of dialogue in this draft, this internal relation between 'left' and 'right' hand is offered as exemplary of the method that is being developed. It may not be coincidental, of course, if there is being an echo of the boy described at the beginning of this thesis.

4.2.2 Kōroa: Antagonists

Considerably later in the screenplay there is an example of how this temporal cycle cuts back through a scene in the 'present' of the story. Provincial superintendent Donald Mclean is visited by Te Kooti's wife Irihāpeti. The re-entry into the narrative space of the questioning point of view allows the figure of McLean to be an antagonist but not a two-dimensional villain.

34. INT. TŪRANGA MAGISTRATE OFFICE – MID AFTERNOON

MCLEAN sits at a large desk shuffling papers. Oak furniture fills his affluent office and a large oil painting of Queen Victoria hangs from the wall. A knocking at his office door averts his attention.

MCLEAN

Enter.

A SOLDIER enters the room and walks towards McLean's desk.

SOLDIER

Sir, there is a Māori woman here to see you,

MCLEAN (somewhat surprised)

A Māori woman? What is her intention?

SOLDIER

I do not know sir; she wishes to speak with you personally.

MCLEAN

Very well then, send her in.

The soldier leaves and moments later IRIHĀPETI strides into the room. She wears a European styled dress and cuts a striking figure.

IRIHĀPETI

Are you Donald McLean?

Somewhat taken back, McLean pauses before answering.

MCLEAN

Yes, I am, may I be of assistance?

IRIHĀPETI

My husband is Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki. He was arrested and sent to Napier with the Hauhau prisoners for trial. It has been days

Sir, and I am yet to hear anything of his trial or sentencing.

McLean nervously shuffles the papers on his desk.

MCLEAN
Te Kooti? I am sorry madam but I have never heard of a prisoner of that name.

Irihāpeti stares intently at McLean's face.

IRIHĀPETI
I inquired into my husband's arrest warrant. It was signed by you personally.

McLean fidgets uncomfortably, caught in a lie.

MCLEAN
As I told you before, I do not know this man.

Irihāpeti walks closer to McLean's desk.

IRIHĀPETI
What have you done with my husband?

McLean calls out to the guard.

MCLEAN
Guard, guard!

Irihāpeti slams her fist upon McLean's desk.

IRIHĀPETI
Answer me!

A soldier enters the room.

MCLEAN
Guard, please remove this woman from my office.

The soldier grabs Irihāpeti by the arm, she wrenches it from his grip and stares at McLean.

IRIHĀPETI
It does not end here.

She turns and storms from the room, the guard turns to McLean.

SOLDIER
What was that about Sir?

MCLEAN
Nothing, please leave.

The guard pauses and McLean screams.

MCLEAN
I SAID LEAVE!

The guard leaves and McLean slumps back at his desk obviously distressed. He lifts his hand to grasp his papers and notices it is shaking. His vision is drawn to the center of his desk and the photograph of his family that takes precedence. He stares intently at the photograph of his wife and young children, including the face of a young boy who stares back at the camera.

The manipulation of time and viewpoint is a relatively simple example. The following also concerns an antagonist, Māori Kūpapa (Crown loyalist) leader, Major Rāpata Wahawaha. Here 8/Tīmōtī/Local and Setting combine with 10/Te Ahi/Dialogue but the 'interface' element concerns the question of choice. Conventionally we would expect the protagonist's identity to be defined by choices freely made, but here the left hand of character holds the protagonist Te Kooti in a more complex web of obligation and determining forces so that, in a sense, his culture speaks through him when he says 'I made no such choice'. But the real force of this moment is intended to come, again, from the cyclical temporal strand that connects back to a moment of 'conscious decision'.

22. EXT. TŪRANGA TOWNSHIP - AFTERNOON

The prisoners walk the Tūranga high road from the prison to the dock. While walking Te Kooti notices a large party of Māori Kūpapa amassed on the street watching the procession of the rebel prisoners. The kūpapa wear a mixture of British uniform and traditional dress and carry both traditional weapons and English muskets. Te Kooti spies the figure of WAHAWAHA in full English uniform standing silently to the fore intently observing the prisoners passing. He locks eyes with Te Kooti and as he passes, draws his sabre blocking his path.

WAHAWAHA (Te Reo Māori)
You seem different to the others, what is your name.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Te Kooti

Exuding a cool intelligence, Wahawaha smiles.

WAHAWAHA (Te Reo Māori)
Ah yes, Te Kooti, the Rongowhakaata sailor. I have heard of your exploits within your people, admirable.

Wahawaha glances to the prisoners that file past.

WAHAWAHA (Te Reo Māori)
Though it seems your intelligence has escaped you in the choice of your current company.

Te Kooti answers Wahawaha calmly

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
I made no such choice,

Wahawaha looks somewhat amused at Te Kooti's answer.

WAHAWAHA (Te Reo Māori)
Oh but yes you have, every choice you have ever made has placed you in this position.

A GUARD pushes Te Kooti in the back forcing him to move.

GUARD
Move!!

Te Kooti continues walking but glances back at Wahawaha whose eyes are still locked on him in a chilly stare.

The above scene connects back to a moment of 'conscious decision' through which the cyclical temporal dimension does more that offer 'flashbacks' in the conventional sense, but rather the 'little finger' of character asserts itself

outside the linear momentum of the narrative surface, and 5/Tōiti/Spirt asserts itself.

4. INT. MISSIONARY CLASSROOM - DAY - 1839

It is cold and stale inside the Whakatō Missionary School. A young boy's hand traces the words of a bible he is reading. It is a nine-year-old TE KOOTI. His focus is shattered by the booming English voice of an Anglican MINISTER.

MINISTER
Arikirangi! Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki! You will learn nothing in the house of the lord if you fail to pay attention!

Startled, the young boy speaks,

TE KOOTI
Kia aroha mai e te matua, kei te--

His words are cut short by the minister,

MINISTER
English! In the house of the Lord only English shall be spoken!

The boy immediately responds in English,

TE KOOTI
I'm sorry Father,

MINISTER

So Mr Arikirangi, what consumed your thoughts so entirely, and led you to so blatantly ignore my teachings?

TE KOOTI (respectfully)

Was nothing father, I was just reading my scriptur--

MINISTER

Please, stand and share them aloud with the entire class.

The boy hesitates momentarily and the Minister now screams at him startling other students in the class who quickly bow their heads in submission.

MINISTER

Stand now boy and speak! I will not ask you again!

Holding his bible in both hands, the boy slowly rises, looks around the classroom at the other children, at the minister and then lowers his head and begins to read a verse.

TE KOOTI

And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.

Satisfied with having made an adequate example of the boy, the Minister makes his way back to the front of the room. The boy continues to read from the bible but

then slowly closes it and stops speaking. He takes a slow deep breath, makes a conscious decision. He raises his head, and again quotes the passage having committed it entirely to memory.

TE KOOTI

Now there arose up a new king over Egypt. And the new King said unto his people, 'Behold, the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: Let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us.'

The Minister looks back at the boy who now stares directly at him with a fiery intensity and confidence. Taken back, the minister is momentarily speechless.

TE KOOTI

Therefore, they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. But the more they afflicted them, the more the children of Israel multiplied and grew.

In a breath-taking spectacle the boy seems to take on some otherworldly persona. The words seem to flow from his mouth not as if merely memorised but rather as his own words, his own thoughts his own feelings; they seem to punch from his mouth, each word like bullet fired. The Minister cowers in the volley of the boy's words. He steps backwards, his hands clench his desk, the atmosphere is electric.

TE KOOTI

And the Egyptians were grieved because of the children of Israel. And they made the children of Israel to serve with hardship: And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in morter, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.

The children watch in awe as the boy finishes his passage.

TE KOOTI

And their cry came up unto God. And God heard them and cast into Egypt, into the lowly hut of Amram and Yochabel, the seed of a man upon whose mind and heart would be written God's law and God's commandments, one man to stand alone against an empire.

Te Kooti remains standing. The silence is deafening. The minister, regaining his composure, walks calmly up to the boy and slaps him violently across the face, the boy falls to the floor, his nose spurts blood. The minister turns and walks slowly back to his desk at the front of the room.

MINISTER

Now children, if you please, a recitation of the Lord’s Prayer

The children now obviously frightened begin in unison the recitation of the prayer.

CHILDREN

Our lord who art in heaven--

We depart the scene through the classroom window as the children continue to recite the Lord's Prayer. Their words flow over into the next scene.

FADE OUT:

4.2.3 Māpere: Heroines and 'Love Interests'

What Chantel Akerman (1985) says about women's gestures is just as true about Māori women: 'they are traditionally the lowest in the hierarchy of film images, and if we choose to show them with care and precision, it's because we love them and recognize that they have been denied and ignored' (p. 19). Stereotypical representations perpetuated by *Whale Rider* and the *River Queen* have served to define Māori women in visual terms as conventional objects of the male gaze. For example, carries inaccurate undertones of a male dominated and intensely patriarchal tribal society to the world.

For example, the central protagonist Paikea, (Keisha Castle-Hughes) in *Whale Rider* is perceived as 'special,' and her abilities mark her as different from other Māori women. The main female protagonist of the film *River Queen* Sarah O'Brien (Samantha Morton) is portrayed as a self-sufficient independent, self-governing heroine, unrelient on a man to survive. In contrast, Māori women are portrayed throughout the film as one dimensional and subservient to Māori men. Several scenes illustrate this, such as those where Māori women gather around the Māori chief Te Kaipō (Temuera Morrison) to dote on him while he is recovering from illness. The Māori women's whole purpose is encapsulated in their reverence of the chief and to serve his mainly physical needs. In the scenes where Te Kaipō takes another allied chief's wife to bed, or the young topless Māori women skipping rope, once again we see Māori women depicted as possessions and sexual objects.

Therefore, we must again employ strategies which combat these representations. The important gesture in the following scene from *The Prophet*

is when Irihāpeti holds Te Kooti's hand to her face. Vitally, though, this gesture and the consequent emphasis on the woman's face depend for their force on the image of the Kuia's faces, the kind of face that Irihāpeti's will become, 'deeply creased' and a testament to experience beyond the self. This framing of 3/Māpere/Love Interests resists the dominant paradigm's fixing of the woman's face in the male gaze as merely an object of desire and nothing more.

15. INT. HOUSE – NIGHT

A fire burns brightly. TE KOOTI, TE WĒTINI and IRIHĀPETI lie on woven flax mats upon the bare earth, covered by European blankets. In the background two seated KUIA (old women) softly croon ancient oriori (lullabies) over the sleeping Te Wētini who lies between them. Irihāpeti and Te Kooti converse quietly.

IRIHĀPETI (Te Reo Māori)

The influence of the rebel Hauahau movement grows within our people.

A look of sorrowful anguish creeps across Te Kooti's face.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

Yes, I too feel the dark clouds of discontentment brewing; many of our people are disheartened and look for salvation and deliverance.

IRIHĀPETI (Te Reo Māori)

It is said the Hauhau look to turn from English laws and the English god. I have heard rumors that they wish to drive the English from these lands.

Te Kooti shakes his head in disagreement.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

War with the English will serve no future purpose other than the confiscation of our lands and the annihilation of our people. The only decisive way forward is to forge a strategic relationship with the English, to show loyalty to their laws and customs.

Irihāpeti’s face creases with resentment.

IRIHĀPETI (Te Reo Māori)

Loyalty? But the English wage war on tribes throughout Te Ika a Māui (The North Island), their thirst for land and resources is unquenchable. It is only a matter of time before their war machine will reach and consume us.

Irihāpeti’s resentment heightens.

IRIHĀPETI (Te Reo Māori)

You have paid witness to the growing military presence in the Tūranga Township, they are

preparing for war. We must take a stand Te Kooti, we must fight before it is too late.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

I see the fire in your eyes, it is the same fire that burns within me. Yes, we must fight, but we must fight with our heads not our hands. The choices we make now will affect all generations that follow.

Te Kooti takes a long deep breath.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

What will the future hold for our children, if we should wage war against the English? Can you not see that by proving loyalty to the crown they will have no grounds to seek retribution?

Irihāpeti's face softens as she listens to Te Kooti's heartfelt words; he reaches out and caresses her face. She holds his hand to her face and squeezes it tightly.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

I will not fight against the English Irihāpeti. I will not risk the future of our children.

Tears begin to well and flow down Irihāpeti's face

IRIHĀPETI (Te Reo Māori)

Many of our people will not understand your actions Te Kooti. If war reaches us and you do not stand to fight, you will be labeled as a coward, a traitor.

Te Kooti lovingly smiles at his wife, and softly caresses the tears from her face.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

I do not fear them Irihāpeti, as long as I have you at my side, I would face God himself.

They move closer and embrace each other tightly.

IRIHĀPETI (Te Reo Māori)

I know you fight for us my love, every day you fight to protect our people, but please be wary my husband, please be careful.

The Kuia rock back and forth crooning their ancient oriori, their deeply creased faces paying testament to the years of life spent. One gently caresses the face of the sleeping Te Wētini, tears flow freely from her eyes.

The representation of Māori women throughout *The Prophet* is formulated with specific intent to express Māori values such as mana (pride/prestige), tapu (sacredness), Ihi (inner force), and wehi (awe).

4.2.4 Manawa: Minor characters

The Māori community within Barclay's *Ngāti* fight to keep the local freezing works open. The closing of which signal a death blow to the local economy and community. Such a narrative strategy situates their community within their socioeconomic reality and signifies that a character's behaviour whether immoral or not yet an understandable response to a system.

16. INT. DIMLY LIT SMOKEY PUB - NIGHT

The two English traders, READ, and HARRIS sit in a quiet corner of a smokey, dimly lit pub. They rise to greet another man, MCLEAN, who enters the pub and walks towards them. McLean is 32 years of age and of fair complexion. Dressed in an English style suit, top hat and cane, he is every inch an English gentleman. McLean places his hat and cane on a side table, and takes a seat rather apprehensively at the table with the traders.

MCLEAN
What exactly is the purpose of this meeting? I am a busy man.

HARRIS
It is about the Māori, Te Kooti.

McLean looks around the room and moves in closer to speak,

MCLEAN
I have told you before that there is nothing that would warrant Te Kooti's arrest, and

even to propose the arrest of a man with neither warrant nor reason is a criminal offence!

The traders seem unimpressed with McLean's response. Read grimaces and takes a long swig from the mug he is holding.

READ
These are dangerous times McLean, war with the Maori is on our very doorstep. If Te Kooti should choose to join with those enemies of the crown and fight against us, many would follow him.

McLean shakes his head in disbelief.

MCLEAN
Enough, I bid you good-day sirs.

McLean rises, picks up his hat and cane and turns from the table to leave. He is halted in his footsteps by the words of Harris.

HARRIS
You know he also speaks out against the sale of Māori land to the government McLean, the very land required for forthcoming English settlers.

McLean does not turn to face the traders, but remains standing, merely listening.

READ

The government needs men of action McLean. Those of weak spirit will not last long in the office of her majesty.

McLean continues standing, the traders recognise they have struck a raw nerve and continue their rhetoric.

HARRIS

Soon the ramifications of Te Kooti's resolve will fall ill upon you personally. Think of your future, McLean, think of your family. It is only one man, one mere man. What does the freedom of one-man matter?

McLean finally turns and eyes the two traders; his stare is one of anger and frustration.

HARRIS

Think carefully McLean, choose wisely who you would wish as friends,

Read takes a long swig from his mug eying McLean menacingly.

HARRIS

Or as enemies.

Without answering McLean turns and walks from the pub.

The face-to-face conversation between McLean and the two minor characters plays out one way but when the two other men become, as it were, voices behind his back, something changes. They are speaking as the social and economic context on which McLean's very identity depends. 'Voicing' this

context through 4/Manawa/Minor Characters gives the ‘ring finger’ on the hand of character a specific function, which is to symbolise the binding or wedding of the antagonist, in this instance, to that context.

21. INT. CELL - EARLY MORNING

TE KOOTI sits in a cold dank cell filled with Māori men, women and children. With his hands shackled behind his back, and his face caked with dry blood, he has not slept. Whispering between themselves while gesturing towards Te Kooti, the other prisoners surround him. An agitated woman ERETI finally rises and walks towards the seated Te Kooti. She is a beautiful Māori woman of olive complexion and dark brown eyes, on her chin is cut a blue green moko. Her beauty is twisted by the anger that brews within her.

ERETI (Te Reo Māori)
It is you Te Kooti, is it not, the lap dog of the English.

Te Kooti looks up to the face of the woman and struggles to his feet.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Yes, I am Te Kooti.

ERETI (Te Reo Māori)
Bastard!

The woman erupts slapping Te Kooti viciously across the face.

ERETI (Te Reo Māori)
You would choose to fight against your own people you dog!

As blood runs freely from his mouth Te Kooti addresses the woman, his voice reflects neither malice nor anger.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
I chose not to fight against you. I chose to fight against the future you would lead us to.

ERETI (Te Reo Māori)
Ha! The words of a coward! We have stained the ground red while you hide behind such words!

Ereti raises her hand again to strike Te Kooti but is halted by the words of KAHUTIA who rises from the shadows.

KAHUTIA (Te Reo Māori)
Stop my daughter.

A stoic elderly man stands, the morning light highlighting the deeply incisioned blue-green lines that curl around his chin, cheek and nose, spiraling like mist, arching like rivers across his forehead. He addresses his daughter in a calm and composed demeanor.

KAHUTIA (Te Reo Māori)
Do not be so quick to judge and dispense justice Ereti. Can you not see he shares our

prison? Can you not see that our fate is now his fate?

Ereti, upon hearing her father's words, slowly lowers her hand. Kahutia walks closer and looks to Te Kooti.

KAHUTIA (Te Reo Māori)
There is no such thing as chance, Te Kooti. For our ancestors speak that which may seem to be merest accident, but which springs from the deepest source of destiny

Te Kooti stares at the Kahutia somewhat bewildered.

What the minor character evokes here is that experience beyond the self which Merata Mita urged Indigenous screenwriters to attend to. Te Kooti's bewilderment will only be 'solved' once he connects himself to this experience, just as the experience of the prison is shared. Materialising this experience beyond the self is a challenge for the Indigenous screenwriter. The Vogler/Booker paradigm often includes a 'Wise Old Man' who helps the young protagonist on his journey/quest. This is now a commonplace of mainstream narrative (from Kung Fu masters to *Star Wars* jedi knights). But we can use such a scene as a container for something else.

4.2.5 Tōiti: Writing Spirit

28. EXT. SHORE LINE - 1845

A 15-year-old TE KOOTI stands on the shoreline with his father, TE RANGIPĀTAHI. In silence they stare out to the endless expanses of the Pacific Ocean. Te Kooti takes a deep breath and turns to his father.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Father,

Te Rangipātahi turns to his teenage son,

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Father, the minister at the English school says that our people dwell in darkness,

Te Kooti pauses briefly, looks at the ground and then back to his father.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
He says that our customs are heathen and we should adopt those of civilised nations.

Te Rangipātahi listens intently to Te Kooti's words.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Is there truth in his words father?

Te Rangipātahi pauses momentarily, his mind in deep contemplation. Slowly he turns and gestures to a bird in the distance.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
Do you see that sea bird perched in the distance my son?

Te Kooti turns and spies a bird perched upon a rock in the near distance.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Yes, father,

TE RANGIPĀTAHI

That ancestor is called a Kōau my son, see how it awaits upon its perch intently watching the water?

Te Kooti nods his head in acknowledgement listening intently to his father's words.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
The Kōau will wait patiently for hours upon end,

Suddenly the Kōau takes flight from its perch, launching gracefully into the heavens.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
Ah, we are lucky, he has made his decision.

The Kōau majestically soars upwards into the heavens reaches a pinnacle then dives downwards at breakneck speed piercing the ocean waves like an arrow and disappearing entirely. After a short period, it breaks the surface a large fish thrashing in its beak.

Te Rangipātahi smiles in awe of the spectacle, He turns to Te Kooti.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
Did you bear witness to how the Kōau soared so high then dived so fast?

Te Kooti nods his head in acknowledgement.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Yes, father,

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
Our elders believed that when the Kōau dived, it dived with such force and intention that nothing could sway it from its task, not even death itself.

Te Kooti looks to his father then back to the Kōau which bobs idly upon the waves enjoying its meal.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
You must strive to emulate those revered attributes of the Kōau my son. You must remain focused, steadfast, determined and single-minded in your task. Utalise the English knowledge but do not allow yourself to become indoctrinated into a mindset which is not your own.

Te Rangipātahi lovingly places his arms on Te Kooti's shoulders. He turns his son towards him and looks directly into his eyes.

TE RANGIPĀTAHI (Te Reo Māori)
You are Ngāti Maru my son, you are Rongowhakaata. That is who you are, that is who you shall always be.

Te Kooti nods his head in acknowledgement. Te Rangipātahi smiles, they both turn and watch the Kōau which upon finishing its feast, bobs idly upon the waves.

The important element in the scene above is the materialising of experiences beyond the self in the 'decision' of the birds dive. This is a realisation

of the 'spiritual' in the physical and the decision is both made and yet inevitable. In other words, 8/Tīmōtī/Locale and Setting are not just backdrop but furnish a potential materialisation of 5/Tōiti/Spirit.

4.3 Ringa Katau: Story Elements

4.3.1 Kahawai: Point of View

6. EXT. MERCHANT VESSEL - DAY - 1865

A beautiful blue ocean; seagulls skip along the water and the sun shines brightly, sparkling upon the waves. On a 19th century merchant vessel Rua-whētuki, the Māori crew, both men and women, scale up and down the rigging. The ship is alive with action. On the top deck, a standing central figure remains motionless amongst the commotion. It is an older TE KOOTI, now in his thirties. Clean shaven, short haired, and wearing a European style suit, he cuts a striking figure. He calls orders to crew.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Right the headsails! Set the topsails! Heave!

The crew move quickly and in unison, Te Kooti warmly smiles as his eyes lock upon the approaching bay which rises in the distance. A tōroa (albatross) soars across the bow of the ship drawing his attention, Te Kooti gazes at the majestic bird and smiles.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
I see your long days at sea are also at an end my friend.

Te Kooti watches the bird soar effortlessly into the distance then glances upwards to the billowing sails of Rua-whētuki.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
The wind carries us both.

He looks down and watches amused as an 11-year-old Māori boy ERUERA, wrestles to tie down a loose sail that flaps wildly in the wind. Te Kooti (still chuckling) walks towards him and helps him restrain the sail. The boy's head is bowed in embarrassment.

ERUERA (Te Reo Māori)
I am sorry matua.

Te Kooti merely smiles, placing his hand on the boy's shoulder.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
You have nothing to apologise for e tama, I am aware that you give your all in any task I ask of you.

The boy slowly lifts his head.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
Next time remember to look aloft as you pull the line, so you don't pull it too far or too hard and so it doesn't tangle in rigging.

The boy nods listening intently. Te Kooti looks around to see if anyone is watching and leans in towards the boy as if to tell him a secret that none would know.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

I always found it hard to restrain this sail anyway, many a time I found myself in your exact position, thrashing around on the deck like a fish out of water.

Te Kooti makes a funny thrashing gesture rolling his eyes about and waving his arms wildly. The boy laughs. Te Kooti takes the line illustrating how to tie it correctly.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)

I have not been always a sailor you know, it was a profession I have had to learn like any other, and like any long journey e tama, the first steps are always the hardest.

Te Kooti moves to another line and the boy follows intently. He unties it and again secures it so the boy can again see how he does it.

ERUERA (Te Reo Māori)

You weren't always a sailor?

Te Kooti glances at the boy from the corner of his eye, and smiles.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)

No I wasn't, at one time I was close to becoming a Church minister

The boy is intrigued.

ERUERA (Te Reo Māori)
A priest matua?

Te Kooti chuckles. He unties the line and offers to the boy to secure.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
Yes, at one time in my life.

Eruera takes the line and intently attempts to secure it, Te Kooti watches him carefully and smiles warmly.

TE KOOTI(Te Reo Māori)
Very good e tama, now, do you think you would be able to tie that line next time I ask you?

ERUERA (Te Reo Māori)
Yes, matua, I will, I promise.

Te Kooti smiles and places his hand on the boy's head affectionately.

Operating within the mundane, we can affirm cultural moments that outsiders are ignorant of or dismiss out of hand. This simple scene is infused with a multitude of cultural elements, Aroha, Manaakitanga, Kaitiakitanga, Whanaungatanga etc. But, not least in the recurring figure of the boy and his interrogatory gaze, it also sees the cyclical temporal strand cut back through the superficially linear narrative. And again, as with previously discussed scenes, it does so via both gestural and Tōiti-materialising elements, especially the rope. Writing these elements into the scenes is a crucial Indigenising tactic. What might be 'props' in the mainstream convention become signifying elements here.

When we come to consider action as such, the conventions around screen depictions of violence are especially challenging to negotiate. I remember

clearly the conversation with Merata Mita when I discussed my intent to depict extreme violence in *The Prophet*. In response Merata was adamant when she told me, 'show it, show the violence, it needs to be seen, we need to remember'. The scene with Te Kooti at The Chatham Penal Colony illustrates this intent:

34. EXT. INSIDE SHELTER - MĀORI PRISONER CAMP - EARLY MORNING

TE KOOTI is woken suddenly.

ELLIOTT
Get up!

Te Kooti's eyes open to see ELLIOTT standing above him with half a dozen other prison guards, he kicks Te Kooti's small plate into his face spilling his food and water. Pulling him from his blanket the guards drag Te Kooti to his feet.

ELLIOTT
I've got a job for you nigger.

35. EXT. FIELD - EARLY MORNING

The guards bustle TE KOOTI towards a plough that stands idle in the middle of a muddy field. They throw Te Kooti into the mud at the foot of the plough.

ELLIOTT
Right, as you can see we are in a bit of a dilemma here. Cause we have this plough but no horses to pull it.

The other guards begin to laugh.

ELLIOTT

So you can imagine our dilemma when, instead of horses, we got sent monkeys.

Te Kooti has struggled to his feet and stands facing his persecutors.

ELLIOTT

Well boys, what do you think? Do you think a monkey can pull a plough?

The guards again laugh.

ELLIOTT

Well nigger? You think you can pull a plough?

The guards move towards Te Kooti, ripping his shirt from his body. They roughly strap him to the plough, he offers no resistance. Upon finishing, they stand back laughing at Te Kooti, who strikes a notably sorrowful image.

ELLIOTT

Well Well, would you look at this pretty picture.

The guards now encircle Te Kooti.

ELLIOTT

Now pull nigger! Pull!

Eying the jeering mob, Te Kooti turns to see ERETI and the other Māori who have been standing watching the entire spectacle from a distance. He looks back to

Elliot who smirks eerily. Te Kooti knows he means to make an example of him, to break him in front of the others. He bows his head closing his eyes and takes a deep breath. He raises his head, whispering beneath his breath.

TE KOOTI (Te Reo Māori)
Oh my ancestors give me strength.

A look of steely determination slowly etches across Te Kooti's face as his hands clench tightly upon the straps that bind him. With all his might Te Kooti strains on the plough, which has sunk deeply into the mud.

Egged on by Elliot, the guards begin to laugh, jeer, spit and hurl abuse at Te Kooti, who strains tirelessly upon the plough. It is a bizarre and harrowing sight. Te Kooti drops to his knees and on all fours strains again upon the straps. His eyes blaze with sheer force of will, as if he would die to complete the task.

Slowly the plough begins to move.

The straps bite deep into Te Kooti's shoulders but he does not waver. Each step is utter anguish, but he does not falter; step after painful step Te Kooti drags the plough through the muddy earth.

Elliot and the guards continue their belittlements but as Te Kooti agonisingly continues they slowly cease their laughing and merely stare, bewildered.

Elliot stares at Te Kooti in astonishment. He looks at the guards and other Māori who have also witnessed the

entire event and realises that his actions have not had the desired effect.

ELLIOTT
Enough!

Te Kooti does not stop.

ELLIOTT
Enough!

Elliot walks to Te Kooti and kicks him into the mud. He calls to his fellow guards.

ELLIOTT
Leave him!

Elliot along with the other guards, turn tail and walk from the field.

Te Kooti stands and watches as the guardsmen leave. When he sees that they are gone, he collapses in utter exhaustion upon the muddy earth. Ereti along with a group of other Māori run to his crumpled body.

ERETI (Te Reo Māori)
It is me, Te Kooti, it is Ereti.

Carefully removing the straps from his trembling body, they clothe Te Kooti in a blanket and, one under each arm; slowly help him to his feet. He can barely stand. They carefully walk him back towards his shelter.

35. EXT. INSIDE SHELTER - MĀORI PRISONER CAMP

TE KOOTI lies in his shelter, covered in a blanket. He is in a horrible state. ERETI sits beside him and, with a rag, gently wipes the mud from his face

ERETI (Te Reo Māori)
Rest now, Te Kooti, the guards focus their attention elsewhere. I will watch over you today.

Te Kooti looks to Ereti, and delirious through pain and exhaustion, sees his wife's face,

TE KOOTI (whispering)
Irihāpeti…

The pain overcomes him and he lapses into unconsciousness and darkness.

4.3.2 Tauranga: Time

Te tōrino haere whakamua, whakamuri

(At the same time the spiral is going forward, it is going back)

As may already have become clear, time (the 'ring' on the left hand) is emerging here as the key to an Indigenising practice. The precession (rather than procession) of time is deeply embedded in the way *The Prophet* is written. It must be recognised that the precession of time is a cultural concept, no more and no less than any other western cultural concept imposed upon Māori. The dominant view of Aotearoa/New Zealand history is marked by the modernist progress myth that the future must by definition be brighter, and that it is only in leaving the past behind that we can get to that brighter future. It fails to take into account the Māori view of time. It fails to take into account the interconnectedness of people through their ancestors and descendants; it fails to

see that from a Māori perspective we are as bound to our ancestors as they are to theirs. What their ancestors did to our ancestors is played out today. What our generation does will be played out in the lives of our descendants. Everything that happens 'in time' is elaborately interconnected.

Therefore, we must reclaim our history and repopulate the past by presenting a distinctive, Māori, sense of time. Our time sense is not inferior to the linear dominant, with its compulsive insistence on scheduling and punctuality, just different. Good examples of the depiction of Māori time exist in *Mauri* and *Ngati* where Māori are allowed their own life rhythms. As Frantz Fanon (1961) has articulated, 'use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope' (p. 210). According to my tribal elders we did not recognise time as a division between past and future and the separation we experience as the moment of now. When the popular adage is often voiced, 'that happened in the past, forget about it' in a Māori understanding of time this is an impossible task.

4. EXT/INT. MĀORI HOUSE - NIGHT - 1830

The screen is still black. A small flicker of light appears and we move slowly towards it, as the voice of a young boy is heard.

TE WĒTINI (V.O)

My father's birth was prophesied by a Tohunga matakite (seer) named Te Toiroa. He foresaw the birth of two infants, but that upon birth both newborns would be struck by illness, an illness that would claim one of their lives.

As the light gets brighter images start to take shape, we see that the source of the light is a flickering fire coming from the window of a small Māori raupō

(bulrush) house amidst scenic native bush. It is night and the stars above shine brightly.

TE WĒTINI (cont'd)
The prophecy foretold that if the older of the infants lived, it would be a good sign, heralding a time of health and prosperity for the people,

As we move even closer to the house and eventually in through the window, we find a Māori WOMAN in labour, with two MĀORI WOMEN in assistance. A Māori TOHUNGA (traditional Māori expert) in the corner continuously chants karakia (incantations). From the fire light, shadows are cast on the walls in all directions.

The expectant mother squats over a depression dug into the earth and lined with moss. One midwife is positioned in front of her in what looks like an embrace, her knees pushing gently in a downwards motion onto the mother's pregnant abdomen, applying adequate pressure to assist the birth process. The other midwife swats behind the mother with hands beneath, ready to guide the newborn into the world.

TE WĒTINI (cont'd)
But the prophecy also foretold that if the younger infant survived, it would herald a coming of great evil to the land. A time of pain and suffering,

The woman gives birth to the newborn, it is lifted by one of the females and fills the screen. The child does not cry but merely remains silent with its wide open brown eyes unblinking.

TE WĒTINI (cont'd)
Te Toiroa named this younger child, my father,

The Tohunga suddenly ceases his recitation and turns and locks eyes with the newborn who stares eerily back at him unblinkingly. The Tohunga finally speaks,

TOHUNGA
Arikirangi.

The voiceover here stands in a direct relation to the 'Voice from Within' that has interspersed earlier parts of this thesis (although 'earlier' becomes itself a questionable adjective here). Voice 'over' is a dominant screenwriting convention. Voice 'within' is an Indigenous appropriation of that convention. So I am reproducing the 'voiceover' in the following form.

The Voice from Within

Te Matakitenga

(Te Wētini)

Tiwha tiwha te pō

Tiwha tiwha te ao

Ko te Pākerewhā

Ko Arikirangi tēnei rā te haere nei.

Prophecy foretelling Te Kooti's Birth

(Te Wētini)

Dark, dark is the night

Dark, dark is the day

There is the Pākerewhā (British Empire)

There is Arikirangi (Te Kooti) to come.

4.3.3 Te Ahi: Dialogue

'Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity,' (Anzaldúa, 2006, p. 21). *Mauri* and *Ngāti* provide illustrations of this, when characters speak another language, the tables are turned on English speakers, giving them a taste of what it feels like to be marginalised, on the fringes of discourse. This is especially true of the untranslated sequences of *Ngāti* but it occurs even if subtitles are used, as in some passages in *Mauri*, because it shifts the film's address toward the ethnic group. Repositioning dominant viewers and placing them even momentarily at the margins forces them into a location from which they might begin to see the world differently.

Therefore, an overwhelming responsibility also resides in the type of Māori that is spoken in *The Prophet*. Scholars today hold that Te Reo Māori was more poetic, akin to Elizabethan English if one were to translate Māori using the appropriate language style. Others say it was a style of Te Reo Māori based on biblical English. Māori was Te Kooti's first language and authenticity for that period is crucial. But this authenticity extends into other areas as well, and it is to this that we now turn.

4.3.4 Imaging of Difference



Figure 30: Two elderly Maori women
Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/1-005700b-G, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

I have drawn upon the metaphor of Ngā Kāpura a Mahuika as a way of establishing ten strategies that a writer may implement in the writing process as a means of instilling cultural principles within their work. But ultimately screenwriting is a practice intended to produce images, and we are especially interested in images characterised by Bathes' punctum.

4.3.5 A Connection of Looks

An instance of this attention to authenticity from *The Prophet* occurs when imprisoned Māori are forced by the penal guard to renounce their 'heathenism' by having their hair cut and heads washed in a cooking pot. According to Māori tradition, this is the greatest desecration of tapu (personal

sanctity, sacredness) one may suffer. For anything relating to the head is tapu, to transgress this sacredness, through the wanton cutting of the hair and ultimately, the washing of the head in a mere cooking implement would renounce every sacred aspect of person. In *The Prophet*, the pain is embodied in the image of a tear streaked face of a Māori woman, who stares blankly at the dirty cooking pot, as her long hair is roughly cut. This is literally a soul-destroying moment.

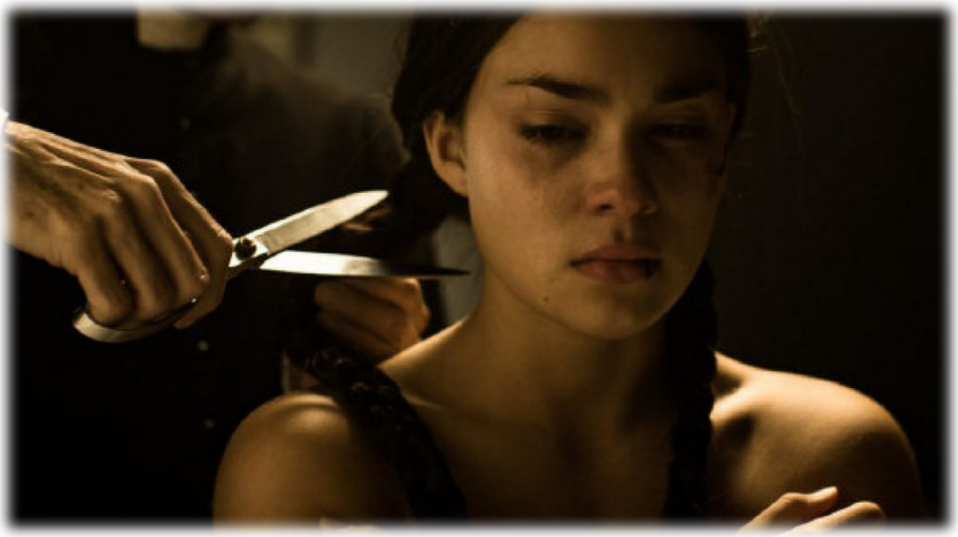


Figure 31: Movie still from *Rhymes for Young Ghouls*
Source CBS News: Reproduced with permission.

An understanding of the desecration of personal sanctity and belief is also reflected in the image of native Canadian Mi'gmaq filmmaker Jeff Barnaby in *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* set against the backdrop of Canada's Indian Residential School System. The Indian Residential School System's express and specific, methodical intention was to 'kill the Indian in the child and severe corporal punishment was issued for any expression of non-Christian cultural, social or spiritual practice' (Smith, 2016). Within these 'schools' many Indigenous children experienced heinous sexual, physical, and psychological abuse at the hands of their so called 'protectors'. The potent image from the film shows a naked, young Indigenous woman, having her hair forcibly removed. Such an image shares the same vital interiority as *The Prophet*.

There is a scene in *The Prophet* where Te Kooti reaches his village and sees his wife Irihāpeti working in a communal garden. She is a woman of olive complexion and on her chin is cut a striking blue green moko. As written, the scene is intended to produce an image of Irihāpeti's face that communicates strength, tradition and community to Te Kooti.



Figure 32: Movie still from *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*
Source Pop Matters: Reproduced with permission.

Much the same is achieved by Nunavut director Zacharias Kunuk Mi'gmaq in his 2002 feature *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* which retells an ancient Inuit story handed down through the years by Inuit elders to children in the hope of teaching them the downfalls of putting your personal desires ahead of the good of the community. But what is vitally important about these faces is the exchange of looks and that the women are not merely being looked at, Irihāpeti exchanges a look with Te Kooti.

The woman who can only stare blankly into a cooking pot, the women who look back with an intensity of meaning when looked at (and that the meaning is not overtly sexualised), the use of silence in such moments: these aspects of the selected moments represent part of a larger pattern, in terms of both writing and visualisation. This pattern only becomes fully apparent in what we can term the 'face off' image which has a particular power for the Indigenous

filmmaker. In *The Prophet* at one point, a solitary Te Kooti stands on the broken palisades of his Ngātapa pā and exchanges this 'face off' stare with the English.



Figure 33: Movie still from *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*
Source The Base: Reproduced with permission.

Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance is a 1993 feature by Alanis Obomsawin a Canadian filmmaker of native Abenaki descent. The film chronicles the Oka Crisis in Quebec, a land dispute between a group of native Mohawk people and the town of Oka, Quebec, Canada which began on July 11, 1990 and lasted until September 26, 1990. The dispute was the first well-publicised violent conflict between First Nations and the Canadian government in the 20th century and helped shift the dialogue around Indigenous issues in Canada and globally. The potent 'stand off'image from the film epitomises the conflict in its entirety. Where the two elderly women in the archive image were deprived of this exchange, the Indigenised screen assembles an alternative pattern of exchanged looks that culminates in the insurgent moment of the 'face off'.

4.3.6 Fourth Cinema vs Vincent Ward (A Face Off)

Rain of the Children

Written, produced and directed by noted New Zealand Filmmaker Vincent Ward, the feature length film *Rain of the Children* further explored the subject of Ward's earlier 1978 documentary, *In Spring One Plants Alone* when as a young 21-year-old film student Ward had travelled to Te Urewera and documented the lives of 80-year-old Te Puhi Materoa Tatu and her mentally disturbed son Niki. In the film *Rain of the Children* Ward revisits Te Puhi and through photo and newspaper archives, interviews with family descendants, Māori elders and historical experts re-imagines her extraordinary life's journey by elaborating upon moving events intertwined throughout. The end result which is visually exciting, can be best described quite fairly in Ward's own words as 'a personal folkloric tale, a vision of their own world largely as they see it, given expression through a film-maker' (Ward, 2008).

Rain of the Children premiered at the 2008 Sydney Film Festival, (In competition) to rave reviews. It was voted by the audience from 250 feature films and won the Grand Prix at Era New Horizons Film Festival a major International Film Festival in Poland. The film was also nominated for best director and won best composer at the Qantas Film and TV awards in New Zealand. Vincent Ward was also nominated for Best Documentary feature Film at the 2008 Asia Pacific Screen Awards. The Hollywood Reporter found it, 'compelling in its personal detail and almost mythic in its sweep' (Lehmann, 2008) and Variety magazine said 'all will find it hard not to be moved by the visual and aural artistry' (Kuipers, 2008). One cannot deny the national and international acclaim for *Rain of the Children,* the numerous awards and accolades both local and international purporting to its success and to its approach which supposedly offered a 'respectful tribute to Māori culture' (Kuipers, 2008) .

In the following discussion of Vincent Ward's film *Rain of the Children*, I shall not discuss formalistic issues concerning film aesthetics. Neither shall I discuss the film's, structure or style, issues previously discussed at length by noted Māori academic Taiarahia Black (2008). Rather my intent is specific, I shall use this opportunity to utilise my Fourth Cinema theoretical understanding as a guiding framework with which to examine fundamental failings in the Vincent Ward film. Why I have chosen to concentrate specifically upon Vincent Ward is because he is an Aotearoa/New Zealand filmmaker who has risen to a position of prominence, and equally, he is a Pākehā filmmaker who believes he is adeptly equipped to tell stories with predominantly Māori content.

He whare maihi tū ki te wao, ki te pārae, he kai nā te ahi

A carved house that stands alone is food for the fire

(Taharākau)

In 1954, François Truffaut wrote an essay entitled *A Certain Tendency in French Cinema*. In this work which explored the notions of individual creative vision and control in cinema Truffaut suggested that a director's film largely reflects the director's personal creative vision, as if they were the primary auteur. In spite of-and sometimes even because of the production of the film as part of an industrial process, the auteur's creative voice is still distinct enough to shine through all kinds of studio interference and through collective process. Though the worth of Auteur Theory has been questioned at length, I find its central postulation of the power of individualism in the filmatic process particularly useful as a starting point for many assumptions about *Rain of the Children*.

The above proverb bequeathed by the Rongowhakaata ancestor Taharākau, hearkens to the contentious foundation one stands upon when one stands devoid of communal support and belief. Through my analysis of Ward's writings and interviews in relation to his reasoning for the making of *Rain of the*

Children, I found two strong intertwined faults, firstly the auteuristic nature of his approach. It was largely his personal journey, an individualistic endeavour; one man's re-visioning of a powerful Māori story cloaked in a façade of communal consent and contribution but lacking true substance and meaning for it was a film devoid of any Māori philosophical base. Though Ward himself believes that 'the story grew out of the community' (Ward, 2008) I would argue that had this film been developed through a Fourth Cinema lens the final outcome would have been vastly different, for it would have been a film *constructed* upon communal consent.

To understand such a vital failing, a failing it is essential to acknowledge that there exist differences between Māori and Pākehā/Western concepts of individuality. As stated by Hook (2007), 'the Pākehā/Western concepts of individuality and values of autonomy, freedom, self-interest, entitlement, competition, and so on are inconsistent with the concepts of Māori individuality where individuality is more likely to be constituted on values of relationality, collectivity, reciprocity, and connectivity to prior generations' (pg. 4). In this respect, it may be understood that the Pākehā/Western ideal of the isolable individual as a free agent is antithetical to Māori social values. No person stands alone in the Māori worldview. Somewhere there is a group to which the person belongs, from which he/she derives a meaningful identity and without which there is no sense of wholeness.

The Fourth Cinema filmmaker is forever conscious that the story they are telling or retelling is not their 'own,' and does not exist in isolation from the people, their environment, or their beliefs and values. Rather, the story 'belongs' collectively to the whānau, hapū or iwi and/or involved other people within whānau, hapū, iwi and whakapapa relationships. Therefore, the Fourth Cinema filmmaker carries an inherent obligation and responsibility:

> *A native filmmaker has ... the accountability built into him. The white man doesn't have that. That's the single big distinction. Accountability as an individual, as a clan, as a tribal, as a family member (Victor Masayesva, Jr. cit in Christian, 2010, p. 13).*

He whare maihi tū ki roto i te pā tūwatawata, he tohu nō te rangatira

A carved house that stands within a community, is the symbol of a chief

(Taharākau)

The second line of the proverb bequeathed by the Rongowhakaata ancestor Tahārakau, hearkens to the symbols of a chieftain, in particular the strength gained when one stands supported by a base of collective beliefs and values. Such proverbs again highlight how Māori worldviews give rise to a unique set of beliefs and values which provide appropriate cohesion, direction and purpose in the filmatic process. Again as previously discussed, there has been ample analysis of *Rain of the Children* such as Maccassey's (2009) lengthy review in Illusions as well as Read's 2004 Doctoral thesis on a Vincent Ward Film 'Aesthetic' identifying elements such as 'characteristic themes, visual motifs and stylistic tendencies' (p. 2). But again I shall reiterate that all of the previously mentioned literature on *Rain of the Children* largely discusses what I have defined previously as the Tikanga or filmatic 'practice' and not the Kawa or the 'philosophical' foundation that underpins the work. This again is a vital understanding that has failed to gain significant analysis, yet reflects the second and most significant fault of *Rain of the Children*, Ward's cultural appropriation and misrepresentation of Māori cultural values.

Such cultural appropriation occurs in Ward's misuse of the Māori word 'Mākutu', which he translates specifically as 'curse' and uses throughout his feature as a source of continual foreboding, horror and fear, exemplified in his words 'You died but your spirit cannot rest, the problem for you is can Niki control his own demons, and defeat this curse' (Rain of the Children, 2008). The 1992 UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities declared that:

> *'there is a relationship, in the laws or philosophies of Indigenous peoples, between cultural property and intellectual property, and that the protection of both is essential to the Indigenous peoples' cultural and*

economic survival and development.' (cit in Graham & McJohn, 2005, p. 313)

That Ward is willing to appropriate a cultural concept, remove it from its holistic context, reshape, rework and then resell it, reiterates a dominant Eurocentric filmmaking paradigm that holds other things as more valuable than the cultural wellbeing and integrity of a people. Such cultural appropriation highlights a fundamental flaw when filmmakers such as Ward turn to a culture which is not their own and 'borrow' principles of which they have limited if any understanding. The words of Royal highlight this understanding in a fitting analogy entitled, 'Looking through a window':

> *Later as I looked back at this event I likened myself to a boy standing on the porch of a wharenui, looking through the window into a meeting of the tohunga of the whare wānanga. I see myself trying very hard to enter. I stretch my neck out so my eyes can capture some of the korero, but no matter how hard I try, I am never able to catch it all. Only snippets and fragments are heard and even then there is this sense that I am only allowed to hear what they want me to hear. The door remains closed to me and I cannot enter. (Royal cit. in Marsden, 2003. p, VIX)*

Like the boy looking through the window, Ward's film is merely 'depicting' Indigenous peoples. Where Ward westernised the principle of Mākutu in order to obtain from it the narrative staple of the 'curse', one approach to maintaining contact with Māori principles themselves is the employment of a Māori consultant.

4.3.7 Māori Consultants?

In recent years, many New Zealand films with substantial Māori content have been made by non-Maori filmmakers. *Tracker (2012), White Lies (2013), The Dark Horse (2014)* and *The Dead Lands (2015)* to name but a few, call to the fore such questions of the continual acceptance of non-Māori telling such stories and furthermore, the current Māori consultation process which supposedly

provides these films with a 'cultural integrity'. When a non-Māori filmmaker undertakes a project with substantial Māori content and character, they typically call upon a 'Māori Consultant', whose employment and intent is to provide the project with a supposed cultural integrity. What must be clearly understood, is that the Māori consultant remains on the periphery throughout, and furthermore, the filmmaker may include or discard whatever they choose regardless of the Māori consultant's advice. This understanding is emphasised by Brad Hammi who worked as a script consultant for the film *The Tracker* written by South African Nicolas van Pallandt:

> *'I told him it was a bad film and not to make it. The lead Māori character could have been French or Australian. There was nothing Māori about him. But the film was going to be made, regardless of whether we were involved in it or not. It would have been worse without our input because it would have lacked truth.' (Haami cit in, Working with Māori in Screen Production, 2013. p.18)*

His consultation proved time consuming and intensive and throughout Hammi 'struggled to maintain Māori integrity in the film' (Working with Māori in Screen Production, 2013. p.18). He went on to note that:

> *'We had to create a huge story behind the lead character to provide the motivation for his actions in the film. It's really hard when you have to do a fixup job like that later. We had to determine the whole genealogy for the character, why he is here, where has he come from, and why is he running? I sat down with the director and producer and asked, 'Where is he running to?' They didn't know so I told them this Māori fellow is running to his tribal boundary, to his mountain'. (Haami cit in, Working with Māori in Screen Production, 2013. p.18)*

This current predicament as articulated by Brad Hammi reveals the tenuous path you walk as a Māori consultant when you offer a service to those who may pick and choose what cultural elements they want to include, exclude or ignore entirely. The consultation process should have begun in the initial

formative stages, and as it clearly was not, such 'consultation' becomes merely a tokenistic tick box gesture. Even if Haami managed to imbue the film with some kind of 'truth', it has still not solved issues of Māori representation on screen. The consultant is nevertheless pressed into an operating framework which is founded upon different values, different vision, aims and goals, and with such uneven power relations, such a cultural union cannot work. The current 'Māori consultation' process is vitally flawed, and sadly many of our own have become so complicit in and attached to this tokenistic process that in their vain attempt to provide cultural authenticity, they are in fact, belittling their own cultural integrity.

4.3.8 The Moment of Strategic Essentialism

Writing as Takarangi and Film as Te Ao Mārama



Figure 34: Takarangi Spiral

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Takarangi is a dual intersecting spiral pattern used in Whakairo (carving). It represents how knowledge and experience flow through time and space unabated, connecting the past, present and future into one complex but

patterned present, patterned according to what our ancestors called 'Te Ao Mārama' the world of life and light. For me, this 'life and light' is also film. This understanding of time and space as one is utilised by Fourth Cinema as a means of creating powerful filmatic moments grounded in the framework or system of collective self-efficacy beliefs that constitute the resurgent indigenous. (Throughout this thesis I have used the term 'filmatic' instead of 'filmic' to signpost this meaning, using the Greek suffix derived from 'matos', or 'willing'.) Phillips (2010), through distinguishing among different types of essentialism, offers a theory in which the Sartrean concept of the group-in-fusion identifies the willing collectivity that can arise out of and fall back into the series (Sartre's term for agent-less, lifeless 'groupness'). So, a Spivakian strategic essentialism is replaced by *moments* of group-in-fusion that have a quasi-essentialist character as a moment, where Spivak was worried about her 'strategic essentialism' being co-opted for a claim of having more fixity than anti-essentialist or constructionist theory allows that collectivities can have. The screenwriting aspect of this thesis has sought to demonstrate that Fourth Cinema can construct itself around such moments, reclaiming the vital interiority of the historically colonised image, and therefore have a kind of temporal strategic essentialism that is excused from Spivakian worry. In conclusion here, Fourth Cinema screenwriting and its 'voice within' aspire to write such moments, carving time into light and life. At the same time, the writing of this thesis has had its own Takarangi, its final form reclaiming the physical space of a thesis for the indigenous voice within.

4.3.9 Recommendations

'Traditional Māori society did not separate one art form from another. All were connected, flowing together into life, from the past into the present.'

(Tohunga Derek Lardelli)



Figure 35: The Authors Wharenui, Te Aotāihi

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

So how might the 'problem' of Mākutu and its like be dealt with in films such as *Rain of the Children* and even in films written and made by Indigenous filmmakers? Rather than offering an explanation of Mākutu here, as an example of how Indigenous principles might be 'explained' by an insider, I want instead to argue for an entirely different solution. Such principles need to be taken to a different place. We need to Indigenise the development process by creating appropriate spaces for the presentation, exploration and discussion of 'framework' knowledge. A fully Indigenised process would expose the screenplay, at key points, to a community of thinking assembled for that

purpose. Isolated ‘problems’ such as the meaning of Mākutu would thus be reintegrated into the ‘framework’ knowledge needed to ground them in the larger, deeper context. Instead of the individualising of this knowledge in the form of a consultant, the development process would engage with the knowledge collective as it were, through a purpose-designed process in purpose-designed spaces. The draft framework presented in this thesis is intended as a prototype of the documentation that could be used in such a process.

CHAPTER 5: HE TĪMATANGA HOU

4.4 New Beginnings

The argument of this thesis can be summarised as follows. A singular relationality has been proposed. This is the coming together of Māori and non-Māori participants in the development process of a film that is intended to be Indigenised. The specifics of their historically grounded identities need not condemn them to incommensurable particulars if this coming together is understood as a Cultural Interface, but there needs to be a place and a framework for this developmental relationality to open itself to the forms of knowledge that will achieve Indigenisation.

The thesis has presented a draft framework for such a purpose, as the basis for further discussion of this proposal. The case study of *The Prophet*, part-funded by the NZFC through Te Paepae Ataata, has been used here to demonstrate some of the practical implications for the screenwriter of adopting such a framework. These implications include specific strategies for negotiating with the dominant screenwriting paradigms, writing in order to produce certain kinds of image and certain ways of handling time in relation to character and motivation, but especially the acknowledgment of a specific 'Voice Within'. This voice has also been related autoethnographically to the author's own story, but it remains a collective and ancestral voice at the same time, and a means of sustaining the interiority championed by Barry Barclay and Merata Mita.

Occasionally in life there are those moments which cannot be completely explained by those symbols called words. Their meaning can only be articulated by the inaudible language of the heart, such is the moment when I remember the commitment and sacrifice of Merata Mita and Barry Barclay. I experience this moment not for myself alone but for all Māori who have moved so courageously against the ramparts of racial injustice and inequality and who in the process have acquired a new estimate of their own human worth. Merata Mita and Barry

Barclay are the heroes of such struggle and were leaders of great significance to our people, they taught us the power of action, the power of ideas. Their legacy adds lustre to our country's history and lives on by word and deed in the hearts and minds of our people. This final farewell will not be translated into English, but shall rather be left in its original form and those with an adequate aptitude in the Māori language and culture may gain insight into its true meaning.

He Poroporoākī (A Farewell)

Ka tikina atu rā e koe ngā rau o Te wao nui a Tāne, te tohu o te whare mate, o te whare tauā, o te whare pongarau o Hine te iwaiwa. Utaina atu rā i runga i tōhou waka wairua, ko te waka tēnā e kore e tahuri, ko te waka tēnā e kore e hoki whakamuri. Mauria ki tō ringa ngā hoe tapu a Arapangateātinuku, a Arapangateātirangi hai patu atu rā i ngā tai penepene i ngā tai whenewhene o Tangaroa i waiho i waho rā i Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, mō te ihinga mō te wharenga, mō te marara, mō taipupuni, mō taiwawana mō taiaropuke, mō te autukemiha, mō te aukorimiha, mō te auripomiha, ka puta ki waho rā te whakawiringa o Tūtewaianu.

Waera tō ara te awa o tō tipuna o Ariki tapu, kia inu atu koe i ngā wai o Whakatau. Mate toka i mua mate toka i roto tū whanawhana, tū maihi, tū mākaro tū te whai ramu. Whakahaerea iho te kakau o tō hoe ko maninitua ko maniniaro ka tangi te kura ka tangi wiwini, ka tangi te kura ka tangi wawana. Werohia ki waho rā te urauranga o te rā te Poho o Hawaiki ka tūhakehakea te kōwiwini ka tūhakehakea te kōwawana, ka whakahāngai ki te pūrotoroto tapu o Pikopikoiwhiti, ka rere koe i runga i te tai whakaaro i te tai mātāuru i te tai pākato i te tai whakakī, ka ū rā koe ki Hawaikinui, ki Hawaikiroa, ki Hawaiki paomaomao ki te hono i wairua, ko Tāne ka haruru rutu. Whano, whana, haramai te toki, haumie, hui e, tāiki e!

Ka tō rā koe i tōhou waka ka whakatakotoria te rango tapu ko Manu Tāwhiorangi, ka tapatapa tāhau ngeri ka paneke i a wai, ka paneke i a Tūterangiaitu ka hahau te toki matapōia. Huri te pō moe mārire mai, huri

te pō moe mārire mai. Ka tū rā koe i te tohu he kura tākai puni, he rā whanake i te rua, ka ahu atu koe i runga i te atamira o tōhou Ariki Tapu ka tukua e koe i runga i te poupoutahi, te tukutahi, te whanatahi, ka tangi te tītī haoā, haoō, ka mau rā koe ngā rau o Te Wao, ngā tohu o te whare mate, o te whare tauā, o te whare pongarau o Hine te iwaiwa.

Ka whiua ki runga ki te atamira o tōhou Ariki tapu, te tā o te tūtūmoko, te tā o te raurenga, te rau o te heketara, o te whārangi, o te kumara kai torouka, ka whiua e koe te rito o te kawakawa, te rau o te kawakawa, te tā o te kawakawa, Kawa Te Angiangipū. Pikipiki Tāwhaki kakekake Tāwhaki, kia rere mai he tini, kia rere mai he rangi matarā ki te ururangi, whātitiri takataka whāngaia te marama papa mai, Kawa Te Angiangipū. Ka tau a te rangi ki te kohukohu e, ka tau a te rangi ki te hāpainga e, ka tau a te rangi ki te ririwai tāngarowai e, tākina whatū, ruiruia te kawa whatū, tākina te kawa, Kawa, Te Angiangipū.

4.4.1 Opportunity Lost

Sadly, it has also come to my attention while writing that Te Paepae Ataata has had its funding withdrawn and no longer exists as a separate and unique organisation for Māori screenwriters and filmmakers. The demise of Te Paepae Ataata serves to support my fundamental contention that adequate strategic planning is the key to helping collectively and cooperatively gain control of the future and the destiny of Māori filmmaking theory and practice. To understand the magnitude of the loss and the immense efforts of generations past, I shall include the entirety of the speech of Barry Barclay given at the signing of the MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) for Te Paepae Ataata:

It is a great honour to be standing here.

I do not represent Maori filmmakers. I do not represent Pakeha filmmakers either. My small claim to fame is that I was there at the beginning of the development that we are here to celebrate tonight. It is great that so many have gone out of their way to be here, to share in this significant moment. Thanks and congratulations to the Film Commission and Ngā Aho Whakaari for bringing Te Paepae Ataata to a reality. The house is restored. The house truly restored.

At this time I think of people such as Tama Poata, Tungia Baker, Wi Kuki Kaa, Don Selwyn, who, in their very particular ways, long dreamed of an evening such as this. I think of John O'Shea, who instilled in those in his wider film family a deep respect for people when using the camera, people and community. Many non-Māori have helped us shape our dreams. John was major in that in my particular world. I salute Tainui Stephens too, who is very much alive – out on location on a big project in the Pacific with Rawiri Paratene. He is so disappointed he cannot be here tonight and asks to be remembered to everybody.

Tainui was with this Maori film fund idea from the earliest days. Reading the document now, I can see his mark in the principles in the memorandum of understanding: 'Both parties will recognise and respect the rangatiratanga and mana of each other, the diverse strengths of and contributions each brings to the partnership; to act responsibly and with good faith; and (both recognise) the necessity for consultation, positive negotiation and a problem-saving approach'. And we owe it to Tainui that this fund is to be known as Te Paepae Ataata. He proposed the phrase.

It's one thing to be approaching a fund for support, another thing again to be approaching a paepae. You smarten up. In your mind are considerations that spread so much wider than the nuts and bolts. Merata Mita helped shape this paepae dream from the beginning. Unfortunately she could not make it here tonight, but she is currently in Aotearoa, so I'd like to take the opportunity to say, welcome home, Merata. We have missed you.

From the first days of your filmmaking in this country, through your essays and lectures, through your talks and mentoring, especially the mentoring of our women filmmakers, you brought a force and a light that has been sorely missed in the years you have been working with First Nations peoples abroad. We hear that you will be back with us for good this coming May. Do come back then. Never forget that you are special to us. Cinema is more than a good story, and, with robust and visionary leadership, something mysterious goes on when a story is judged right for this moment. But just what might be a 'right' project at any one time?

Three short films are soon to be screened – all were made by Māori, each is very very good, each has been noticed locally and abroad. The challenge for those seniors seated on the paepae will be along these lines: if those three projects had come in as scripts and if there were the resources to make only one of them, which one should be funded? What one would you choose? Imagine if, amongst the usual industry flounce, a ragged-looking script came in, only twenty-five pages long, written in long-hand even. And on this script is a simple title – Song of Tuhoe.

It might be a minority view, but I do not think the choice of what films the paepae might fund should be in the hands of the filmmakers. In fact, I do not think filmmakers should be on the paepae at all. Filmmaker experience needs to be fed through, of course, from non-Māori and Māori alike. But the decision to fund must lie with the keepers of paepae. At least, that's how I see it. There may be many who do not agree. But for that to work to the benefit of all, we need to have great faith in our precious paepae. We need to have faith in the people on it, and be humble enough to place our trust in them. As filmmakers, we are but the carvers commissioned to carve the house. What is carved is not primarily our story. It is the story of the people who have invited us in to carve.

When we travelled to Canada with Ngati – some 20 years ago, I guess – I was moved to see that, despite there being a well-established film industry there, First Nations folk had not been able to access the camera at all. It struck me that our experience was like visiting a house with a family of five children all dressed

up to meet us. The parents proudly show us their kids' artwork. But in the corner is one child who has no crayons. 'Why does that child have no crayons?' you ask. 'Oh. Prefers to play outside, he does funny pictures, the other kids make enough art to fill the house' – and so on. I'm sure many of you here tonight could fill out the script.

My overwhelming thought is that that such a house is an impoverished house, it is not a happy or healthy house, it is diminished in stature, and never will be a truly happy place until the fifth child is also given access to the crayons. We have lived in such a house. But today the house is restored. The house is truly restored. I am one of a group of 14 claimants who some years ago lodged a claim against the NZ Film Commission with the Waitangi Tribunal. But upon signature this evening, we are in a new house. It will be a very significant moment. To quote again from the memorandum: 'Both parties will recognise and respect the rangatiratanga and mana of each other, the diverse strengths of and contributions each brings to the partnership; to act responsibly and with good faith; and the necessity for consultation, positive negotiation and a problem-saving approach.'

The time has come to withdraw our claim against the Commission. There will be technicalities to go through, but Merata and I undertake to make it happen. We are entering a new era. The house is stronger not just for Māori but for Māori and non-Māori alike. I am proud to be able to stand here and salute that, to salute all the people who have brought this to this point. Let us all treasure this paepae; let's make it work; let it be an emblem of our aroha for one another.

(OnFilm, 2007)

4.4.2 Finding the Self



Figure 36: The Author

Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Finally, something my chief supervisor Dan Fleming said to me one meeting, I still hold with me to this day. After reading a chapter I had written about my life and childhood Dan said to me most sincerely, 'Curtis, this is about more than just getting a PhD after your name.' Even though that was all he said, it was a very poignant moment for me personally. For I had been through many challenges in my life, I had often faced prejudice and ridicule, but this thesis was a direct retort to all of these, to the teachers that believed I was intellectually challenged and incapable of academic achievement, to those who told me I was useless and would amount to nothing. This degree is a testament to all these things, but most of all it is a testament to myself and my abilities. It serves to show that no matter how your environment may shape and mould you, only you decide who you eventually become. I believed in myself, despite everything I believed in myself and in the end, that was what mattered the most. For we are responsible for what we are, and whatever we wish ourselves to be, we have the power to make ourselves. The man that once was no longer exists, the man that now stands in his place, recognises and understands the power of thought, the power of action in changing one's world for the better.

4.5 He Whakatau: A Closing Prayer

Whakatau hā, whakatau hā,

Whakatau ana ki mua, whakatau ana ki muri,

Whakatau ana ki roto, whakatau ana ki waho,

Tēnā kia whakatau ki runga, kia whakatau ki raro,

Kia whakatau ki mauī, kia whakatau ki matau,

Tēnā ka tau, ka tau, ka tau hā, ka huri

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Figure 17: Princess Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi, 1938. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PAColl-5584-58, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 18: Fourth Media Sector. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Figure 19: Māori Sector. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Figure 20: 'Hawaiki', by Wilhelm Dittmer. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PUBL-0088-095, 2016. Reproduced with permission

Figure 21: Māori bartering a crayfish - Drawings illustrative of Captain Cook's First Voyage (1769). Source: British Library digital collection. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 22: The Great Tāne Māhuta, Waipoua Forest, Northland. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Authors Private Collection.

Figure 23: Weaving tāniko, around 1910. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PA1-o-042-14-1, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 24: The Author and Tautohe Kupenga, Whaikōrero Wānanga, Awatere Marae, 2015. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Authors Private Collection.

Figure 25: Photograph of a person demonstrating the plaiting and weaving of flax. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: PA1-q-257-42-5, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 26: Ngāti Porou leader Hon Sir Āpirana Ngata gives a whaikōrero on the Raukawa marae at Ōtaki, on the centennial of the Rangiātea Church, 1950). Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/2-058067; F, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 27: Pineamine Taiapa. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/1-003882-G, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 28: He Kawa Oranga. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Figure 29: Mahuika. Source: Peter Gossage, How Maui found the secret of fire: Te kiteanga o te kaapura. Auckand: Lansdowne Rigby, 1984. Artwork by Peter Gossage. Reproduced with permission

Figure 30: Two elderly Maori women. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 1/1-005700b-G, 2016. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 31: Movie still from Rhymes for Young Ghouls. Source: CBS News. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 32: Movie still from Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner. Source Pop Matters. Reproduced with permission.

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Figure 34: Takarangi Spiral. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Figure 35: The Authors Wharenui, Te Aotāihi. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

Figure 36: The Author. Source: Bristowe, 2016. Author's Private Collection.

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GLOSSARY

A

Ako: teach or learn

Amo: the sideboard of the front of the wharenui

Anei: here

Aotearoa: Māori name for New Zealand

Ao Pōhatu: Māori world pre European contact

Ao tawhito: ancient Māori world

Ātea: space

Atua: God

Awatere Marae: the author's hapū marae situated near Te Araroa on the East Coast of the North Island.

I

Ihi: inner force

Ika: fish

Irāmutu: niece or nephew

Iwi: people

O

Ope: visiting party

Oriori: lullaby

U

Uri: descendant

Utu: revenge, answer

H

Hāhi: religion, church

Haka: posture dance; war dance; performance; to perform

Haka: Pōwhiri dance of welcome

Hapū: sub tribe (usually economically self-sufficient)

Hawaiki: legendary homeland of the Maori

Hinengaro: mind

Hoe: paddle

Hue: gourd

Hui: gathering

K

Kai: food

Kairangahau: researcher

Kaitieki: iwi, hapū, or whānau group with the responsibilities for kaitiakitanga

Kaitiekitanga: the responsibilities to take care of the places and natural resources.

Kāenga: home

Kaha: strong

Kākahu: clothing

Karanga: to call out

Karakia: prayer

Kaumātua: elders

Kaupapa: collective endeavour, subject; topic; sometimes means reason for doing something

Kawa: guiding philosophy, communal goal

Kawe: to carry

Kōauau: small flute

Koroua: old, elderly man

Kotahitanga: Unity

Kōwhaiwhai: painted Māori patterns

Kuia: elderly woman

Kupu: word

Kura: school

Kura huia: huia feathers

M

Māhakitanga: humility

Mahau: veranda, facade of meeting house

Maihi: the bargepoles of a wharenui that angle from the front point of the wharenui to the top of the amo

Manaaki: hospitality

Manaakitanga: hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others

Mana: prestige

Mana motuhake: autonomy, independence, authority

Mana whenua: authority over land and natural resources, tribal estates

Manu: bird

Manuhiri: guest

Māori: tangata whenua of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Indigenous people

Māoritanga: Māori culture, including the identity, values, traditions, practices and beliefs of the Māori people

Marae: Māori gathering place

Māramatanga: enlightenment, wisdom

Mātakitaki: to watch

Matau: hook, or in the direction of right

Mātauranga: knowledge, education

Matimati: finger or toe

Mau: take hold of, wear

Māui: mischievous demi-god

Mauri: life force, essence

Maunga: mountain

Mere Pounamu: short greenstone club

Mihi: greet

Moemoeā: dream, wish

Moko: body tattoo

Mōteatea: traditional waiata; song of lament

Muka: strands of flax fibres

N

Noa: common, profane

P

Pā: village

Paepae: gathering of male speakers

Pākehā: of European descent

Pakeke: adult, elders

Papatūānuku: Earth Mother

Papakāenga: home village

Pātere: a chant of derision; a chant that indicates a geographical boundary

Pēpeha: proverbs

Piupiu: flax skirt

Poi: a ball on the end of a string (now made of synthetic fibres but previously made from natural swamp fibres)

Poroporoākī: farewell

Pouaka Whakaata Māori: Māori Televison

Pounamu: greenstone

Pōwhiri: welcome (usually on to a marae)

Pūkana: the opening of the eyes and extending the whites

Pūkenga: skill or talent

Pūrākau: ancient stories, legends

R

Rākau: tree; weapon

Rangatira: chief

Rangatiratanga: sovereignty, self-determination, leadership

Ranginui: Sky Father

Raranga: weave; weaving

Raupatu: conquest, confiscation

Reo: language. Māori language

Ringatū: literally, 'The Upraised hand,' name of the faith created by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki

Rohe: district; area

Rongowhakaata: a major iwi on the East Coast of New Zealand

Rōpū: group

Roto: Lake

Rūaumoko: God of earthquake

T

Tā moko: the art of Māori tattoo

Taiaha: carved, adorned spear

Takahi: the stamping of feet to maintain the pace of the song

Tāne: men/man

Tangata: person

Tangata Whenua: people of the land, indigenous people

Tangihanga: time of mourning

Tāniko: weaving of threads to create bodice, bands.

Taonga: treasure

Taonga tuku iho: traditions, knowledge, treasures handed down by ancestors

Tapu: Sacred

Tapuwae: footstep

Tātua: belt

Tauā: war party

Tauparapara: a chant to start speech

Tawhito: old; ancient

Te Aitanga a Māhaki: a major iwi on the East Coast of New Zealand

Te Ao Hurihuri: Changing world

Te Ao Māori: Māori worldview

Te Ao Mārama: world of light and enlightenment

Te Ika ā Māui: North Island of New Zealand

Tekoteko: the carved headpiece that sits atop, at the front of the roof of a wharenui

Te Paepae Ataata: Māori cinema development initiative

Te Puni Kōkiri: Department of Māori and Government Relationships

Te Reo Māori: The Māori language

Te taha hinengaro: mental

Te taha tinana: physical and economic

Te taha wairua: spiritual

Te Tai Rāwhiti: East Coast of North Island

Tikanga: supportive practice

Tīpare: headband

Tohunga: expert in traditional lore; person skilled in specific activity; healer

Toki: adze

Tūāpapa: basis of most things

Tuatahi: first

Tukutuku: woven panels of various designs that adorn the inside of a wharenui and contain the history of the hapū attached to the marae

Tipuna: ancestor

Tīpuna: ancestors

Tūrangawaewae: a place to stand; home

U

Utu: revenge, recompense, reward, price, payment; repayment in goods; retribution in battle

W

Wahine: woman

Wāhine: women

Waiapu: name of a river near Ruatōrea, East Coast North Island

Waiata: song

Waiata-ā-ringa: action song

Waiata Tangi: lament

Wairua: spirituality

Waka: canoe

Waka Hourua: Voyaging canoe

Wana: vim and vigour

Wero: challenge

Wehi: awe, dread

Whakairo: Carving

Whakataukī: proverb

Whakatauākī: proverb

Wiri: shaking of the hands and fingers

Ng

Ngā Aho Whakaari: Māori screen production organisation

Ngāhere: Forest.

Ngāti Maru: a hapū on the East Coast of New Zealand

Ngāti Porou: a major iwi on the East Coast of New Zealand

Ngeri: a form of haka that does not have uniform actions

Wh

Whaikōrero: speechmaking

Whakaara: A call to arms

Whakaeke: enter on to a marae

Whakahaumaru: to shelter

Whakapapa: genealogy

Whakatipuranga: Generation

Whakawātea: exit from a marae; clear a path via ritual incantation

Whakawehi: to invoke fear

Whānau: family; extended family

Whanaungatanga: relationships

Whare: house

Wharekai: dining hall

Wharenui: meeting house usually carved and adorned

Whare Wānanga: house of learning

Whatu: twining (as in weaving)

Whatumanawa: feelings

Whenu: twist or spin (in weaving) a strand of cord

Whenua: land

Whenua tipu: place of birth