Barry Barclay: The Reflection of Māori and Pākeha Identities

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EMAD JABBAR HILAL

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Abstract

This Media and Screen Studies thesis tries to investigate the identifications of Barry Barclay (1944-2008) - a New Zealand filmmaker, thinker and poet, of Māori and Pākeha ethnic background - who identified as Māori in the second part of his career, in the mid 1970s. The thesis relies on Barclay's writing and other historical and theoretical material in the reading of his own films. The thesis arrives at an argument that even when Barclay chose to identify more with the Māori side of his identity, the Pākeha side took part also in the shaping of his film practices. Studying Barry Barclay along this line of argument has several benefits for Screen Studies. It, on the one hand, covers what is left unstudied by the scholarship concerning his representation of the Māori world such as the way he commented on Māori cultural and social concerns and acheivements in his films. The thesis studies Barclay's films from the time he started his identification with his Māori side in *Tangaata Whenua* (1974), Te Urewera (1987), Ngati (1987),Te Rua (1991) and takes *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) as a case study and a carrier of change in film practices and development in outlook.The other important contribution is the way he represented Pākeha, and how he developed his representation of them in time. This representation which is unstudied at all, is important to Screen Studies becuase it contributes to Barclay's theory of Fourth Cinema. This thesis shows how representing Pakeha, especially in Barclay's last film problemematizes his theory of Fourth Cinema, but ultimately, deals with applies it creatively. The representation of Pākeha gives insight into Barclay's interest in the Māori world, which is not a dogma or a merely ethnic affiliation as much as an attraction to a world-view that can solve major universal issues such as environmental problems. Above all, the way how Barclay worked out this representation in his films sheds light on one of the important examples of how film can take part in healing social damages such as the history of colonizing and marginalization of Māori people.

Stand Towering

Stand towering

when the world is laid bare

stand and fill the darkness with pride

stand firm while treason cuts your holy flesh

stand where all the night is wounded

and all the stars are prisoners

O you who rose up, who pressed on

with the majesty of an earthquake

O you, the one of patience

and hunger and anger

O you of great bleeding wing

and a thousand overwhelming streams

O you who bears up clouds and fragrance

even to the springs of his wounds

O you the planter of innocent,

tender stars in each dark path

Your hands are the last planet to

cast dawn upon the mountains

You whose soil in the last plantation

of fragrance and dreams and flowers

Fear not:

at tomorrow's dawn

all your generous wounds will recover

Stand towering

the world is laid bare

Stand and fill the darkness with pride

- The poem I wrote and recited in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005)

- Translated from the Arabic by Yagoub Abouna and Simon Delahunt

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Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

This research intends to study Barry Barclay's work as a filmmaker, tracing the changes and developments, beginning with *Tangata Whenua* (1974), where clear indications of identification with the side of his Māori identity appeared, and ending with and giving more attention to *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). Identity and social and cultural concerns were central to Barry Barclay (1944-2008) from the outset of his film career. And they kept developing throughout his life. Barry Barclay is a filmmaker and cultural commentator who considerably contributed to Māori (the Natives of New Zealand) and New Zealand culture throughout his productive life-time. Barclay was born (into a family of a Māori mother and a white European father) in Masterton, a town north of Wellington and raised in the Wairarapa region. This period of Barclay's upbringing gave him an early understanding of class issues and racism that, he explains, provided a 'touchstone for every single major film' he was involved in (Sutton, 2011, p. 188). From the age of fifteen to twenty one, Barclay was trained to be a Catholic priest in Redemptorist monasteries in New South Wales in Australia (Murray, 2008, p. 7). This period led to reflections on the importance of communal life as opposed to individualism and conscious identity choices.

Why I chose the topic

I remember as an Iraqi child back in the eighties watching American Cowboys' films and liking the cowboys who were characterized as heroes killing "wicked" American Indians. The films got me engaged with those cowboys and hating the American Indians who were shown as "deserving to be killed". A few years afterwards, I watched another cowboy film which this time was commented on by a presenter who was from a Marxist background. His commentary was about colonialism, misrepresentation and falsification of the histories of American Indians, and the ways in which misrepresentations were used as justifications for their killing. That experience made me highly compassionate for these people who have

suffered under colonialism. Early in 2002, when I first came as a refugee to New Zealand, I initially went to Jordan where I was offered the opportunity to go to the United States and Canada. I had bad impressions about the States because of the war and the consequences of the unjust economic sanctions that the States -through United Nations- enforced on Iraqi society in 1991. I also did not feel comfortable with the idea of going to such a very cold country like Canada. One morning I was told by the UNHCR that I had another choice, New Zealand. I was given a blue two-sided pamphlet, with information about New Zealand. A phrase in the pamphlet struck me and caught my attention; "New Zealand is a peaceful country".

In the same year, in Wellington, where I was resettled, I was invited by a Kiwi friend to go to the cinema to watch *Whale Rider* (2002). I did not know much about Māori culture before that time, and had no knowledge of the complicated issues of Māori cinema and misrepresentation of Māori in *Whale Rider* which were noticed by some media scholars such as Barclay himself (2003a) and Hokowhitu (2007). I remember so vividly the scene in which the main character Pourorangi greets a group of Māori with the phrase 'Kia Ora'. I felt a surge of emotion that made my whole body shiver and could find no explanation for such feelings.

In 2003, I was living in Wellington and was contacted by a film-maker called Barry Barclay, who emailed me through my friend because I did not have an email address. Barry Barclay asked me to take part in a documentary film about the fish resources in the Kaipara Harbour. I was happy when I got to know that Barry Barclay was a Māori filmmaker. I went to the Kaipara Harbour and saw Barry, and Selwyn Muru (a Māori artist and writer) who conducted some of the interviews for the film. Getting to know Selwyn Muru and listening to him while he was explaining to me the struggle of Māori people and what they have faced throughout the last two centuries, with his tremendous passion and his rhetorical reading of Hone Tuwhare's poetry, was one of the most precious experiences in my life. Selwyn Muru and I were talking most of the time, asking each other about our cultures and the current war in which America tackled Saddam's

regime. I found such a great warmth in the film crew who were mostly Māori. Barry introduced me to the crew and mentioned that the funding institution, NZ On Air had asked him, "Why is an Iraqi poet in the film?" and Barry answered, "This poet is the one who can carry our pain, that no New Zealand poet can do, not even Māori poets." He mentioned that night that he saw me performing poetry at the "Creativity in Exile" conference at the University of Auckland in 2003. It was such a privilege to get to know Barry Barclay, Selwyn Muru, Richard von Sturmer and other members of the crew. My major participation in the film was reciting a poem that Barry chose to end the film with, which evoked the history of struggle and perseverance of Māori and the activists of the Kaipara Harbour.

I came back to Wellington with memories and knowledge about the native people of New Zealand. Since that time, I have become more interested in Māori issues including: their struggle with colonization, the effect of that on their identity and the taking of their land, their mythologies, their literature and how Māori have been trying to express their stories of suffering. In 2009 I did an Honors degree in English at Victoria University, and in one of the papers studied Patricia Grace's (Māori writer) novel *Cousins*. I was very moved by the suffering of its characters in the city, cut off from their rural Māori community and culture. I became more interested in studying Māori Media after that, and did a paper as part of the Graduate Diploma degree in Media studies at Victoria. After that, I knew more about Barry Barclay's work and his position in cultural activism, Māori culture and his development of the concept of Fourth Cinema. The story of colonization and struggle of Māori for their rights, resistance and determination to re-build their cultural identity have haunted me. I came to realize that the filmmaker, Barry Barclay, who contacted me in 2003, asking me to participate in a film, was actually one of the most important figures in Māori cultural determination.

The fact that Barclay grew up in Wairarapa, in a largely European environment, except for his Māori mother and several "shearing gangs engaged in seasonal work" (Murray, 2008, p. 35) - as Barclay recalls - yet

later became this important figure in Māori culture, has left many questions in my head. Reflecting on myself in connection to the identity questions that Barry Barclay had to work out, I myself, actually have been through periods of identifications and internalizations. I remember when I first came to New Zealand in 2002 I was 33 years old. Since that time many changes have happened to me. I came with a personality unconsciously influenced by Western concepts about life and the meaning of it and art, which I absorbed from reading European literature, literary criticism and art. Living in exile has shaken my sense of self and cultural identity, asking myself "who am I"? In the first two years, I went through depression because of being living in Diaspora. Also, there was a feeling of void inside me. I had a few methods of dealing with my problems. I first tried to integrate myself to the way of life and make friendship with New Zealanders, and this proved unsatisfactory. I communicated with an international literary group, which helped a little. Meanwhile, I kept deepening my roots in my cultural identity through classical and modern Arabic cultural texts. Then I sustained a deep look into my culture, and to my surprise I was all the time finding elements that are Western, inserted into the fabric of Iraqi culture. Iraq was also colonized by Britain in 1917 and after the 1920's revolution Britain had to bring a family (Al-Sharrif) from Saudi Arabia to crown as Kings for Iraq.

Islamic values and knowledge were put aside and a new value system and knowledge were introduced. The first generation of artists, academics, scientists, musicians, officers, lawyers, managers, physicians and policy makers were sent on scholarships to England in the 1930's. The Iraqi state was established on a Western system and the local Islamic system lost its opportunity of being promoted through institutions. The local culture stayed within popular culture, practiced by people but officially pushed away by the system that the youth identified with, philosophies such as Marxism, Existentialism and liberalism. In generation after generation, local culture was shunned by scientists, lawyers, artists, poets, journalists etc. The work of the first generation in establishing education, jurisdiction, academia and literature on Western world-views, created a

loss of identity and a loss of clear vision into the social and cultural problems including extremism. To some degree, it is a situation similar to what happened in first nations, colonization and cultural intervention insulated the natives from their cultural and social practices.

In a way, my journey is similar to Barry Barclay's identity journey. There was a change in his thirties as he identified with his Māori side. He took years, immersing himself in Māori social and cultural environment, then dedicated himself to making films and writing about the Māori situation. Barclay moved from one stage to another in expressing pressing Māori issues, but also listened to the Pākeha side in him, though he seemed fully focused on his Māori side of identity. The Pākeha side asked also for fair representation, and shed light on finding the meaning and objective of being Māori after two centuries of colonization, and cultural and social displacement. Barclay started as a cultural nationalist influenced by Māori Renaissance movements such as Nga Tamatoa, but as time passed he was acknowledging his Pākeha side of identity and letting it express itself in film practices. I, in my thirties chose to identify as an Iraqi-Muslim and sought cultural resources to strengthen my local identity. As I passed through stages of contemplation, I have been facing questions around identity in this contemporary world, and realized that self-conscious identity should not negate forms of identity gained through historical, institutional and political channels. Various forms of identity inhabit a human being, and the challenge is how to manage them and direct them to a better solution. Barry Barclay, I think, reached harmony between his Māori and Pākeha forms of identities and presented films that encouraged wider social solutions.

Taking into consideration that Barry Barclay as Māori, inherited the influences and witnessed three social frameworks during his life - assimilation (1940s-1950s), integration (1960s-1970s) and biculturalism (mid 1980s and onwards) - therefore this study intends to track the modifications and reconsiderations that occurred throughout his career. It is thought that Māori feature films are an expression of a wider Māori cultural renaissance (Martens, 2011) and (Murray, 2008). Walker

called the activist movement in the 1970s, the 'new wave' of 'Māori radicals' which involved groups such as: the Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR), the Waitangi Action Committee (WAC), He Taua, the Māori People's Liberation Movement of New Zealand, and Black Women: 'The political ethos of the groups was based on the liberation struggle against racism, sexism, capitalism, and government oppression' (Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 453). Keown points out that Māori Renaissance can be divided into: Māori cultural nationalism and Māori political activism. Māori cultural nationalism emphasized the rediscovery of Māori identity through an immersion in Māori language and culture (p. 198). Peggy Fairbrain-Dunlop et al. (2010) point out, the "Māori Renaissance was based around the revival of language and claims based on the rights accorded Māori in Te Tiriti O Waitangi" (p. 99). These formations of activism through highly mediated protests were unsettling (Hokowhitu, 2014) and led to the destabilization of the officially imposed ideology of 'one nation' which facilitated the assimilation of Māori. Hokowhitu points out, the protests of the 1970s-1980s urged both Pākeha and Māori to arrive at the idea that indigeneity is at the center of any development in a post-colonial nation (2013, p. 359). Hokowhitu also argues that "being indigenous became something to be proud of" (ibid). And Barclay was one of the major presenters of dignified images that evoke pride.

In late 1960s Barclay worked as a radio programmer in Masterton and spent four years learning to becoming a skilled cameraman. Around 1970, Barclay moved to work at the Pacific Film company, and directed one of his earliest documentary short films there, *The Town that Lost a Miracle* (1972), written and produced by James McNeish. In 1955 the people of the small settlement of Opononi in Hokianga noticed two dolphins in the harbour: a mother with her child, which they have memories of as gentle and with which their children were playing. The mother was killed and the young dolphin stayed in the harbor, leaving stories in the minds of the people of Hokianga. The film uses the life and death of the gentle dolphin Opo which visited Opononi, as a ground for looking at the racial politics of Māori and Pākeha. The film registers an

important line in Barry Barclay's concerns which is the relation between Māori and Pākeha. He states, that "*The Town That Lost a Miracle* was his first attempt at introducing a Māori element into the mainstream" and he was in search of a value system which can provide a resolution to social problems (nzonscreen). From this statement, it can be deduced that he considered the racial situation as alarming and cultural values were thought as a solution. The film was not shown on television but was warmly greeted by Michael King (nzonscreen) who must have had the chance to watch it privately.

In 1974, Barry Barclay directed a milestone six-part series in a television documentary, *Tangata Whenua*, written and conducted by Michael King, produced by Pacific Film. The series was fully dedicated to the social and cultural situation and needs of Māori. *Tangata Whenua* dealt with a wide range of issues that concerned Māori such as movements of resistance to land occupation back in the 19th century in Waikato, satisfying the need for cultural sites exclusively for urban Māori, establishing the department of Māori Studies at Waikato University, Māori protocols, their way of life and fine arts, unemployment, prisoners, the teaching of culture and language in school, the preservation of culture and reintroducing it to both Māori and Pākeha, all of which aimed at re-constituting Māori identity. Merata Mita recalls, "For the first time on New Zealand television, the documentary series *Tangata Whenua* presented ' perspectives on the small screen, in most cases without interpretation'" (Mita, 1992, p. 46).

Tangata Whenua screened on NZTV and attracted many much viewer and won a Feltex Television Award. However, as Barclay recalls in his book, *Our Own Image* (1990), he later felt that his film-making strategy was "a failure" because it followed - as he coined it - a "Talking Out" strategy. "Talking Out" (Barclay, 1990) means addressing the film discourse to the audience of majority culture. However, Michael King had a different opinion of it. King wrote in his book *Being aPākeha* (1985, p. 126) that *Tangata Whenua* broke the "mono-cultural" mould of New

Zealand television. This difference in opinion refers - I think - to the change that occurred in Barclay's identification with his Māori side and where his way of discussing Māori issues deepened and became clearer than it had been in the 1980's than in the 1970's. Immersion in cultural practices and offering identity to Māori seems the focal concern of Barclay in the 1980s.

From 1974 to 1987, until the release of *Ngati* (1987), Barclay kept dealing with identity, social and cultural issues with particular focus on Māori issues. After the success of *Tangata Whenua* Barclay made a few films. *Ashes* (1975) was a documentary that Barclay made on the identity conflicts of a priest and four women, based on T.S. Elliott's poem "Ash Wednesday". *Ashes* includes reflections on identity, spirituality, the feelings of being cut off from community feelings which likely occurred to Barclay during his priesthood apprenticeship in Australia. Barclay directed the documentary *Hunting Horns* (1975) about the ex-soldier James Bertram and *Indira Ghandi* (1976) as a part of *Women in Power* series which is based on an extended interview with the Prime Minister of India Indira Ghandi and in which reporter Dairne Shanahexplores her emergency governing by democracy. In 1977, Barclay made the documentary, *Aku Mahi Whatu: My Art of Weaving*, about two master cloak-weavers, which seems an extension of the concerns of *Tangata Whenua* in exploring Māori themes for external an external audience.

After that Barclay travelled for seven years through several European and other countries to explore the subject of genetic manipulation of plants and their circulation, and the effects on poor farmers, to travel which resulted in the documentary film, *The Neglected Miracle* (1985). The "marae" metaphore which gives every person a chance to express him/herself which Barclay used in Tangata Whenua (1974) is applied to an international issue that Barclay (1996, p. 120) describes : "Within the film is a marae that stretches from Lima, through Europe, and into the central Australian desert" MP Tariana Turia argued that the film was influential in urging Māori to protect indigenous flora and fauna (nzonscreen).

1987 was an important year in Barclay's careeras the employment of biculturalism was an encouraging factor for many ethnically mixed people to identify as Māori. On the level of identity, Barclay became fully focused on Māori issues and the Māori point of view became clearer in his films. He came to work with Tama Poata, writer of *Ngati* (1987). *Ngati* was the first feature film written and directed by a Māori person about a community in which Māori were the dominant social group. The film prefigured the emphasis on an indigenous viewpoint that he would later call (Fourth Cinema). *Ngati* makes a clear case for the validity and legitimacy of Māori culture conceived on its own terms and seen and heard in local images and te reo (Murray, p. 60). Barclay commented on *Ngati*: " We tried to capture the atmosphere of the land and the sea, living and dying there" (Lomas, 1987, p. 1). In terms of its social inclusiveness, Murray describes *Ngati* as making "a prominent case for a society informed largely by Māori structures" (p. 62). *Ngati*,as Stuart Murray describes: parallels the centrality of community economic control and management with Māori control of their images, dissemination and storing (p. 57). Thornley (2006) argues, "While concentrating on the lingering effects of colonialism and the increasing pressures of industrialization and urbanization experienced by its members, *Ngati*, ultimately suggested, at least at the surface, a hopeful future for Māori society with possibilities for productive - relations" (in Martens, 2012, p. 7). The film included three narrative lines: a boy dying of leukemia, a junior Australian doctor coming for an apprenticeship in Kapua who realizes he has heritage there, and a community struggling to keep its freezing works going after being threatened that it will close. In *Ngati* Barclay's filmmaking strategy seems to have moved closer to "Talking in" - "a right and responsibility for any culture to present itself to its own people in its own way" (Barclay, 1990, p. 75) -which specifically means here that the film is addressed to the community, in retrieving stories of success from their history of determination which can be examples for contemporary Māori identification. In addition, "Talking in" is expressed through the

independence of Māori and their ability to manage their life without the need for outsiders.

Ngati won awards for best film, best script, best actor and best actress at the 1988 national Film and Television Awards. It also won Best Film at the Taormina Film Festival in Sicily and was chosen to screen at Cannes 1987 Critics' day. *Ngati* had critical and communal reception both within New Zealand and outside. Paatsch and Gauthier identified the central points in Ngtai, which Barclay worked on establishing; the importance of community and a character for film that reflects Māori culture and concerns. Leigh Paatsch in the Australian In Press magazine writes that Barclay "ignores the tight formatting and pacing of modern cinema" (in Murray, 2008, p. 63). Gauthier describes it as "Slow-paced and community driven which broke from Western traditions of cinematic storytelling, they were not action and individually driven films" (in Martens, 2012, p. 7). Murray attended to one of the important lines in Barclay's main themes concerning New Zealand society. Murray points out, *Ngati* was received as exemplifying culture, in a context projecting a desire for bicultural identification, not as representing ideas such as iwi and whenua (p. 64). This view is in a way acknowledges the difficulty that Māori can return to the social connections pre-European contact.

In 1987 Barclay also made a documentary series about journeys through Te Urewera National Park. In a part of that series: *Te Urewera,* Barclay focuses on various issues and tries different methods of documentary. Barclay started to present the techniques and concepts that would later inform the concept of Fourth Cinema. Barclay explored Māori communal life, knowledge and identity. In terms of content the film discusses sovereignty of the Tuhoe people on their park through resorting to their knowledge system in sustaining the park and its resources. In *Te Urewera* interviews are only made with Tuhoe people according to Barclay's Fourth Cinema principle, where knowledge is to be exclusively collected from people other than experts; and this implies breaking the newsreels conventions which Barclay elaborates on in his book *Our Own*

Image (1990). This practice highlights the feature of the subjective stand that Fourth Cinema takes in discussing Indigenous matters. Stephen Turner considers it as a Fourth Cinema film, by giving justice to the Moriori victims and their loss of land, through rendering film into court (2002).

In 1991 Barclay made the fiction feature film *Te Rua* (1991) which deals with substantial issues of Māori identity and the desire of Māori to have over their cultural resources. Stuart Murray noted, "*Te Rua* parallels debates within Māori societies, and in the nation as a whole, that explored the changing nature of the details of political activism at the time of the film's production" (2008, p. 73). The film seems to react to the commodification of Māori cultural treasures by the government in the 1990's (Murray, p. 74). *Te Rua* portrays a group of young people who travel to Germany for the return of some carvings of their ancestors from a Berlin museum to their rightful place in Aotearoa. This group is assisted by a Māori lawyer working in Germany although he favored other ways of returning those carvings home. The group takes three classical European sculptures as hostages and hides them in an old and poor building. They negotiate exchanging them with the three carvings, fail to do so and get taken by police, but finally the museum admit that Māori are the owners of them. *Te Rua* was unique in the way Wood argues: as "the first and probably the last film to elucidate and endorse direct political confrontation to achieve Indigenous community goals" (In Martens, 2012, p. 8).

In 2000 Barclay made *The Feathers of Peace*, a feature documentary, inspired by Michael King's book, *Moriori: A People Rediscovered* (1989). *The Feathers of Peace* gives a call for reflection on (and reconsideration of) the idea of justice, where Māori enact an event where they were themselves invaders of the Chatham Islands. *The Feathers of Peace* affirms that Barry Barclay's identification as Māori is not a narrow ethnic belief, and this is clear in his being just and ethically aware of the suffering of Moriori. On the other hand, Stuart Murray puts *The Feathers of Peace* in context by expressing Barclay's 'unease' towards Māori culture as exemplified by the preoccupation with the idea of

'warriordom' in the 1990s (2008, p. 79). Stephen Turner considers it as a Fourth Cinema film, by giving justice to the Moriori victims and their loss of land, through rendering film into court (2002).

The documentary feature, *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) - the last of Barclay's films - is the film in which Barclay develops his representation of the social elements of New Zealand, and what Māori culture means for this community. This film discusses commercial fishing in the Kaipara Harbour which causes a big reduction of fish for local fisheries and the local community; and outlines the bureaucratic process that took institutions two decades to deal with this issue and still did not provide resolution for the benefit of the community. *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) utilizes the dwindling of fish resources in the Kaipara Harbour to put forward various other issues, cultural and social, such as: control over customary land, the relationship between Māori and Pākeha, the way resources are managed by government and the need for employing Māori alternative methods.

Barry Barclay's identification as Māori did not emerge fully formed. Even though he dedicated his TV series *Tangata Whenua* (1974) and three years later *Aku Mahi Whatu* : *My Art of Weaving* (1977) to representing Māori, he continued making Pākeha films partially because of the scarce funding on films at the time (nzonscreen). Nevertheless, this period was a time of growing and strengthening of Barclay's Māori identity through learning and socializing with Māori.

From *Ngati* (1987) on, Barclay committed himself to putting forth cultural and social concerns in a complex situation. Each one of his movies, as he describes, is based on a metaphor (Barclay, 1990) and reflects a strategy for expressing and representing certain elements such as community, culture or land. His life-in-action reactions to problems arising from grappling with institutions and social racism, produced ideas and nuances on how to represent Māori and Pākeha in a contemporary context. Barclay's film-making then was a medium through which he reflected his viewpoints about social and cultural concerns. This treatment of filmic themes such as land, community and culture and identity kept

developing and positions in connection with modes of communication. The films of Barclay maintained an energetic pace and reconsideration and attention to the process of identification with his two side of ethnic identity. However, Barclay's Pākeha side was present in all of his films to some degree or another.

I- Barclay's ethnic Identities

The first sections seek a theoretical framework which can accommodate or justify the changes that occurred to Barry Barclay's identifications. Barclay lived the first part of his life as Pākeha, then signs of his identifying as Māori started to appear in the mid 1970s, then he fully focused on strengthening his Māori identity, and finally arrived at a balanced identification. Barclay's process of identification was strongly connected to his mixed personal ethnic background and to contextual forces that resisted and sometimes encouraged his identity choices. The official socio-political frameworks of the time had influences on his choices. In the 1970s where Māori living under the integration social policy, for an ethnically mixed man it was not an easy choice to identify as Māori. In an early stage of biculturalism, he became able to identify as Māori and he likely suffered also because of his mixed ethnic identity where a Māori essential form of identity was officially encouraged, which he de-emphasized for a while. As biculturalism matured, it became possible for half-castes to choose the form of identity they prefer. There are two major trends in the scholarship of identity (*essentialism* and *fluid identity*) which Barclay identity choices cannot fit in either both of them. "*Essentialism* presupposes that a group or a category of objects/people share some defining features exclusive to the members of this particular group or category" (Eide 2010, p. 66) and these features are primordial and unchanging. These are "forms of consciousness represent communal efforts to challenge dominant representations through the construction of

positive but equally essentialist images of community" (Gosine, 2002, p. 82).This line of thought originally come from German Romantic philosophers such as Herder and Fichte and continued in the works of some writers like Basil Davidson, Clifford Geertz, Edward Shil-White (Green, 2006, p. 5-6). Scholars such as Fordham presented a black community in its negotiation of an oppositional culture, relatively essentialized, and coherent form of positive identity for internal circulation (Gosine, 2002, p. 83). Identity fulidity is a characteristic linked more to identity in late modernity and post-Modernist thought, in the works of Anthony Giddens (1991), Charles Taylor (1992), Eric Ericson (1968), Sturat Hall (1991, 1994, 1995) and others. Giddens suggests that in the fast changing world of late modernity the self becomes a project for individuals, a process of constant reflexivity on what and who they should become, and because of that identity is fluid and malleable (Buckingham, 2008, p. 9). Hall argues also that, "in essence, the argument is that the old identities which stabalizsd the world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject "(1995, p. 597).

Māori *essentialism*, according to Smith (1999), Schwartz et al (2010) and Chadwick (2002) is the form of identity that is able to resist cultural assimilation whereas the *fluid identity* (Harris et al., 2013) and (Poata-Smith, 2013) argument sees it as a continuous process of becoming. However, both arguments are too extreme to accommodate the identifications that Barclay made. This section seeks to find a theoretical framework for understanding identification in such a culturally locally complicated part of the world. I arrive at *Developmental Identity Theory*, the contributions of Grotevant et al (1987); Sneed and Whitebourne (2001) and Whitbourne et al (2002), and from there I become able to somehow explain the identity dynamics of Barry Barclay.

II- Cultural criticism.

Cultural criticism is a method that Barry Barclay often employed in dealing with the Māori cultural situation. It is not meant by cultural criticism here

the literary theory that challenges the artificial distinction between high and low culture. It is rather a term I will be using for Barclay's method of commenting on what is Māori and non-Māori in contemporary Māori culture. Barclay implemented cultural criticism in his career in both writing and films. It was necessary to use such a device in a mixed culture, where Māori people had been forced in one way or another and coerced to adopt cultural practices and concepts which do not belong to their culture, and became in time components in their identity and practices. The content of this cultural criticism differed according to the social context of the text production. For instance, in *Tantgata Wheuna* (1974) where the country was under the integration policy of Māori, the expression of cultural criticism was less frank than when in 1990, where biculturalism gave more space for such expressions such as in Barclay's book *Our Own Image* (1990). In this book, he was clear in tone about the cultural practices and the myths in Western popular culture. In film, he mostly used visual juxtapositions and heightening of tension between the visual and aural in order to make the spectator attentive to internalized concepts that are foreign to Māori culture. This cultural criticism section will focus on moments from *Tangata Whenua* as a text which aimed at exploring the Māori situation in detail. In those moments Barclay makes tension between the aural and the visual or highlights their relationship in order to bring the spectator's attention to crucial but unnoticed spots of social habits, where frank expression may likely affect funding the film.

III- Celebrated Moments.

The enthusiasm of identifying with his Māori side from his late 20s gave Barclay much energy to tread on an unpaved way, with not many signs of it. With this enthusiasm Barclay articulated some important moments that represented historic actions for a community which carried the burden of suppression and injustice. Part of the project of re-constructing identity and repairing it, is celebrating the successes and achievements of that identification - those exceptional moments whose circulation is meant to

strengthen Māori identification within Māori society. Barry Barclay gives those moments much artistic attention. Almost all Barclay's films have such victorious moments that crown the narratives. Many of those moments aesthetically express the decisions that the characters or communities make, and they are injected with large doses of hope in changing a way of life or continuing it with stronger determination. This section discusses the aesthetic expressions that Barclay chose in order to celebrate and gain effective momentum in audiences. The moments chosen in this discussion are scenes of: building Porirua marae from the episode *Turangawaewae* of *Tangata Whenua* (1974), the community meeting with the freezing company officials and Greg's getting on the bus at the end of *Ngati* (1987), local Tuhoe horse riders breaking the rules of hunting birds from *Te Urewera* (1987), the finale of *Te Rua* (1991) and the finale of *The Kaipara Affair* (2005).The section discusses some of the cinematic treatment of shots, music and editing that Barclay implements in expressing such moments. Other than *The Kaipara Affair*'s moment, all of the moments are concerned with Māori arriving at success.

V- Representation of Pākeha.

In his lecture "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" (2002), Barclay states: "I have both a western and a tribal background...by birth, at least, I am a person of two allegiances." In spite of identifying as Māori (and writing western without a capital 'W' and with a capital 'M' in the statement above), Barclay did not belittle his Pākeha part of identity. None of his films was without the positive contributions of Pākeha people. Barclay was working on a version of culture that attempted to free itself from the influences and damages of colonialism and post-colonialism, a version that can be reproduced for the community. His efforts therefore were focused on the racist and unjust remnants in the institutions that made cultural determination and reparation difficult. He seems comfortable with Pākeha who have positive attitudes towards Māori and the nation in their resistance to capitalist exploitation of natural resources and governmental adherence to its

causes. Barclay always kept this balanced representation of the two main social components of New Zealand.

I argue in this section, that even if it was not the focus of Barclay, his Pākeha identity had influenced his film practices throughout his film-career. Both identities lived together in tension sometimes and harmoniously at other times, but the total outcome was heading towards reconciliation. Barry Barclay understands that Māori and non-Māori are not 'one people' but they are all human, which I can interpret to mean that the difference is caused by culture and ethnicity. Each part has its own culture and world-view. On the ethnic level, difference cannot be negated but culture can be worked out in order to gather people together rather than exacerbate differences. Barclay's films left the door open for those who cross the accumulative threshold of stereotyping and are aware of the injustices done to indigenous people and culture, and share a possible future with them. I argue here that Barclay maintained positive images of Pākeha and gave them productive roles in his films as a reflection of his view on the Pākeha role in society.

VI- Representation of Land.

Although, land is mostly connected to Māori in Barclay's films, he spares considerable space for non-Māori (Pākeha) in representing it. The discussion of the topic of land enables Barclay to widen the scope of discussion into involving issues about identity, belonging and sovereignty. As Alissa Strong (2001) argues, for an indigenous person, land represents the most important aspects of human existence: a sense of his or her identity, a source of living and sacredness. Barclay's representation of land in relation to Māori is expressive and attached to the historical and political context of the film making and setting. This representation starts from its simplest form in *Tangata Whenua* (1974), as a place to stand on, reflecting the social situation of urban in the seventies. This representation develops as Māori gain more rights and freedom of speech in the bicultural socio-political framework of the 1980's onwards in dealing with complex issues of sovereignty of Māori on their land. Settings become rural where

land is inhabited by a community and evidence of ownership, belonging and a sense of identity is provided. The representation of land can help in the discussion of unresolved issues of identity and sovereignty where the efficiency of resource management is questioned. These issues are discussed in *Ngati* (1987), *Te Urewera* (1987) and *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). On the other hand, Māori are presented as concerned with the way land is managed, and Barclay does not portray Pākeha as having deep connection with land as compared to Māori. However, in his last film, *The Kaipara Affair* Pākeha start to have a much improved relation with the land.

VII- Fourth Cinema: Theory and Practice.

After a long film-career of learning about Māori culture and reflecting on the concerns of historical damage done to the social structures and knowledge system of Māori society, Barry Barclay offered a definition for Indigenous Cinema. In a lecture he gave to the students of Media Studies at the University of Auckland in 2002, Barclay outlined what he called Fourth Cinema. Barclay (2003), differentiated Indigenous from Holy-wood (First cinema), Second cinema (Art House cinema), and Third cinema (Third world cinema). For Solano and Getano (1969, p. 1) First cinema is a "cinema of spectacle and entertainment..bearing witness to the decay of bourgeois values and testifying to social injustice", a cinema concerned with "effect not cause" and as a result it is a "cinema of mystification or anti-historicism", largely coming from the United States. Second Cinema is the European art film which is a step further in decolonizing culture through the filmmaker's personal expression in non-standard language (p. 8). Gabriel defines Third Cinema practice is a model for resistance to colonial rule, in which cultural practitioners move from a phase of assimilation to a fighting phase (in Murray, 2008, p. 22). All of these cinemas are considered by Barclay as cinemas of invaders and represent the nation states which marginalize Indigenous people (p. 7). Barclay technically theorizes Fourth Cinema according to interiority (essence) and exteriority (the culturally and socially specific practices). Before this

lecture, Barclay had elaborated on his understanding and practices of Māori film (Barclay, 1990). Murray points out that community is at the heart of Barclay's work (2008, p. 3). Fourth Cinema is a self representative cinema, aiming at deconstructing stereotypes and misrepresentations. Therefore, Fourth Cinema is a cinema where production and reception is a fully indigenous matter.

In order to comment on and seek an explanation to Barry Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema, I take exteriority as means for reaching what he called "inaccessible" interiority (2003). I follow in this section the use of exteriors from the first film that Barclay made to the last in order to explain what is meant by interiority in the definition. I argue that at the obvious level exteriors are used extensively in his early films, especially when he was presenting these external factors to an 'outside', non-Māori audiences, but were decreasing in time giving way to the expression of interiority. As a person who was not brought up as Māori, and started to learn Māori culture in his adult life, Barclay chose his own way of conceptualizing interiority. The essence that Barclay aimed to capture was instilled gradually as cultural practices which can benefit the human race and solve environmental problems. In this way, the definition that Barry Barclay offered is intricately connected to the development of his treatment of the cultural and the social, in which he moves from the external into the interior. And the most important signifier to this understanding is the non-Indigenous element in his films which gets strengthened in time, seemingly contradicting his own theorization of Fourth Cinema.

LikeStephen Turner (2013), I am surprised that not much research is produced on Barry Barclay. I noticed that Barry Barclay is studied and quoted only from the Māori angle he chose and focused on in the second half of his life, his Māori identity. Barclay seems to be fully framed by the identification he made, that Māori scholars cannot go beyond and Pākeha scholars accept as the only given possibility. The material that Barclay produced is used by Māori for strengthening their argument around Māori issues. Pākeha scholars who are passionate about Barclay and Māori

issues, deal with the aspects that his identification with his Māori side are based on. I noticed that the Pākeha side of Identity in Barry Barclay is not studied at all. This is maybe because he hardly mentioned it in his books and writings and consequently scholars do not feel encouraged to deal with it. Or it might stir undesired social sensitivities. However, I found that the Pākeha side of Barclay's identity is a very important dimension to research. Studying Barry Barclay according to the interaction between his two sides of identity: Māori and Pākeha, is very important to discover what is beyond political polarizations. Barclay's filmmaking is multifaceted, and needs to be looked at from various angles and dealt with as a national legacy that is valid not only for Māori. The question of Pākeha identity (cultural and ethnic) within Māori community is crucialalso because it is crucial to any enquiry about the social dilemma in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, which as Paul Meredith (1998b, p. 3) realizes: is that "These Pākeha are here to stay". In the context of Barclay's film practices, exploring the issue of identity will help explain various unclear areas in Barclay's films and concepts. It explains the non-Māori presence in his films and its relation to his theorization of Fourth Cinema. Discussing Pākeha identity also sheds light on a new connection between Pākeha and land and their partaking in debates about national unresolved issues. Discussing identity gives insight into what Barclay proposes as features of a hoped-for national culture.

Chapter 2

Literature review

There has been a growing interest in scholarship in Barry Barclay but mostly limited to his theorization of Fourth Cinema and to discussion of some of his films. Kirsty Bennett draws on Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema in "Fourth Cinema and The Politics of Staring" (2006). Bennett considers *Ngati* (1987) as Fourth Cinema film that "facilitates a look at the complexities of social structures, and enables, in this case, Māori to look upon their community as more than just a passive receptor of colonization" (p. 23). Annie Golden and Jo Smith give take *Tangata Whenua* (1974) as a an example of Māori documentary films of which resist the orthodox viewpoints of New Zealand society (2006) and this discussion is beyond the interest of this thesis. Michelle Keown (2008) points out that *Ngati* (1987) as an expression of Māori cultural nationalism (p. 198), that it gives productive roles to Pākeha within Māori community but they are still considered as strangers (p. 204). Dorothy Christian (2010), in her attempt for development Indigenous film aesthetics, discusses Barclay's theory of Fourth Cinema and arrives at Barclay's expression "standalone", as a position outside the orthodox national culture, the set of binaries and cultural clashes (p. 67). Anna Sutton (2011) discusses Māori in films and takes *Ngati* as one of her case studies. Sutton observes that *Ngati* provides viewers with positive and optimistic images of Māori which are opposite to stereotypes (p. 234). Māori language, world-views and concepts, which are taken for granted, are accentuated in *Ngati*. Māori dominate the screen, although Pākeha are positively represented. Māori self-determination is captures Māori present as an alternative to their colonized history. Hester Joyce (2009) compares between three Māori films: *Ngati*, *Whale Rider* (1994) and *Once Were Warriors* (1994). Joyce demonstrates that "*Ngati* and *Whale Rider* and *Once Were Warriors* contain elements of postcolonial critique, while *Whale Rider* returns to a model of segregation, invoking spirituality of Māori in a nostalgic longing for a lost past." Stephen Turner (2002) argues that the function of Fourth Cinema is to recognize unimagined futures and lost histories which then

help increase the potential for real justice. The article promises of contributing to a close examination of Barclay’s definition of Fourth Cinema as exclusively made by Indigenous people, which is, in this case, made by Barclay and his crew who are not Indigenous to Chatham Islands.

Most of the work deals with Barry Barclay's films and his definition of Fourth Cinema according to his self-identification as Māori, without paying attention to his Pākeha side of identity. To have an understanding of Barclay's film practices, recurring themes and their development, the best way is to start from his writings. Barclay's writings comment on various issues of Māori culture and society, on Pākeha culture, his films, and the practices of approaching Māori community and his Fourth Cinema theorization. Key works are*Our Own Image* (1990) and his article “Celebrating Fourth Cinema” (2003) as well as more recently *Mana Tuturu* (2005). And to have an understanding of his definition of Fourth Cinema, an understanding of his film practices is of crucial importance. The major critical work on Barclay, *Images of Dignity: Barry Barclay and Fourth Cinema*(Murray, 2008), is important in providing contexts for his films' production and his wider political and social influences. The book also makes useful notes on the trends and ideas that drove Barclay's films. *Images of Dignity* makes materials available such as correspondences by the author with Barry Barclay. Stuart Murray believes that having better understanding of Barry Barclay's films can be obtained through looking at the cultural and political surroundings of the process of making the films (p. 9). Additionally, the introduction does provide context for the making of Barclay's films and outlines the term Fourth Cinema. In Chapter One Murray focuses on the documentary films and television series from 1970's, recognizing how Māori communities are represented from an auto-ethnographic point of view as well as the "marae" metaphor of giving space for participants to express their ideas. Chapter Two discusses the 1980's films and analyses how community comes to take a "pivotal" position as an "Indigenous agency", and becomes "vital" in self-representation and "activist activity". In those films Indigenous community

is portrayed as applying its core values against dominant practices, which is the kind of activist community that Barclay promotes. In chapter Three Murray discusses how Barclay deals in his last three films with the idea of engagement with contemporary cultural and political pressing issues. As Murray points out, Barclay moves from the 1970's issues of self-representation into issues of questions of law and governance (p. 10). This book offers important insights into how Barry Barclay's ideas develop, which will be useful in the discussion made here later. However, for the main focus of this thesis Murray's book does not provide much for the argument concerning the dynamics of identification and relation between the two sides of Barclay's identity, which will form the basis for discussion in this thesis. Murray accepts the majority view that Barclay's Māori identity is more salient for his work and does not go far in the interpretation of the relation between the personal and the cultural and political in this book.

Other than Murray's book, the literature helps understand Barclay's identifications and film practices. The literature provides contextual and historical information that is helpful for investigating the collective concerns and ideas that were available to Barry Barclay at the time.

Most of the literature on identity looks at it from a social angle proposes that it is a social phenomenon that an individual has no control of. According to Hall, identification generally means becoming one with the other (1991, p. 33). In the early stage of life and even beyond it, 'significant others' are the subject of identification, and may continue to be so (Taylor, p. 33). Beyond the circle of significant others, there is another circle of identity negotiation that is partly internal and partly found in the interaction with others (p. 34).Personal identity, according to Snow and Anderson, is "the self-designations of and self-attributions that an individual enacts or asserts during the course of social interaction with others, and are essentially the meaning the individual attributes to the self" (in Harris et al, 2013, p. 2). For Harris et al, identity is relational and contextual (p. 3). However, Marxist, and especially Althusserian thought, gives much weight to ideology that utilizes institutions for the construction of the subject

(Althusser, 1970). Erick Ericson (1950) and Anthony Giddens (1991) argue that modernity has been a source for identity fragmentation resulting from the exposure of individuals to fast and dramatic changes in economic and social environments that consequently force them to adapt to various different environments. Postmodernism conceives of identity as continuously shifting, where identification becomes more "problematic" and "open-ended" (Hall, 1995, p. 598). Edward Said understands identity construction as a process that involves the external and internal;"historical, social, intellectual and political process that involves individuals and institutions" (Said, 1995, p. 332). This definition balances and considers the gap that modernists and post-modernists leave out, which is identity as a conscious self-project.

Even though fragmentation is a reality of contemporary life as previously said, the efforts that human rights organizations, activist movements, intellectuals and individuals make is another factor in the equation of identity construction. These efforts aim at understanding and deconstructing the process of fragmenting identity. Buckingham (2008, p.1) and Howard (2000, p. 387) argue that there should be a commitment to self-identity values and a degree of stability. Bransen (2007, p. 12) offers another concept which explains identity-management as:"the task of determining the best alternative of oneself ...that living a life can insightfully be understood as a process to be managed".

This research is concerned with the elements that encouraged Barry Barclay to identify and insist on his Māori identification in spite of the historical, structural and political consequences of highlighting his sense of identity. Many Māori and non-Māori scholars have considered Barclay as a Māori cultural figure such as (Brendan Hokowhitu (2007), Jo Smith (2008), Tainui Stephens (in Murray, 2008), Stephen Turner (2002, 2013), MP Pita Sharples (2008), Stuart Murray (2008).Later, other factors made him re-consider his Pākeha identity also. It is noted here that his Māori identification is taken for granted and no researcher problematized it. However, working through conscious identification as Māori is a process

that needed attention from scholars. Including Murray, none of the researchers tried to investigate Barclay's identifications as they have undergone change and modification. None of the local scholars has considered Barry Barclay as representative of a large section of Māori society; as being a half-caste. The two main streams of the literature on Māori identity (*essentialism* and *fluid identity*) are not fully able to encapsulate Barry Barclay's case. Māori society pre-European contact was divided according to tribal connections (Waker, 1990; Durie, 1998), and identities were fluid and dependent on political, social and geographical conditions (Meredith, 1998a, p. 3). However, the acute contrast that Māori people felt in their very contact with European culture urged them to ignore their tribal and geographical differences (Meredith, 1998a, p. 4) and form a kind of national unity under the umbrella of the King movement 1850s (Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 459). Walker (1989)points out that traditionally Māori identity is to be derived from membership and learning within the whanau, hapu, iwi and waka (in Moeke Pickering, 1996, p. 2).*Essentialism* is a tool for Indigenous people towards naming and claiming their rights (Smith, 1999, p. 74), defining themselves within their minority groups and within the larger societies they are part of (Schwartz et al., 2010). Some other essentialist arguments have considered the consequences of colonialism on the social fabric of Māori society.Hana O'Regan pointed out that the category of Māori identity should be flexible and defined according to social change (in Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 448). For Mason Durie "secure identity" includes involvement in community (marae), family (whenua), knowledge of genealogy and Māori language (in Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 449).O' Carroll acknowledges change in Māori identity (2013, p. 2), but change can be directed through personal identity-management for strengthening the sense of being Māori instead of weakening it. O' Carroll argues that "Māori identity is an evolving and dynamic process of self-realization and discovery" which needs "continuation, preservation and celebration" (p. 12).

Some local scholars try to apply findings that are produced by international scholars such as Stuart Hall to local context. The local scholarship focuses on structure but not the contribution of the individual in his/her identification. In other words, they acknowledge the long history of shifts in Māori identity shifting but do not attend to any attempt of fixing it on a time. Those findings are linked strongly to their context and mismatch the Indigenous situation. It is true that Māori identity has undergone both ethnic and cultural shifting, that Indigenous identification became problematic. Māori were encouraged by governmental policies to move to urban centers and be ethnically assimilated and integrated into Europeans (Kukutai, 2011, p. 48). As a consequence the fluid identity argument of Māori identity perceives of it as in a process of becoming rather than being. Poata-Smith states: "Māori identity is not a continual transmission of fixed cultural essences through time" (2013, p. 26). Harris et al argue that "indigenous identities are in flux, responding to shifting and diverse social and cultural categories and identifications that are rarely stable" (2013, p. 5). Hokowhitu considers a neo-Indigenous identity formation as not having an existential ground; it does not have even an epistemological support (2014, p. 460).

The research tries to raise questions around such conceptualizations and applications, and find better understanding of the dilemma of half-castes who consciously identify as Māori.*Developmental Identity Theory* can explain self-conscious identification and identity management, tactics which were used by Barry Barclay more than *essentialism* and *fluid identity*. As some theorists argue, when family imposes a form of identity or society it means an identity crises, which then urges one on to reconciliation and control with the self and ultimately encourages a search for a satisfactory identity of one's own creation (French et al., 2006, p. 1-2). Sneed and Whitbourne (2001); Whitbourne et al., (2002) argue, "The central processes of identity development specifically in middle and late adulthood include identity assimilation, identity accommodation, and identity balance" (inFadjukoff, 2007, p. 15).

According to Grotevant et al (1987); Sneed and Whitebourne (2001) and Whitbourne et al (2002), exploration refers to an early stage of identity formation, while assimilationis observed with age increase (inFadjukoff, 2007, p. 14).

A number of theorists argue that engagement in the identity exploration process is more likely to happen in cultures and environments that are open to differing points of view (Fadjukoff, 2007, p. 17). An achieved identity nevertheless remains flexible and open to changes and is not likely to be fixed (p. 15). Barry Barclay engaged with his ethnic identities and social dynamics as Biculturalism encouraged him to identify with his Māori side, but then as society moved towards advancing itself concerning Māori rights, Barclay increasingly acknowledged his Pākeha side and came closer to an identity balance.

Cultural criticism is a device that Barry Barclay used in his treatment of contemporary Māori culture, influenced by the Māori activism prevalent at the time. In a correspondence between Barry Barclay and Stuart Murray (2008), Barclay pointed to the importance of his involvement with the Nga Tamatoa Māori movement to (Murray, 2008). Murray (2008), Turner (2013) and Barnes (2011) argue that culture is a central concern for Barry Barclay. According to Barnes, Barclay, Don Selwyne and Merata Mitawere the Māori filmmakers who offered identities, worldviews and experiences that made Māori concerns visible (p. 20). These filmmakers were part of a Māori cultural nationalism that had objectives for the rediscovery of identity through immersion in culture and language (p. 198).

On the practical level, Barclay's criticism is based on understanding the dynamics of identification in a culturally hegemonic environment. Identity, according to Antonio Damasio, is constructedthrough exposure to symbols, values, rituals and cultural icons (in Jandt, 2016, p. 6). Frantz Fanon was concerned about the inferiority that the oppressor imposes on the oppressed, which he internalizes and which then becomes a self-image (Fanon, 1967, p. 11). Adopting forms of identities that the dominant culture promotes is common in minorities. There are examples of shame

feelings that the oppressed feel concerning their skin and culture, which result in self-hatred and choosing the image of the oppressor in Fanon's words (in Barnes, 2011, p. 34). This criticism of internalization of subaltern identities was used to comment on European cultural concepts and practices by Barry Barclay (1990).

Barry Barclay's representation of Pākeha was influenced by factors such as: the consequences of race relationships with Māori, these tensions and development during his life, and his personal sense-making of his Pākeha identity. A brief historical account is helpful here for the understanding of Pākeha-Māori relationship. Early Europeans helped Māori in providing technology for their economic benefit (Nikora and Thomas, 2010, p. 1). The quick colonization of New Zealand after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and the increasing numbers of European settlers turned Māori into a minority by the move into the 20th century but also paved the way to reinforcing the notion of "Māori" identity" (Durie, 1998). However, a sense of such an identity got weakened in time because of the taking of Māori land, migration to cities and exposure to cultural contents from the dominant settler culture.

This initial relationship turned into Pākeha taking Māori land through the New Zealand Company and on selling it to British migrants (p. 2). Introducing alcohol to Māori communities worsened the race relations between them (ibid). The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi came as a solution for the Pākeha misgoverning of inter-ethnic relationship and satisfaction of Māori claim for sovereignty over land, but this treaty was intermittently violated and unapplied by law-givers concerning land matters (ibid). Until 1940, New Zealand in practice had two separate nations (nzhistory.govt.co). It was argued by Durie that urbanization of the Māori was an ideological method for replacing Māori identity, which is based on tribal organization, with a new cultural identity (in Howkowhitu, 2014, p. 454). In Post-World War II, the urbanization of "Māori" people was a key drive for influencing the (re) building of "Māori" identity (Durie, 1998; Paul Spoonley, 1996; Walker, 1990).

Up to 1960s successive governments were biased and paternalistic in their policies and efforts to assimilate and integrate Māori (Walker, 1989). In reaction to these efforts, Māori renaissance and activism started to re-shape inter-ethnic relationship, and gained cultural, economic and educational rights (nzhistory.govt.co). From the 1970s to 1980s, the Māori urban subject was considered a problem (Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 452). According to the Hunn Governmental report (1961), Urban Māori lacked higher educational achievement and predominantly worked as low-skilled workers, which made them vulnerable to economic reformation in the 1980s (in Consedine, 2007, p. 8). As a result, many Māori were located or located themselves in a dysfunctional space characterized by urban violence and family violence (Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 452). The government promoted an iwi partnership ideal through the juridical process in the late 20th century(ibid), which favored a traditional form of Māori identity.

Towards the end 20th Century, encouraging efforts had been made to improve the Pākeha-Māori inter-ethnic relationship. Ranguini Walker was optimistic about the improvement that society made concerning this relationship (Spoonley, 2016). Some Pākeha figures proposed ideas about achieving better inter-ethnic relationship and a Pākeha identity connected to the land was made available in the public sphere. Michael King (1985) urged Pākeha to appreciate Māori and develop knowledge of their culture and have a better connection with the land (in Mitcalfe, 2008, p. 17). Paul Spoonley supported a postcolonial view of Pākeha-Māori relationship in which colonial practices, ideologies and institutional structures should be discarded (in Mitcalfe, 2008, p. 18).On the personal level, Murray's*Images of Dignity* includes correspondence that reveals useful information about Barclay's conception of his ethnic identities: "I came to be comfortable filming in the Māori and Pākeha worlds. I had a Pākeha background as much as I had a Moari one, and I enjoyed working in that Pākeha world too" (p. 62). The positive representation of Pākeha developed in time in response and reflections on to macro and micro-level realities.

The literature on Barry Barclay has not made his representation of Pākeha asvisible as it should be. It's representation is always discussed in relation to the Māori point of view that Barclay made efforts to establish. However, no one of the scholars pointed out to the personal contribution of Barclay's Pākeha identity to that positive representation. Murray did not get the point, or partially managed to, when he argued that the character Greg in *Ngati* (1987) was showed to have an appeal to Pākeha although he is less important than other Māori characters (ibid). This research considers Greg as a representative of a large portion of ethnically mixed and culturally affected by colonization. His skin tone medium and the difficulty of ethnically identify features of Greg is an effort to approach this Indigenous category. Sutton (2011, p 201-202) understands Greg's saying: "So, I'm Māori" as he realizes his ethnic identity, as mockery, whereas it is understood in this thesis as a new experience that Greg is unprepared for. It is an experience which gets culturally established and strengthened through his communication with the locals. Sutton does not make connectionsnor investigate this character in relation to the implications that concerned Barclay and had resonance with his personal identifications.

Barry Barclay gives particular significance in his films to land in connection with the two ethnic identities (Māori and Pākeha).Alissa Strong (2001) argues that for an indigenous person, land means a sense of identity, a source of living, and sacredness. Joseph Pere points out, "each tribal member and his land were interwoven and bound together (in Keenan, 1996, p.xx). Douglas Sinclair adds that land is a sacred trust for the people as a whole, it is not considered a commodity by Māori and is equally shared by the living and the dead (xxx).For Barclay, "Māori people are mindful of where their feet stand. Identifying with your tribal land is fundamental to a Māori person because the land gives you your turangawaewae ('the place where the feet stand'), your identity" (Barclay, 1990, p. 67). The city appears only a few times in Barclay's films, especially in *Tangata Whenua* (1974), as a culturally and economically uncomfortable environment for Māori to live in. However, Barclay mostly

focused on the rural, which accommodated commentary on Māori-Pākeha race-relations (Sutton, 2011, p. 205). The rural became a setting that "fits more comfortably with what is considered to be traditional" (ibid) and captures the relationship between a community and its land (Murray, p. 58).

The representation of this familiar and long existing relationship is central to the argument that Fourth Cinema makes aboutwhere legitimacy springs from (Turner,2013, p. 173). Ladislaus Semali and Joe Kincheloe argue that part of Indigenous experiences of colonization is that Indigenous knowledge is considered as inferior, static and primitive (in Barnes, p. 23). Land in Barclay's films becomes a stage for discussing the shortcomings of interacting with land by non-Indigenous methods and knowledge.

Barclay discusses Pākeha in relation to land also and finally develops an optimistic view of that relation. His discussion is related to the ideas of this relation available in his time and the reconsiderations he makes around such an issue. According to an eminent Māori scholar, the Pākeha consciousness has been concerned about its cultural identity and the position of land, and that Pākeha do not have "physical and metaphysical ...and political rights" which were ensued and established by Treaty of Waitangi, which considers them as manuwhiri (visitors), not tangatawhenua (people of the land) (Hokowhitu, 2014).Belich and Wever (2008) argue that Pākeha have anxiety and a sense of cultural identity loss that is more than any other settler society. As late as 2008, Belich and Wever raise questions about Pākehaidentity in connection with land: "Has the connection of our cultural identity with land become ‘boutique’, aiming essentially at adventure tourism and cruise boats, and retaining almost no real connection with wild landscapes and conservationist values" (p. 6). This concern prompted scholars such as Larner and Spoonley to look for "locally-focused" identity (in Webster, 2007) following in the footsteps of Michael King who suggested developing a relationship with land through which Pākeha can become a second Indigenous grouping (1991) and Stephen Turner to stress that Pākeha

should reshape their cultural identity around land (2013).*Tangata Whenua* (1974) as an early text raises questions of the Pākeha sense of anxiety with connection to land. *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) registers a change to this Pākeha relation with land. However, these representations are addressed indirectly, through visual characterizations.

I need to discuss interiority and exteriority here before using them as aspects of development of an argument on the next page. Barry Barclay (2003, p. 2) further defines Fourth Cinema in technical terms around two main principles: exteriority and interiority. "Exteriority" refers to "the surface features: the rituals, the language, the posturing, the decor, the use of elders, the presence of children, attitudes to land, and the rituals of the spirit world". On the other hand, Barry Barclay defines "Interiority" as the uneasy to access "essence" and the difficulty of accessing it that stems from the lost relationship of modern people to ancient cultures (Indigenous cultures). At the heart of Fourth Cinema is the negation of misrepresentations of Indigenous people and culture. Barclay conceives of Fourth Cinema as a medium through which exclusively Indigenous people control their images (1990).

This time in the consideration of perhaps Barclay's most famous contribution to academic culture the focus is not on the obvious, the Indigenous in Barclay's films and theory of Fourth Cinema; it is rather on the non-Indigenous in them. There are two lines in the literature: the culturally and ethnically specific and the culturally and ethnically non-Indigenous, embedded in post-settler societies and cinema as a form of expression. Barclay's line of argument consists of Indigenous self-representation through immersion in that culture and its signs, histories, stories and being aware of cultural shifting (2003). Kirsty Bennett (2006) argues that Fourth Cinema should correct the image of Indigenous people away from being objects of staring, pity and sexism into encouraging a process of "looking in" instead. Kahurangi Waititi(2008) does not go beyond the ethnically and culturally Indigenous and highlights that immersion in Indigenous exteriority would lead to expressing its interiority (using Barclay's terms). This interiority was an important issue in Barclay's

definition of Fourth Cinema (2003), which he thought was difficult to access because of the cultural shifts that had resulted from various forms of colonization. Stephen Turner (2013) emphasizes the properties of Indigenous land and environmental surroundings which he argues are elements that only Indigenous people can express their relationship with as an outcome of a long history, and this is how he understands interiority.

On the other hand, other scholars cannot conceive of Indigenous Cinema without the existence of the non-Indigenous element. Ginsberg (1994) and Miller (2006) consider the non-Indigenous as an outsider to the production of Indigenous Cinema but is actually the part that is sought for recognition, and better social, political and economic outcome.Kez Wallis (2011) sees that the ethnic background should not be a condition for the production of Fourth Cinema and that the most important factor is the knowledge about Indigenous culture. CorrinColumpar (2010) argues thatFourth Cinema is embedded with other national cinemas, in the same way as Indigenous identity embedded with social realities of settler societies.BrendenHokowhitu (2013) encourages Indigenous media to reflect Indigenous identity realities and do not strict themselves to the Indigenous-Non-Indigenous binaries.

As far as the argument of this thesis is concerned, Wallis, Columpar and Hokowhitu's line of argument is referred to as a starting point for the international discussion of Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema. The first two scholars point to the non-Indigenous element in Fourth Cinema, which Barclay does not mention in his definition, but which his films could not avoid. The thesis takes two aspects of the non-Indigenous presence in Barclay's films where the subject of films in time becomes the community (dominantly non-Indigenous) that because it is a mixed community makes participation in turn dominantly non-Indigenous. In other words, exteriors become less focused on, as against Indigenous interiority (substance). For instance, a Māori cultural practice such as Rahui, which Māori used to apply to their environment and proved to be efficient. The thesis proposes that non-Indigenous participation is crucial for the promotion of pivotal Indigenous cultural practices, and that this is a better way to access

Interiority. In other words, Barclay's focus is on the Indigenous as culture rather than ethnicity, which can be inclusive of other social elements.

The literature employed in this thesis is largely not about Barry Barclay. Except for the part on the definition of Fourth Cinema, most of the literature is used to understand or find the best approach to Barry Barclay's film practices.Those practices which are not discussed in the literature can be mentioned here: the Pākeha positive presence in spite of Barclay's more well-known identification with the Māori side of his identity. Also, his treatment of Māori cultural and social achievements. Those practices are argued to be highly influenced by his identification with both his Māori and Pākeha identities. There are some materials written on Barry Barclay's Māori world and practices connected to it, but to the best of my knowledge, there is no mention to his Pākeha identity and its influence on his world-view and film practices. Barclay himself mentions it only a few times. This forced this research to pursue the literature on identity, which better represents his conscious search for identity.

Chapter 3

Barry Barclay's Ethnic Identities

Identity is crucial to understanding and studying the work of Barry Barclay. Barry Barclay became a filmmaker of significance and a culturally influential person after giving priority to his identity as a Māori. However, after a period of commitment to his identity choice he seems to increasingly reconsider his Pākeha identity in his later work. Barclay's theorization of Indigenous cinema, film practices and cultural commentaries on postcolonial societies have appeal within Māori filmmaking circles and media scholarship, as well as in Indigenous filmmaking and media scholarship abroad. For Barry Barclay, the first clear and mature interest in Māoridom appeared in *Tangata Whenua* (1974), but had to be de-emphasized in subsequent years. He had to work largely within the tradition of Pākeha cinema between 1974-1987 in order to get his films funded (nzonscreen). Nevertheless, the issue of identity appeared as central to *Ashes* (1975) in another way; as an individual identity matter not the cultural ethnic identity. This time, identity is discussed on three levels: the woman who seeks to identify as a creative person, the meaning of religious identity for the priest, and his lost connection with community. Barclay's trajectory of identification from *Tangata Whenua* (1974) up until *Ngati* (1987) was dependent on the possibility of such identification in connection with Māori activism and its pushing forward social demands. It had to do with official institutions - including cinema funding bodies- which were reluctant towards such projects because of what Barclay called "institutional racism", despite the fact that there were few formal restrictions on expressing Māori identity in 1974. It took Barclay 13 years after *Tangata Whenua*to start expressing Māori identity in his films and writings with full force. This section discusses the issue of identity recognizing trends in the literature, the limitations of each of those trends in explaining Barclay's identifications, and looking into Barclay's identifications and searching for a position which can theoretically

accommodate Barclay's working on identity. There are two major trends in explaining Indigenous identity in postmodern and postcolonial societies: *essentialism* which looks for a framework of identification within the social network of pre-European Māori society, and the *fluid identity* argument which sees identity as in a process of change and negotiation, and draws on the works of Stuart Hall, Anthony Giddens and Charles Taylor. This section, keeping in mind Barclay's conscious self-identification with his Māori identity, explores the literature of identity (Marxist, Modernist and Postmodernist, with an emphasis on Stuart Hall) and argues that this literature treats the subject as passive. Then the section focuses on Bransen's personal identity-management which supports a personal engagement in an identity building project. After that, Māori identity is discussed according to the two main arguments: *essentialism* and *fluid identity*, which are both acknowledged to some extent as valid; but a need for a form of identity that directs change and uses it for its development is emphasized here. Finally, an identity developmental approach is seen here as suitable for the conscious process of identification that Barclay made and then the reconsideration of his Pākeha identity in his later work.

I- Identity: General view

This part tries to get an idea of how identity is constructed by internal and external forces. Identity is the creation of internal and external forces. Hall comments on the process of identification as being a continuous negotiation of the position of the subject in relation to others (Hall, 1996, p. 473). Snow and Anderson (1987) divide identity into: personal and social identity. Personal identity, according to Snow and Anderson, is "the self-designations of and self-attributions that an individual enacts or asserts during the course of social interaction with others, and are essentially the meaning the individual attributes to the self" (in Harris et al, 2013, p. 2). Coupland (2007) points out that "social identity" refers to the constitution of the self from the influences of social structures and groups (in Harris et al, 2013, p. 3). Harris et al argue that identity is relational and contextual identity (Harris et al, 2013,p. 3) and because of thischaracteristic Nagel

argue that identity is "variable … and continuously negotiated, revised and revitalized" (ibid). Edward Said offers a more inclusive understanding of identity, and the internal and external elements in the constitution of identity, that it is a result of "historical, social, intellectual and political process that involves individuals and institutions" (Said, 1995, p. 332). However, identity is also viewed as the distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that constitute self-esteem or considered as socially derived but have a degree of solidity (Fearon, 1999, p. 2). In the next two parts, I will give accounts of Marxism and Modernism and post-Modernism in relation to their pessimism in considering of identity as passive, and this sheds light on where Māori *fluid identity* argument comes from.

II- Marxism: Structural influence on Identity.

The literature-especially that which stems from Marxism-treats the subject as passive. The subject in Marxist thought, as Lapsley and Westlake (1988) argue, is constituted through the positions in which social relations locate it (in Chandler, 2000,p. 6). Althusser's attention to structures in constituting subjectivity reduces the importance of autonomy and consciousness of the subject. Althusser (1970) argues that ideology constitutes individuals through apparatuses such as family, schooling and mass media by the mechanism of interpellation, through which individuals acquire their sense of identity and perception of reality. Curran et al. (1982) argue that Althusserian media scholars conceive of the subject as fully driven by the media, while New-Marxist theorists think that the subject is exposed to influences of many discourses (in Chandler, 2000,p. 7). I will next bring about accounts of prominent thought, which focus on both the influence of history and structure.

III- Modernism and Post-Modernism

The passivity of the subject that Marxism diagnosed, continues in modernist and post-modernist literature. Identity is perceived as fragmentary by some prominent theorists because of the historical process of institutional changes. Anthony Giddens (1991) sees individuals in

modern time as caught up in a variety of contexts where each one calls for specific behavior, which leads to fragmenting the self. Erik Ericson describes growing up in a rapidly changing and disruptive environment, in which an individual feels uncertain about his character and goals, as an "identity crisis" (1950). Stuart Hall argues that the modern world fragments the individual, "giving rise to new identities" (Hall et al, 1995, p. 596). In "The Question of Cultural Identity", Hall suggests three kinds of identities according to the historical development of (European) society: the enlightenment, the sociological and the post-modern subject. The enlightenment identity was understood as a unified subject (ibid). More recently the postmodern conception of identity (which has become the influential model in academic circles since the 1980s goes further into the continuous shifting of identification to become more "problematic" and "open-ended" (Hall, 1995, p. 598).

V- The need for a degree of Solid Identity

Nevertheless, identity crises lead to reconciling identities imposed on the self by society or family, through control and search for a satisfactory identity (French et al., 2006, p. 1-2). Such an identity where a person feels at home with a self-chosen and one's own creation, is an essential factor for mental health for the individual (ibid).

Identity as largely a creation of structure and history leaves out the contribution of the personal. Hall argues that identity connotes the process of identification in which the self becomes one with the other (Hall, 1991, p. 4), that life is a series of identifications; positions in relation to others (ibid). Because of this continuous process of identification, identity is never completed and is in continuous formation (ibid).

There are theorists who accentuate the need for a degree of solidity for identity. Howard (2000, p. 387) acknowledges the modern crises of confidence that contemporary research observes and analyzes, but sees the commitment to self-values (authenticity) reflected in social and cultural imaginations such as in media, as a response to these crises. Buckingham

(2008, p. 1) sees conceptualizing identity as a continuous negotiation, that this conception "underestimates the continuing importance of routine and stability". Stability can be assumed to emerge from early plasticity; that is, social contexts may shape the self as it is developing, but once developed, the self may be difficult to change (Leary and Tangney, 2012, p. 12).Erickson (1995) argues "for a conception of self that is both multidimensional and unified, both emotional and cognitive, both individual and social - a notion not so far afield from traditional [stability]conceptions of identity" (in Howard, 2000, p. 387). Bransen (2007), Fearon (1999), Taylor (1976) and Velleman (1996) stress the need for self-management through a framework based on a set of values and a code of morals that guide actions. Now, we can be prepared for the discussion of Māori identity between two arguments (*essentialism* and *fluidity*) defined earlier in the previous chapter and see afterwards how we can categorize Barclay's identifications according to them.

V- Māori *Essentialism*.

Two major positions dominated academia in the local literature concerning Māori identity: *essentialism* and *fluid identity*. There is a considerable number of scholars who find *essentialism* strategically important for Indigenous cultures, in resisting extinction and assimilation. *Essentialism* for indigenous minorities is a tool for naming and claiming their rights (Smith, 1999, p. 74). Schwartz et al. (2010) argue, in various regions in the world, "ethnic identity helps ethnic cultural groups or cultural minority group members make sense of themselves both within their minority group and within the larger society in which that group is embedded". Chadwick argues that maintaining identity markers is important for indigenous people in order not to be fully overrun by dominant settler cultures (Chadwick, 2002, p. 198).

VII- *Fluidity* of Māori Identity.

The *fluid identity* argument is attentive to the realities of post-settler society. Hokowhitu (2014, p. 447) highlights valid questions about Māori

identity: "Is one born indigenous or does one become an indigenous subject?", and whether it is a matter of genealogy or social construction. Along with governmental policies of urbanizing Māori there were tendencies for assimilating them ethnically into European communities (Kukutai, 2011, p. 48). The *fluid identity* argument of Māori identity perceives of it as in a process of becoming rather than being. Harris et al. argue that "indigenous identities are in flux, responding to shifting and diverse social and cultural categories and identifications that are rarely stable (2013, p. 5). According to Poata-Smith, Māori culture and tradition are continually made and remade in a discontinuous process. As a consequence, "Māori that do not share all of these elements of culture, language, or tradition suffer some degree of deprivation or are inessential" (p. 31). Meredith argues that "new tribalism" has been "promoted by governmental policies and the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement process", pushing groups to seek "a representative voice and access to resources" (1998a, p. 5). Poata-Smith also notes that *essential identity* has been actively chosen by state agencies to promote exclusive Māori communities through offering material rewards (p. 28). By the passing of the Māori Affairs Amendment Act in 1984, according to Poata-Smith, a Māori was defined as someone with "half or more blood" (Poata-Smith, 2013, p. 41). Meredith therefore argues that *essentialism* is the reduction of "Māoriness" to an essential idea of what it means to be an "essential Māori", simplifying and facilitating the colonial project of acculturation (Meredith, 1998a, p. 9). Hokowhitu considers a neo-Indigenous identity formation as not having an existential ground; it does not have even an epistemological support (2014, p. 460).

New *Essentialism*

However, these are not ultimate realities, but as Hillary Weaver argues, "contemporary indigenous identities are multifaceted and shaped by social pressures, internalized oppression, cultural pride, and a host of other factors" (in Harris et al, 2013, p. 109). Māori cultural nationalists who supported the *essentialist* argument have made efforts in accommodating

social and cultural realities. Hana O'Regan suggested broadening the category of Māori identity into accepting varying levels and degrees of identity and redefining it in response to those degrees (in Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 448). Mason Durie suggests that self-identification as Māori is sufficient for a "secure identity" along with degrees of involvement in community (marae), (whenua) family, having relations with Māori, knowledge of genealogy and Māori language (in Hokowhitu, 2014, p. 449). Going back to the argument of personal identity-management, and without limiting Māori identity, constituting it according to cultural values is a possibility. The fluidity characteristic of identity recognized by Poata-Smith, Meredith and Hokowhitu can be understood differently as O' Carroll argues (2013, p. 2), directing change through personal identity-management can be used for strengthening the sense of being Māori instead of weakening it. O' Carroll argues that "Māori identity is an evolving and dynamic process of self-realization and discovery "which needs "continuation, preservation and celebration" (p. 12). This view-point is much closer to the project than both traditional *essentialism* and *fluidity*, that Barclay applied in his identification with his Māori side of identity.

VIII- Barry Barclay: Dynamics of Identity

Barry Barclay was a person who embodied some of the social and cultural realities of his society and time. Barclay took in the first half of his life what was available to him as an identity form, an ethnically mixed person (Pākeha and Māori) but was culturally raised as Pākeha. Murray (2008) mentions that Barclay had experiences of a racist nature in his early stages of life where he grew up in Masterton, which made him aware of racism in New Zealand society. Other than this, there is no clue in the literature and Barclay's biographical material can lead to knowing the reason why he chose not to integrate into Pākeha society in his early stages of life. As Hokowhitu (2014) noted that "Pākeha wanted Māori to be Pākeha", those experiences are likely to be based on the Māori side of Barclay's identity which was clear in his features. Those features maybe

the reason behind the forming of an obstacle to satisfactory assimilation or integration in the eyes of the dominant social group those days.

Developmental identity theory can further explain more than other identity theories the self-conscious identification that Barclay made in his adulthood and the modifications he made later on.Theorists explain that reconciling identities imposed on the self by society or family, can be made through control and search for a satisfactory identity (French et al, 2006, p. 1-2). Such an identity which a person feels at home with, a self-chosen and one's own creation, is an essential factor for the individual's mental health (ibid). Sneed and Whitbourne (2001); Whitbourne et al., (2002) argue, "The central processes of identity development specifically in middle and late adulthood include identity assimilation, identity accommodation, and identity balance" (in Fadjukoff, 2007, p. 15). According to Grotevant et al (1987); Sneed and Whitebourne (2001), and Whitbourne et al (2002), exploration refers to an early stage of identity formation, while assimilation is noticed with age increase (in Fadjukoff, 2007 , p. 14).To the best knowledge of this thesis, there is not much biographical information about Barclay's childhood, and how much knowledge he had from his Māori mother.Barclay states that prior to the making of *The Town that Lost a Miracle* (1972), which was concerned about Pākeha-Māori racial relations, he had no much knowledge about Māori culture (nzonscreen). The making of *Tangata Whenua* (1974) and his involvement with Nga Tamatoa which he considered as grounding him in Māoriness(Murray, 2008), could be the time where he started his period of identity exploration. A number of theorists argue that engagement in the identity exploration process is more likely to happen in cultures and environments that are open to differing points of view (Fadjukoff, 2007, p. 17). Since New Zealand society was moving towards biculturalism, by the influence of several Māori activist protests throughout the 1970s-1980s, it became a society that was open to a variety of identity choices, especially for those of mixed-ethnic backgrounds. Identity assimilation period can be positioned in the period after Barclay made *Tangata Whenua* (1974) where he acquired knowledge of Māori culture. Bosma and Kunnen (2001)

define identity achievement as the period in which an internalization of self-regulatory mechanisms occurs after a period of exploration (in Fadjukoff, 2007, p. 14). This identity achievement can be seen clearly in Barclay's extensive immersion in Māori issues, making films and writing about Māori contemporary concerns. This kind of identity can be roughly positioned to be started from the making of *Ngati* (1987) which was followed by films and books. As theorists argue that an achieved identity remains flexible and open to changes and is not likely to be fixed (Fadjukoff, 2007, p. 15). Barclay's reconsideration of the Pākeha side of identity is likely to have happened in his later stages of life. In this period, Barclay gave significant space to Pākeha to work and defend the well-being of the whole society of New Zealand such as in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005).

Summary

The identifications that Barclay made during his life is best approached here according to identity management and *Identity Developmental* theory. The available scholarship on Māori identity (*essentialism* and *fluid identity*) do not spare enough space for a case such as Barclay's identifications. *Essentialism* does not make much effort to accommodate mixed ethnic background people. *Fluid identity* argument treats as passive subjects without any degree of identity solidity that guides action and self-conscious identification. In this section accounts of the theories which spring from Marxist thought, identity fragmentation and *fluidity* in modernist and postmodernist thought, that give more attention to structure and historical development of society over self-conscious identification, are presented. This postmodern theoretical framework (identity *fluidity*) is used by some New Zealand scholars, including Māori scholars, to approach Māori identity in order to argue against a resort to *essentialism*. Barclay's identification as Māori and his dedicating the second part of his life and career to Māori social and cultural concerns was a result of conscious identification and identity exploration for years. Even if an identity was achieved, it remained open and flexible to change in late adulthood. This

is what happened to Barclay as his Pākeha identity remained within him and in his late film, *The Kaipara Affair* (2005), its contribution to his film practices was valuable. Barclay's Pākeha identity took part in shaping his world-view and his stand towards social issues. A more detailed discussion of the *The Kaipara Affa*ir will be in chapters (7), (8) and (9).

Chapter 4

Methodology

This thesis discusses the relation of Barclay's both sides of identity to his filmmaking, with the help of his own writing. I had to choose an interpretive paradigm that can accommodate my subjective position (which I discussed earlier in Chapter 1) and substitute for the lack of literature on Barry Barclay's. Concerning the Māori side of I was, as (in Thomas, 2010, p. 304) description of the researcher in qualitative research, the main instrument for data collection, in making sense of information, theories and discerning what is beneficial for the subject of the thesis.Barclay's identity, there is a reasonable quantity of literature (which I discussed earlier in Chapter 2) but it does not go into detail in analyzing and investigating his films. Most of the scholarship is focused on *Ngai* (1987) which leaves most of Barclay's films under-studied. Therefore, this thesis tries to fill a gap in the research on the Barry Barclay's film practices that belong to his identification with his Māori side. According to Myers (2009), qualitative research including interpretive helps researchers to understand people, and the social and cultural contexts within which they live (in Thomas, 2010, p. 301). Accordingly, I had to go through various sources of information and theories. As it is identified that qualitative research is concerned with processes more than the outcomes (Thomas, 2010, p. 306), I went through two or more phases.Other than literature on Barry Barclay, the scholarship available (which I use here) covers historical accounts of the inter-ethnic relationship between Pākeha and Māori since colonization. This part of the literature investigated the consequences of colonization on Indigenous identity and the Māori resistance which escalated from the 1960s onwards.

My reasons for being interested in the topic of Barclay's filmmaking were set out in Chapter One. At first, I focused on Barry Barclay as identifying with his Māori side of his ethnic identity. As Elliott and Timulak (2005) point out that early in the research researchers should have thorough knowledge of the subject through an up to date literature search

(p. 148). In the beginning, I started out of interest in Barry Barclay as a pioneer Māori filmmaker and cultural commentator. His writing kept me all the way on that track. I found reasonable material concerned with this, and initially looked at Barclay's work as fully identifying as Māori. For instance, the lierature had little to say about the way Barclay celebrated in his films the cultural and social achievements of communities and individuals in *Tangata Whenua* (1974), *Ngati* (1987), *Te Urewera* (1987), *Te Rua* (1991) and *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). Even though Barclay was considered as a Māori filmmaker, the scholarship did not get deeper into the articulation of his ideas about Māori life, their connection with the land, the way he constructs his argument about the Māori need for control over their land and cultural treasures. Barclay articulates his discussions of these issues through editing, creating new visual relations, the use of camera movements and creating tensions between the aural and visual. Exploring Barclay's representation of the Māori world, which I will discuss in detail later. The material helped me explore the consequences of colonization on the Māori situation and identity, especially the last three decades of activism which changed that situation. This gave context to my reading both of Barclay's writing and films and the aesthetic expression of his ideas, considering his involvement with Māori activism in the 1970s. As Elliott and Timulak (2005) bring attention to the initial phase of research and its pre-understandings of the phenomenon and the awareness of the likeliness of shaping data collection, analysis and interpretation by pre-conceptions (p. 148),however, I was trapped for a while in that one-sided conception of Barry Barclay's Māori identity. The way was blocked and not advancing, except for my analysis of his films according to his Māori identity orientation. Elliott and Timulak advise that "the researcher should be open to unexpected meanings" (p. 148). And this was another phase I entered.

This other phase involved considering the Pākeha side of Barclay's identity as a contributor to his world-view which completely changed my perspective. After dedicating himself to Māorisocial and cultural concerns, Barclay's Pākeha identity did not disappear. Although he seems to focus

on the his indigenous side of his identity and engage with the Māori world from *Ngati* (1987) on, and Pākeha identity seems to be frozen or put aside, it actually appears in places and works for balancing his racial viewpoint and his outlook towards New Zealand society.Barclay's film practices were carrying some contradictories. It is the Pākeha presence in Barclay's films which became a source for questions on this phase of my research trajectory. This line of interest came to be dominant, and made me look into even Barclay's representation of the Māori world from that angle. As Thomas (2010, p. 303) points out, qualitative research allows for a design to develop instead of having a complete design from the start. Qualitative research according to Thomas, is a mode of analysis that aims to find meaning or make sense of textual data (p. 296-97). There are a few times in which Barclay and Murray mention Barclay's Pākeha ethnic background, however without any analytic effort exerted on it anywhere in the literature. On one occasion Barclay states that he enjoys being and working in both Māori and Pākeha worlds. I noticed that Pākeha themes dominated his early films, then were turned into a minority through identifying as Māori, and finally returned to play an important role in his identity balanced stage in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). Barclay's reference to his Pākeha identity, in addition to my observation of his permanent concern with keeping some presence, less or more, of Pākeha in his films, started to solidify into a pattern of representation and a point of view, which made the foundation for my new perspective. What is confusing to researchers, is that while Barclay is busy with expressing his Māori connection passionately, he keeps employing Pākeha characters and figures in his films. In *Our Own Image* (1990) Barclay talks about "Talking out" mode of communication, considering Pākeha as others. With no material concerning the representation of Pākeha except my own observation, the research became difficult to maintain.

At this time it is appropriate to apply interpretive paradigm in order to understand the reasons behind the Pākeha presence in Barclay's films. According to Aikenhead (1997), interpretive paradigm includes observation and interpretation, collecting information and drawing inferences (in

Thomas, 2010, p. 296). A few pieces of writing, in which Barclay acknowledges his Pākeha identity strengthened my position. The literature on the history of Pākeha-Māori race relations was invaluable for the insight it providedinto the actual and symbolic significance of Barclay's film practices. I started to see clearer into Barclay's films, how Pākeha keep a positive presence. Barclay's early stage of development was located in the assimilation of Māori into Pākeha society. As Māori activism increased in the 1970s-1980s, Barclay became encouraged to enter a phase -as did many Māori at the time- which was in reaction to the history of injustice. And as Māori took their cultural and social position within the nation, and improved their situation gradually, the question of identity became less urgent. Consequently, inter-ethnic relations improved, the binary of Pākeha and Māori lost its strength. I looked at Barry Barclay's films from this angle, benefiting from important conceptions of Māori nationalist figures such as Walker (In Spoonley, 2016) concerning the advancement of Māori and the whole society. Kaplan and Maxwell (1994) define the interpretive approach as seeking to investigate and elucidate the subjective reasons and meanings that lead to social behavior (in Thomas, 2010, p. 296). The interpretation I made out of the presence of Pākeha and Barclay's insistence on their positive social roles in his films is an important trajectory of this thesis. Some valuable ideas suggested about Pākeha as "Second Natives" (King, 1994) opened the way to interpreting the contribution of Pākeha activists in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) as largely changing Barclay's view of Pākeha. Observing the Pākeha line of representation was still an expression of my subjective position; it was step forward towards understanding the socially difficult situation that Barclay had been through and paying attention to his struggle in living inward peace and reflecting it to the outside, even if he did not express it directly. I believe that Barclay was likely to have suffered from two periods of identification difficulty, which I could observe from his films in relation to the macro-level social environment. During his early stage, when the country was under social assimilation policy, Barry could not express his Māori identity. The other was in the early stages of biculturalism (mid

1980s), when his Pākeha identity was likely to be expressed under the dominance of Māori essentialism which was exclusively promoted as representative of Māori society by government (Poata-Smith, 2013). Barclay's journey was a journey of departure and return, in which conscious choice is not the last end, but how a human is raised by culture is still influential. As was discussed (in Chapter 2) identity formation in adulthood keeps a degree of being open for flexibility and balance. And this what this thesis keeps focusing on.

Themes and Questions

The main question for me to investigate is: how each one of Barclay's side of identity manifests itself in his films, and how the wider social context makes it difficult or encourage them to appear and interact in the form of film practices. I am going to explore these frameworks through the themes of: cultural criticism, celebrated moments in his films, Pākeha representation, Fourth Cinema definition and the topic of land. I first start with Barry Barclay's identification as Māori and the way he articulates important contemporary Māori social and cultural achievements in his films. After that, I discuss the Cultural criticism that Barclay relies on in outlining his view of Māori contemporary culture. Later, I discuss the ways in which the representation of Pākeha make changes in Barclay's outlook concerning who belongs to the land. Finally, I discuss how Pākeha are represented in his films, and how this representation leads to understanding his definition in terms of his use of Fourth Cinema (interiority and exteriority).

Chapter 5

Cultural criticism

One major device that Barclay used for his involvement in a more general project of establishing modern Māori identities was cultural criticism. Criticism of the Māori adoption of Pākeha cultural practices and concepts was pivotal to Barclay's activities once he began to identify primarily with his Māori side. Stuart Murray noted that Barry Barclay's filmmaking and writing cannot be separated from being centered in culture (2007, p. 7). As Angela Barnes argues that films of Merata Mita, Don Selwyn and Barry Barclay all "challenge colonial hegemony and resist dominant ideologies, discourses and representations. They offer us Māori identities, world-view and experiences that validate and centre Māori realities" (2011, p. 20). As Antonio Damasio (2010) argues, culture regulates human life and identity (in Jandt, 2016, p. 5), and through exposure to symbols, values, rituals and cultural icons, identity is constructed (Jandt, 2016, p. 6). Therefore, part of reclaiming and remaking forms of identity lies in the process of deconstructing the power that older concepts and cultural practices have had on the colonized mind. In order for the presentation of new identity forms to be assisted, there should be critical accounts of dominant forms of identity promulgated in the social space. Barclay was conscious that presenting Māori images in new forms involved contesting old images created by colonial discourses. This way of producing self-images was addressed to both Māori and non-Māori , through "Talking in" and "Talking out" modes of communication. Barclay acknowledged that stereotypical constructions of dominant culture have established a grip on the Māori mind (1990). Such a grip is described by Frantz Fanon as the internalization of self-image, when "The oppressed internalizes the inferiority resulting from discourses and hegemony of the oppressor" (Fanon, 1967, p. 11). Adopting forms of identities that the dominant culture promotes is common amongst minorities. Mihipeka Edwards, for instance, talks of her experience of shameful feelings because of her skin color and her hatred of it, led her to try and 'pass' as Pākeha (in Barnes, 2011, p. 34). E. Ann Kaplan describes a fictional example of a black girl who rejects

her black culture and attempts to access the privileges of associating with white culture in the film *Imitation of Life* (Sirk, 1959) (in Barnes, p. 33). Other than internalizing bodily self-images derived from the outside, there are other internalized cultural practices and concepts to be apprehended. This is what Barry Barclay practiced in his writing and films: promoting cultural awareness and negotiation of what has been internalized and practiced by Māori under colonialist modes of governmentality. I will call this practice: Cultural criticism.

Barry Barclay used this device in his early Māori period of filmmaking, and developed it into a philosophy of production in his later writings. Barclay also devoted considerable space in his book *Our Own Image* to discussing cultural practices, especially ways of representing them and distinguishing between them. Barclay's cultural criticism appears in examples of colonist beliefs and practices such as the Biblical concept of controlling the earth by man (1990, p. 48), the Pākeha view of the beach as a site for recreation rather than food-gathering, the un-Māori seclusion of newly-wed couples and the like. He admits that these concepts and practices have been in popular culture, including that of Māori, for decades, and have a grip on people's minds that is difficult to escape. Cultural criticism was an expression of the Māori cultural nationalism which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, aiming to resist integration into Pākeha society, as Keown puts it (2008) and to start the process of identity reparation. Nevertheless, in more general terms, this method belongs to Barclay's Pākeha side of identity in addressing his criticism of Pākeha culture. There are differences in tone, however, between cultural criticism in Barclay's writing and filmmaking. This method was actually applied, in a light tone, in *Tangata Whenua* (1974) where ideas around the lack of Māori language education for Māori children in the school system were raised by representatives of the activist movement Nga Tamatoa. *Tangata Whenua,* the television series Barclay co-authored with Michael King was an exploration of the Māori cultural and social condition, an attempt to raise awareness of this condition and also to suggest ways of thinking autonomously. This cultural criticism is

articulated in Barclay's film through the subtle use of visual insertion and juxtapositions. Cultural criticism appears evident in *Tangata Whenua* to encourage the establishment of educational and cultural spaces that are as autonomous as possible for Māori people. In this section, I will discuss the moments where Barry Barclay addresses his criticism of Māori internalization of aspects from Pākeha culture through the relationship he makes between the visual and the aural, or the dissonant relationships he creates between them, in order to bring attention to them. I argue that these moments imply critical accounts of Māori education and adoption of Christian beliefs.

As noted above, one of the emphases of the Māori cultural revival of the 1970s and 1980s was to reinstate indigenous values and practices into education. "Protests were mounted throughout the 1970's (and beyond) in order to draw attention to Māori grievances regarding land claims, Māori educational and economic underachievement, and Pākeha political and cultural hegemony (Keown, p. 199). The mainstream education system, argued Linda Smith (1999), was both ethnocentric and created to destroy Māori society (in Walker, 1996, p. 90). Brendan Hokowhitu provided evidence for this in citing Thomas Strong, the Director of Education from the late 1920s who was

> "surprised and disturbed to find that in some schools Māori were allowed to learn 'the intricacies of numerical calculations.' He warned that educating 'the dark races' and encouraging 'pupils to a stage far beyond their present needs or their possible future needs' was a 'fatal facility'"(2014, p. 456).

One of the practices of this educational system was punishment for speaking te reo Māori (Walker, p. 90). R. Harker (1973, p. 56) argues that "The Māori child who speaks his mother tongue or he might want to master his mother tongue is discriminated against by headmasters and educational authorities" (in Walker, p. 92). Walker points out, that these Pākeha interventions have caused Māori to feeling guilty about losing their language (p. 96). Sheilagh Walker in *Kaupapa Māori Theory* (1996) noted that the Pākeha educational system should acknowledge its failure in

educating Māori . As part of this wider activist movement and the debate on the education of Māori children, Barclay offers in *Tangata Whenua*a discussion of two issues in education: how to educate and what material education should include for Māori children. Barclay endorses the efforts that the wider Māori activist community was making in informing Māori people about the rupture that has been imposed on their pre-colonial relationship with their social and cultural practices. A principal of a Waikato college is interviewed to speak about the school's attempt to employ a Māori teacher for Māori children to teach them their cultural basics. The school considered this would improve their performance through improving their sense of belonging and cultural identity, so the students had to go for tours to a local marae in order to learn cultural practices and rituals from elders.

Barclay also shows in the *Waikato* episode of *Tnagata Whenua* TV series the teaching of Māori within the mainstream school system and indirectly critiques this approach as lacking sustained immersion in a Māori context. It is an argument similar to that E. Schwimmer (1970, p. 81) offers, that "the ultimate future of Māori language lies not with the intervening of European, nor with institutions such as the school, but entirely with the Māori themselves" (in Walker, p. 96). This is conveyed through an example: an interview with one of the best carvers, Piri Potapu, about how he learned Māori culture and carving in a Māori school. His description implies that he learned about his culture through absorbing it from senior Māori carvers over a long period of time. This situation connects to the next interviews with other elders who talk about how Māori culture is taught and the stages people need to take to be able to speak on a marae. Barclay's point is that creating the appropriate context and dedicating sufficient time are central to teaching Māori culture. Within the context of mainstream schools, teaching Māori culture would include only one dimension: theory and information extracted from their context. Barclay, through presenting this discussion of how to teach culture, shows that the mainstream approach lacks a solid ground, while on a marae knowledge is absorbed through practice, applied to rituals and seen in its essential form, as living practice, not just

information. In addition, an education involving Māori culture needs space that is consistently autonomous from other methods and practices applied in the dominant culture's domain. These arguments may hark back to the need for an education system that is autonomous and Māori in character. In the 'Waikato' episode of *Tangata Whenua* Barclay deploys signs of the colonial conditioning of Māori children in a mainstream school; theirconceptualizations of their own culture, and the physical education they are exposed to. There are important concepts in the construction of Māori identity such as whakapapa (genealogy) that Barclay emphasizes visually. The school is concerned about Māori children's performance,that a plan of teaching them the basics of their own culture was thought maybe of help. The Māori culture teacher introduces the topic of whakapapa (genealogy) and while the teacher speaks, the children listen and look at him in wonder as if they have no sense of what he is talking about. The use of the visual reactions of the children registers the rupture of cultural continuity that Māori suffer from. Visual inserts that accompany the teacher's speech are significant in giving insight into how Barclay builds up his narratives through criticism. The reactions of the children are captured: one putting a pencil in his mouth, the other girl's mind is wandering. While this teacher speaks of the lack of cultural knowledge that many contemporary Māori children have about their culture, the camera also wanders away, into observing children playing outside. They are simply playing tennis and within the context of the teacher's speech, there is nothing wrong with this. However, within the context of Barclay's outlining of Māori needs in relation to the present educational system, a critical account concerning the absence of a Māori traditional physical education system is emphasized. In the *Turangawaewae* episode of *Tangata Whenua*, which is devoted to the subject of the cultural identities of urban Māori, a speaker talks about the urban environment's provision of just a few small spaces in which children can play. The camera shows children playing cricket near the street and two girls roller skating on a pedestrian path. On the other hand, the camera shows that when the children of those Māori families visit their rural marae, they ride horses and run around in the bush. Taking into consideration the

concerns of cultural identity that are discussed in the *Tangata Whenua* episode *Turangawaewae*, those images are not simply serving a comparison being made by Barclay between the city and the rural, or the school and the marae. Those images of the constricted life in the city are representing cultural practices adopted by Māori: the practices that are allowed and assigned by the controlling culture. Another aspect of Māori internalization that is highlighted is the Christian belief within Māori culture. Samuel Marsden states

> on Christmas Day 1814, viewed the English flag as 'the signal for the dawn of civilization, liberty, and religion in that dark and benighted land...Māori minds were 'rich soil that had never been cultivated, and only wanted the proper means of improvement to render them fit to rank with civilized nations (in Owens, 1968, p. 18).

Barclay in his own early life clearly found value in Christianity since he undertook training to become a Catholic priest. But his quitting that world and returning to be a filmmaker, must have been based on re-evaluation of Christianity, and some of it appeared in *Our Own Image* (1990) as reservations about the link between Christianity and colonization. He asserts that the "roots of the foreign script climate run very deep" (p. 48). He quotes one of the Bible's verses: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing moveth upon the earth". Barclay argues that this concept of domination is "fascist" from the Māori point of view and "screwing the earth for the human purpose". What is problematic for Barclay is the justification of colonization implicit in this Biblical text as well as its world view concerning the treatment of the earth and its resources. Theoretically speaking, as one of the Tuhoe elders mentions in *Te Urewera* (1987), Māori have ethical codes concerning how to treat living beings, even if they may be broken by some. An example that refers to the difference between Māori and Pākeha beliefs is highlighted by Barclay in the *Waikato* episode of *Tangata Whenua*. A taniwha is (According to Māori dictionary online)

> "water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, something or someone awesome - *taniwha* take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory, but may also have a malign influence on human beings".

The master carver tells a story of what happened when the locals warned a Pākeha man about a boat on the bank of Waikato river. The locals believed it was a Taniwha, but the man did not believe so, destroyed the boat and died soon after. This demonstrates an attitude towards Māori religion. Barclay's more clear attitude towards other forms of religion in his article "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" (2003), that Islam, Christianity and Judaism have all been forms of cultural invasion for native cultures, sheds light on how he looks at non-Māori religions. It may be argued that Barclay is not the only author of *Tangata Whenua*, to decide discussing such a sensitive issue of Christianity in the series. In the screening and discussion of *Tangata Whenua* (1974) on Māori TV in 2006, Michael King as scriptwriter was concerned that Māori speak in their own voice, and the 'own voice' implies cultural and spiritual beliefs. If the exploration of Māori religious and spiritual beliefs in the episode of *The Carving Cries* of *Tangata Whenua* such as respectful stories about Taniwha and crying carvings is taken into account, a different and contesting belief system is introduced. The Māori adoption of Christianity is put under an visual emphasis in *The Carving Cries* episode of *Tangata Whenua* (1974) in order to bring attention to the contradiction between Māori and Christian world-view.*The Carving Cries* explores various issues such Māori identity, national identity and the sacrifices Māori had made to be considered as New Zealanders. Barclay deals visually with an event commemorating the death of Māori battalions in World War Two. The study involves the official commemoration and interviews with Māori priests and speeches in a church. Barclay sets up this church-based event in a comparative framework with the Māori art of carving to which the episode is devoted. It is a visual argument, that reaches a resolution at the end of the episode. The camera spends much time on movements between contradictory

elements in the Māori church. It undertakes a series of close ups, extra close ups, forward, parallel upwards movements, showing both Māori carvings and paintings of Christian iconic images on a window above the altar. This series of intercut comparisons occurs in the beginning of the episode and the finale. At the end the camera focuses on the cross in a few shots and shows an image of Christ with two angelswhile his face tilts towards the sky. Then this is followed by shots of fierce Māori carving faces taken from different angles and movements. This is finalized with a voice over, spoken by Witi Ihimaera saying: "European culture came to us and we lost our Taonga". Barclay in his representation of contemporary culture, the contradictory elements, the mixture of religious beliefs, is able to present a brief visual account of the history of colonization, anger on the Māori side (Māori carvings) and colonial violence disguised in serene, angelic Christian images.

Summary

Cultural criticism is an expression of the energy of Barry Barclay's identification with the Māori side of his identity. Barclay was knowledgeable of the ways through which forms of identity can develop, and, who, as a person himself of Māori and Pākeha ethnic background, was aware that he had internalized Pākeha European cultural concepts through the available institutional channels. Through reflection on and close examination of both the Māori and the Pākeha cultures he provided a model of how to consciously learn a culture and develop identification with it, based on a deconstruction of what is already internalized. He practiced cultural criticism in both writing and film. Cultural criticism in writing came after he made *Ngati* (1987) where he elaborated on Pākeha culture as practiced in the public domain his book *Our Own Image* (1990). This book is an expression of Barclay's Māori cultural nationalist position. His later book *Mana Tuturu* (2006) is concerned with the institutional behaviors than culture as seen socially practiced, which then is beyond the focus of this thesis. The early version of criticism can be seen clearly in his exploration of Māori culture in the seventies in his and Michael King's TV

documentary series *Tangata Whenua*. Barclay focused on the visual representation of the Māori cultural condition in a few aspects such as education, religion and the arts. Through juxtaposition and contradiction invested in visual representations, Barclay attempted to bring attention to important spots in the Māori cultural condition in order to encourage movements for change. This is conveyed through observing Māori children's reaction to Māori concepts in school. Barclay also made references to Māori adoption of Christian beliefs by Māori. This is done through making a dissonant relationship between Māori and Christian images in a Māori church. These questions were about expressions of wider attempts at making sense of what Māori culture and identity mean in a contemporary world. Later in his career, Barclay moves beyond binaries, resistance and fighting back into engagement. Barclay (2003) mentions his next strategy as "dancing with the other...[and that he does not] much want to hear about Sites of Resistance anymore..." (in Christian, 2010, p. 67).

Chapter 6

Celebrated Moments

The celebration of success is an essential aspect in Barclay's film, an extension and affirmation of the choices he made concerning his Māori identification and activist actions. This celebration comes to include Pākeha also towards the end of his film career. In*Mana Tuturu* (2005) Barclay makes a distinction between making Pākeha and making Māori films, that the feeling of success in Pākeha film is felt in the preliminary screening of the film, whereas for Māori ones, they keep inventing themselves and presenting questions. This way of reflecting on the films he made can be interpreted according to the film's essence, whether they are socially or individually centered. These are references to connections which the films about Māori make with the social, cultural and political environment, where Māori are in a process of creating their own space. Māori film challenges institutional and public ideological establishments concerning long suppressed aspects of indigeneity. So in this kind of film and as exemplified in Barry Barclay and Merata Mita's films, seem to mean the same engagement by several sections of society in their process of presenting questions and challenges. These films involve the personal dimension and satisfy Barclay's hopes for advancing society towards fair solutions for Māori. Barclay's films differ in their approaches and points of interest. In his Pākeha films, individuals are presented in their struggle or reflections on their life and identity. However, in the Māori films, it is not the self that is looked at, but rather the self in its attempt to connect and contribute to the community as it struggles for collective purposes. This section explores those moments and the contributions of the visual and audio expressions of such moments which help them to resonate on the social and collective level. Most of the moments discussed here are expressive of Māori situations in their realization and working for their cultural and social rights, except for one moment in *The Kaipara Affair* where Pākeha and Māori community activists are the dual focus.

Barclay's films celebrate early urban Māori attempts of building cultural institutions. In the *Turangawaewae* episode of *Tangata Whenua* (1974), the introduction to the way Māori lived in the early seventies, especially in Wellington, and the issue of building a marae for them and their children takes much discussion, planning and fundraising. However, the finale of the film is a celebration of the community's efforts and its autonomous determination towards such an aim. Barclay makes these moments explicit and enlightening through focusing on various visual and aural effects and the involvement of the community in it. In terms of visual effects, the camera takes various positions and the film is screened in slow motion, showing the building of the marae and its immense size, and the transporting of the building to the Porirua site by truck. The camera also shows an escort car with its yellow flashing lights, transferring this action from ordinariness into the terrain of the exceptional, through enriching it with slow motion. The other visual effects that contribute to the total intense expression of the final moments include various close ups of the crowd that waits for the building’s arrival and capturing the feelings in their astonished faces as they witness its arrival. What adds to the effect of the momentous occasion is a Māori song accompanied visually by rituals of sprinkling water, blessing their spiritual and social meeting place, their urban marae. Short close up shots make this event a spectacle of hands, feet and faces - telling movements accompanied by a Māori song performed by the community. The camera represents the self-determination of urban Māori and their struggle to release themselves from the forces of social marginalization and establish a cultural space that enriches their sense of identity.

Barclay's films celebrate pioneer Māori academic institutions. This another 'moment' represents establishing the Māori department at Waikato University as a cultural and social achievement for Māori . In the *Waikato* episode of *Tangata Whenua*, the history of the Waikato area is linked to the present in a way that shows Waikato's history as a series of struggles against colonialism and its remnants in the institutional structure. The film explores the history of the king movement and its fight with the settler

armies, and its final defeat. The episode explores also the history of Māori struggles and failures in establishing a Māori parliament. After building a narrative of historical moments, the episode presents the contemporary Māori situation, in which Māori achieve one of the first institutions that carries their hopes, plans and cultural heritage for future generations. Barclay articulates such a moment in combining a telling camera movement with an objective voice over. As the voice over gives information about the first Māori Department at Waikato University, the camera moves around the building of the department; a movement that represents a human being in a moment of astonishment and happiness, as if looking at a sculpture in a gallery. Then, the camera tilts up, showing the height and magnifies the size of the building. The camera at such a moment represents the feeling of an ordinary Māori witnessing the first cultural achievements of his or her own people's collective successes. In these last moments, the voice-over represents a narrator giving information about the Māori department in an objective tone. However, the movement of a camera carried on the shoulder, articulates a subjective point of view. This combination of two elements in the narration of it is one of the experimentations through which Barclay attempts to mould documentary film as an objective medium, in order to accept a subjective point of view. This documentary practice can refer to the efforts that Māori activist movements have made to convince national institutions such as academia of their legitimate cultural demands.

Barclay's films celebrate the realization of Māori identity. A Māori community reconnecting with one of its members and his recognition of his cultural identity is a worthy story for promotion. The finale of *Ngati* (1987) (discussed in Chapter 2), includes a celebrated moment that involves various contributions of visual and audio elements. One of the story lines is about Greg, a doctor whose deceased mother was a Māori from Kapua. Greg visits Kapua responding to his father's advice for him to go back and know where his mother comes from. After knowing himself as a Māori and getting familiar with the way the people of Kapua communicate and the warmth he finds there, he decides to tell Jenny, the daughter of Dr

Bennett, the Pākeha local doctor. He falls in love with her and says that he will come back to Kapua. Greg gets on the bus after telling Jenny about his decision and they kiss and say goodbye. At this moment, the camera, representing Greg, shares with the viewer a strong feeling of appreciation and an inner bond that starts forming with the town, the hills around it and the sea. This feeling is strengthened by a Māori song, and the combination of those effects becomes a celebration for a Māori who realizes his Māoriness and returns to his own people. In addition to this realization, this moment is a celebration of the positive relationship between a Pākeha woman and a Māori man, which is chosen as a typical and hoped-for relationship between the two social components. This moment of the camera's roaming, representing Greg, scanning the hills and the sea, is a moment at which the audio and the visual are combined harmoniously to provide the emotional effect of an epiphany. The Māori song, though it is not translated into English so that it can be understood, sounds within this context as if it is welcoming Greg's return to the community. What is of significance here is that the song is sung by a chorus, a kind of representation of the community of Kapua celebrating this moment of identity realization.

Barclay's films celebrate Māori resistance and acts of sovereignty. *Te Urewera* raises questions about Māori land ownership and resistance to practices that are imposed on Māori by government. A prohibition Hunting wood-pigeon is discussed in detail in this film. One Tuhoe elder of that community talks about hunting birds and argues that the law of prohibiting bird hunting is a matter of land ownership. This elder points to the illegitimacy of governmental restriction of the communityon their land and that the government did not listen to the community. In the finale of *Te Urewera* (1987) Barclay celebrates the cultural determination of Māori on their land, which aims to break the rules, by showing three local Māori on horses, riding towards the park with guns on their backs. These last images introduce one of the examples in which Māori resist imposed practices and the stages of the Māori collective struggle in re-establishing their cultural and social practices and applying them again to their life.

Barclay's films celebrate radical acts of sovereignty that go beyond locality. A more radical act centered on Māori cultural identity strife for affirming itself is celebrated by Barclay in *Te Rua* (1991). Some local young Māori travel to Germany, together with a Māori songwriter, with the purpose of achieving the return from a Berlin museum of three Māori carvings stolen 100 years ago. Māori are working on issues of cultural dignity autonomously and position themselves outside the national umbrella. Working for the resolution of such unresolved matter implies that those issues are not considered as national concerns. The group gets help from an Egyptian cleaner working at the museum and manages to take three ancient European sculptures as hostages. Nevertheless, the act ends in failure because of the limitations of such an act in a Western politically hegemonic condition where law enforcement personnel are close to hand. The scene of the negotiation between Māori and Germans occurs in front of a desolate building inhabited by poor families. The scene becomes a spectacle of unresolved issues of minority groups such as punks, blacks, young Germans, Asians, Latin Americans, Egyptians and Indians opposite and at the windows of the building levels. The finale is panoramically structured by Barclay. The group surrenders, its members are restrained and taken to a police car. As they walk chained, the camera surveys the people in short medium and long shots, accompanied by a Māori song, sung by the young Māori and their supporters. The camera shows protestors in the crowd with billboards and people in the windows supporting the Māori cause of sovereignty over cultural treasures. The last moment is a celebration of minorities in close up, long and low angled shots, with a Māori song sung by every person appearing in the frame, in a kind of spectacle of solidarity. This panoramic representation of the end of Māori action turns a physical failure into a symbolic success, injecting it with hope to inspire similar activist movements by the oppressed.

Activism in for applying Māori cultural concepts is celebrated in Barclay's films. Activism in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) is celebrated regardless of ethnic associations. *The Kaipara Affair* contains celebrated moments in its finale. *The Kaipara Affair* discusses the immediate issue of

fish resources being dominantly accessed by commercial fishing companies which exhaust the resource. The activists of the Kaipara Harbor propose a Māori resources management method which was used for a while but switched off. The activists have had to struggle for years in dealing with bureaucracy and capitalist-oriented legislation. The finale is pessimistic about changes in the system in the near future, but insists on an optimistic tone for representing activism. This time those moments are accompanied by a poem of the Iraqi poet, Emad Jabbar. What Barclay practised before in using Māori music is changed in his two last films, *The Feathers of Peace* (2000) and *The Kaipara Affair*. Music expressive of Indigenous spirit accompanies the recitation of the poem written in Arabic and displayed with English subtitles.The aesthetic and emotional effect of the finale results from two elements: the visual representation of the interviewees/community activists through a reverent way of employingslow motion pictures. The poem interacts with the slow motion visuals to present the activists as extraordinary or heroes, but this extraordinariness stems from being ordinary and modest. Barclay's version of heroism includes ordinary individuals, most of them elderly, yet they have strong determination for working for the community's well-being. People of such an age are not considered as aesthetic pleasing by other first world cinemas, but presented with reverence in *The Kaipara Affair*, where releasing a boat rope with laughter takes meaning.

Summary

It is characteristic of Barclay's filmmaking to pay significant aesthetic attention to moments which represent Māori assertions of identity and culture. Almost all of Barclay's Māori films end with, or contain, such celebratory moving moments in which either individuals are supported by community or communities resist official hegemony in the pursuit of self-determination. Such moments are dealt with from anauto-ethnographic point of view which is central to Barclay's version of Fourth Cinema, so that the tone of celebration is clear. Barclay usually makes use of slow motion, close up shots and Māori song to intensify feeling. In *Tangata*

Whenua two moments are celebrated: one in *Turangawaewae* where a marae is built for urban Māori and another in *Waikato* where the first Māori department is built at Waikato University. In *Waikato* Barclay employs another method which is a circular camera movement and objective voice-over. In *Ngati* Barclay relies on the use of landscape and Māori song in approaching the distinct moment of a Māori realizing cultural identity. *Te Rua*'s finale celebrates the Māori assertion of identity by crossing the national. The attempt failed but it opened a horizon for similar acts. The finale of *The Kaipara Affair* is an exception in that it is not a celebration of Māori self-determination, but rather of a group of community activists, predominantly Pākeha. Those Pākeha make much efforts and press on the government for years in order to employ a Māori environmental reservation practice called Rahui (discussed earlier in Chapter 2). Those Pākeha activists cross the stereotypical threshold into a space where Māori cultural practices are appreciated and supported. In this film close up, extreme close up and long medium shots work with poetry and music to give significance to those activists and the message they delivered in the film. These moments are meant to influence individual and collective conceptualizations of Māori identity that are the main subject Barclay committed himself to bring attention to in his career. But it seems that The Kaipara Affair represents a stage of maturity in which, both Māori and Pākeha become closer to each other, and a national identity seems to start developing, that Māori culture moves from the margin towards the center. These total movements will be discussed in more detail in the next sections where Barclay's Pākeha side of is increasingly reflected in his films through his representation of Pākeha characters and activists.

Chapter 7

Pākeha Representation

Barclay's films, as well as his writing, can be considered as responses to personal and collective realities. During his career, Barclay witnessed changes in the inter-ethnic relationship between Māori and Pākeha and he himself was in the midst of those changes. Since his early film *The Town that Lost a Miracle* (1972), one of the prominent issues has been reflecting on that inter-ethnic relationship between Māori and Pākeha. Barclay's career may be divided into four periods according to the identifications which influenced his representations: Pākeha (1970-1974); suspension (1974-1987); Māori (1987-2001) and balance (2001-2005). Pākeha in his films move in time from predominance into decreasing, becoming a minority, but return to play an important role again in his last film, *The Kaipara Affair*(2005). Barclay acknowledged that he is half Pākeha in the biographical documentary about himself, *The Camera on the shore* (Tuckett, 2009). He also acknowledged it in his lecture "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" (2003). In addition to that he grew up in a culture saturated with Pākeha practices and concepts. The representation of Pākeha in his films remained positive though, in spite of the fact that his concentration became largely focused on Māori. After having a dominant presence in *The Town that Lost a Miracle* (1972), there were only a few Pākeha in *Tangata Whenua* (1974), including the presenter Michael King. In *Ngati* (1987) again there were a few Pākeha characters and the rest were predominantly Māori. In *Te Urewera* (1987) there was no Pākeha other than the presenter. *Te Rua* (1991) included a few important white characters, Pākeha New Zealanders and Europeans. But in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005), most of the participants were Pākeha.

The Pākeha presence in Barclay's films has two sides: the one which involves those engaging with Māori way of life and rights. The other includes individuals who maintain settler and colonialist stereotypes of Māori in New Zealand and those are an exception. This section argues that even though Barry Barclay chose Māori identity for the second part of

his life and career, the Pākeha part of it was inescapable and imperishable. It actually continued to contribute to practices aiming for the bettering of society. The section will explore first the history of Pākeha-Māori ethnic relationship. Then, I will argue that Pākeha in Barclay's films play various positive roles through their interactions with Māori. Pākeha support, promote and adopt Māori cultural practices, and pave the way for a society that moves away from colonial damages.

Pākeha-Māori race relationship has a long history of injustice, exploitation, tension and finally attempts for solution and healing. I will rely on Nikora and Thomas' (1996) account of the signing and consequences of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Dutchman, Abel Tasman was registered as the first European to arrive at the land of Aotearoa in 1642. His "discovery" encouraged waves of Europeans to come to Aotearoa such as: traders, whalers, sealers, followed by missionaries bringing Christianity to this land (p. 1). Kelsey mentioned that Māori accepted that a small number of Pākeha, and benefitted from the technology they brought to the land for their economic development such as: ploughs, carts, print and other technologies (ibid). According to the New Zealand Law Society (1989), the Pākeha lack of access to the land in the first two decades of the 1800s made their development difficult compared to Māori whose agriculture was thriving (ibid). The first sign of deterioration in Pākeha-Māori relationship was due to the acquiring of land through colonization by the New Zealand Company which was selling it to British migrants (p. 2). The British Crown did not encourage colonization of land, which forced the New Zealand Company to use another strategy: buying large areas of land from Māori people. Other reasons contributed to the deterioration of inter-ethnic relationship such as: the increase in Pākeha arriving in Aotearoa, Pākeha introducing alcohol to Māori communities, contradictory conceptions of land ownership and Pākeha disorderly behavior (ibid).

The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was used by the Crown as a method for ameliorating the consequences of Pākeha misgoverning of the inter-ethnic relationship and also for obtaining governance over the nation state

of New Zealand (ibid). Yensen et al., point out, by "signing the Treaty, Māori understood that they would receive from the Queen and her Government, protection and those same 'rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England' " (ibid). It is documented by the National Council of Churches that the Treaty of Waitangi was later incessantly violated by land takers and ignored by legal processes on land matters (ibid).

Those Pākeha practices prevented true integration with Māori. The Official Yearbook noted that until 1940 there were two separate nations (nzhistory). The first decades of the 20th century witnessed a group of Māori leaders who formed what was popularly called the "Māori Renaissance" which worked on modernizing Māori society, making use of the "Pākeha way" (nzhistory). Māori were divided in their attitude towards World War I. The ones who supported war thought it would make them equal in social position to Pākeha. This cost Māori 336 deaths and 734 wounded in the Māori Pioneer Battalion. Māori contribution in the Second World War was an important factor in the Pākeha recognition of Māori efforts for the nation. Walker (1989) points out, up to the 1960s the successive governmental practices were paternalistic and prejudicial based on assimilation and marginalization of Māori culture and language (in Nikora and Thomas, p. 3).

Barclay lived through more than five decades of change in Pākeha-Māori race relationships and was, along with other cultural figures, part of the process of leading this relationship into improvement. In the 1960s, a government policy based on Boot and Hunn report (1962) was employed for bringing Pākeha and Māori closer. The policy was a one-sided policy under which Māori had to make adjustments to fit within a Pākeha world (Nikora and Thomas, p. 3). As a consequence of assimilation and integration policies, urban activist Māori groups began to appear and protest for changes in education, social justice and equal status for Māori language with English (nzhistory). In response to the pressures of Māori activism, New Zealand’s first officially bilingual school opened in Te

Urewera in 1978 and te reo Māori became an official language of New Zealand in 1987 (nzhistory).

The growing power of Māori discourses led to unease within Pākeha society about their location in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Mitcalfe, 2008, p. 17). Michael King (1985) encouraged Pākeha to have respect for and knowledge of, Māori culture and develop a connection with the land (ibid). Paul Spoonley supported a postcolonial view through which, a 'space' should be created for both Māori and Pākeha, and Pākeha should resist colonial practices, ideology and institutional structures (in Mitcalfe, 2008, p. 18). This was thought to be empowering for the colonized if it can be translated into institutional and cultural autonomy.

Barclay favors in his representation of Pākeha, those who positively engage with Māori and have respect for their culture. Pākeha engagement can take the form of looking for what Pākeha culture lacks. The earliest representations of Pākeha individuals who find the communal life led by rural Māori appealing in *Tangata Whenua* (1974) suggest that Māori culture can compensate for the lack of social communication felt by Pākeha under capitalist and settler culture. It is a follow up on the ideas and practices of the poet James K. Baxter (Pākeha) around the need for a community based on Māori spirituality (nzhistory). The script writer and interviewer of *Tangata Whenua*, Michael King, had a strong presence and role in the film, and developed his tendency for engaging with Māori culture into influential books. King - along with other Pākeha participants - represents those Pākeha who find the way their culture is structured uncomfortable and unsatisfying to their social needs. King was one of the speakers in the film who feels in need of the communal warmth of the life that Māori lead in rural areas. The other Pākeha participants also speak about Māori culture and describe it as compelling and fulfilling to the human instinctive awareness of the needs of others.

There are Pākeha individuals who step further in their engagement towards supporting Māori self-determination. In *Ngati* (1987), for example there is a significant role played by one minor Pākeha character in

advancing and supporting Barclay's view point on the cultural differences between Māori and Pākeha cultures. This Pākeha character seems to share poverty and the consequences that the Māori community of Kapua face and this is clear in his clothes (this character contradicts what Sutton (2011, p. 232) argues for, that there was a class division obvious in the Bennett's who are the only family owning a car, not in danger of closing the freezing works, and also "Greg who is perceived as Pākeha of and equivalent socio-economic status"). This character appears only one time in the film, at the climactic scene, in which the freezing company representatives are trying to announce closing the freezing work. He attends the meeting between the meat freezing company representatives and the local community of Kapua. This debate is the first of its kind, the presence of the Pākeha character makes clear, and accentuates, that the conflict is not an ethnic conflict but rather a conflict between the community and capitalists in the local community. In *Ngati*, Māori culture is utilized as a demarcation point to establish a point of difference between people who will embrace a "bicultural" New Zealand future, and those who will not (Sutton, p. 201). Sutton points out that in "*Ngati*, the Pākeha representatives of the company are a somewhat intrusive, authoritarian and malignant force in the community of Kapua, in direct contrast to the Māori-Pākeha interactions between other characters in the film" (Sutton, p. 199). The character who stands with the Māori community is in contrast with the other Pākeha representatives of the freezing company who are characterized differently to both Māori and other Pākeha characters-especially in appearance-wearing suits. Those representatives have no sensibility and understanding of Māori culture and respect for the marae (community meeting place). The character speaks of the crucial need for the implementation of Māori methods in the meat industry, supporting what other Māori characters argued for. It is obvious that this character is in favor of the Māori practice. However, Barry Barclay characterizes him in a way that gives glimpses of the cultural background he comes from and to the history of this culture on the land. In this meeting, Rewi and his daughter argue that the community would "do what they have been doing

for a long time". It is of much interest that this character stands and tries to talk about how the Māori traditional way can be an alternative but he cannot express his ideas fluently. As mentioned earlier in this section, until the 1940s Pākeha and Māori were two separate nations. This characterization refers to an early stage of Māori-Pākeha social interaction, in which Pākeha were still not familiar with Māori culture. The character's knowledge in this case stems only from his trust in the Māori community as against the difficulty of grasping tangible knowledge from his memory or experience. As a settler, this character has had no encounter with the Māori method because of his cultural background and using the technology available in his time. When the Māori characters argue for their ability to survive, they speak with full confidence: that their traditional practices had proven efficient. On the other hand, the Pākeha character believes in the community argument although he is unable to base his participation in the discussion on knowledge of practices which are non-European.

Pākeha engagement is observed to have changed significantly as time goes on. The samples of Pākeha interactions that Barclay presented in his early films were attached to their historical context of social relations. However, as a consequence of Māori activism and the structural and cultural changes made to satisfy Māori social and cultural demands, more Pākeha became familiar with Māori cultural concepts. This is reflected in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). The inclusion and representation of Pākeha reaches its pinnacle in *The Kaipara Affair*, where a multitude of Pākeha activists work for the betterment of community and for raising the nation's consciousness about its natural resources. The participation of those community activists is significant in the way they advocate the Māori method of maintaining the environment (e.g. Rahui). This time the Pākeha activists voluntarily adopt this method because they have seen it applied, unlike the Pākeha character in *Ngati* (1987) who does not have a clear sense of the Māori alternative practice. Rahui is a "practice of separating people from land, water and their products for a variety of reasons such as: pollution, conservation and politics" (Māoridictionary). This practice

takes a form of "temporary ritual prohibition, closed season, ban or reserve, put on an area, resource or a stretch of water" (ibid). Those participants saw the benefits of applying Rahui to the fish stock along with the commercial fishing, and saw that Rahui made a balance to the consumption of fish in the Kaipara Harbour. Their protestation centers on the urgent need for re-using Rahui to maintain the environment in the Kaipara Harbour in order to protect the coming generations' share of fish in the country. This twist and development in representing Pākeha is multidimensional. It is the positive interaction between both social components within the bicultural framework. In addition, it is also an avoidance of direct presentation of Māori cultural practices through Māori themselves. A large number of Pākeha adopting Māori cultural concepts is probably an encapsulation of Barclay's objective for his filmmaking and cultural criticism, which is expressed in *Mana Tuturu* (Barclay, 2006). The objective and wish is that the nation finds the richness of Māori cultural and social practices and makes use of it.

Many Pākeha exert efforts and cross the cultural boundaries into ethnic engagement with Māori. Barclay was not the first one who registers and employs interracial relationships as representational device in his films. His film *Ngati* (1987) was preceded by*Broken Barriers* (Roger Miriams and John O'Shea, 1952) and *To Love a Māori* (Rudall Hayward and Ramai Hayward, 1972). In *Ngati*, Jenny Bennett, the Pākeha teacher-becomes a guide for Greg, the Australian young doctor of a local Māori mother, who comes for apprenticeship under supervision of Jenny's father, Dr. Paul Bennett. While Greg stays at Dr. Bennett's, he learns from the family about his mother’s Māori ethnic background. In the meantime Jenny takes Greg and introduces him to the people of Kapua in social gatherings and activities such as the pub and sheep shearing. Jenny introduces Greg to the community of Kapua and their Māori culture of which he did not have knowledge. Finally, Greg and Jenny form a love relationship.

Pākeha take the responsibility for revealing facts about Māori and other national concerns to the wider national community. Most of Barclay's

documentaries involve Pākeha interviewers, who are agents or representatives of their community. Michael King travels for a long distance for the sake of satisfying psychological and social needs in *Tangata Whenua* (1974), for the need to be in a community and to feel its warmth as well as exposing its reality to the outside. Peter Hayden is positioned in *Te Urewera* (1987) as a journalist who seeks to uncover issues about Māori land and sovereignty over its management. Helen Smyth is also a journalist working for the radio, who gets a space to talk about the circumstances of her participation in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). Smyth travels from Wellington to the Kaipara Harbour, and her role in the film takes on an investigative nature. It is important to discuss in more detail the associations that Barclay makes of Smyth's presence. Interviewing Smyth herself in the film gives her a journalistic mission. This role results from the small details that Barclay diffuses throughout the body of the film. Barclay discusses the delicate issue of Māori customary land, through a Pākeha journalist. In a scene in *The Kaipara Affair*, Smyth speaks of how she came to be involved in the film: "I saw an email, saying hey, why don't you come and take part in the film". While Smyth narrates, the camera presents related visual meanings. Smyth sits on the front seat of the car and the camera is set behind her, showing a part of her face reflected in the rear-view mirror in an extra close shot. As Smyth tells her story the camera moves and fully focuses on the wipers on the front window, and has glimpses of rain falling on the overhead window. The camera passes by a billboard written on it: "Māori Customary Land: You are Warned". Now, linking these signs to the agenda of the journalist: travelling from Wellington to Tinopai and setting the interview in a car gives an impression that Smyth is on her way to the Harbour, and that one of the salient issues is Māori customary land. Thus Barclay makes use of a Pākeha journalist who is in a process of uncovering truth about an issue. The insistence on the wipers is a symbolic gesture of the mission the journalist is going to take despite the rain that makes her way misty and unclear as she enters the terrain of her investigative journey. The role that Barclay gives to a Pākeha woman and journalist in uncovering issues even

concerning Māori, suggests that Pākeha are important to the advancement of Māori society.

Pākeha are suggested by Barclay, in a subtle visual argument to have the potential to be natives to the land. The problem of Pākeha identity in relation to land has been around fora while. Ream (2009) argues that "with the[increasing dominance]of Pākeha[came increasing anxiety throughout the twentieth century over what it meant to be a European New Zealander" (p. 37). According to Spoonley (1991) the question of whether Pākeha are Indigenous or European in response to the rise of Māori renaissance led to a search for Pākeha identity in the 1980s (in Ream, p. 37). Michael King is famous for developing the idea of Pākeha as a second Indigenous people to New Zealand (1985). Larner and Spoonley also suggested the idea of "locally focused (Pākeha) identity" (in Ream, 2009, p. 38). Since Michael King was a friend of Barclay and they both worked on *Tangata Whenua* (1974), Barclay is likely to have encountered and reflected on these ideas. Barclay does not discuss this idea frankly but refers to it in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) through editing. In one of the scenes, the community leader Mikaera Miru tells a story about his childhood memories of the land. As Miru narrates his conceptions, the importance of the land to him as a Māori and his childhood on the land, the camera shows Helen Smyth walking with her nine-year old child, lifting him to cross a stream and walking towards the camera. It is not accidental that Barclay chooses a Pākeha family to visually accompany a Māori interviewee's passionate and intimate feelings of the land. If Barclay wanted to give more detail about Helen Smyth's personal life and a description of her family's effort to support her or support the film's issues, those details could have accompanied her speech about how she came to participate in the film. In making the choices that he has, Barclay is not only providing visual distraction in order to avoid making the viewer bored; he is additionally demonstrating that Pākeha also have relationships with and memories of this land. Barclay would have been able to film a Māori boy walking or running on the land, but he rather chose to send a message of harmony between the social

elements. In addition to this, the act of crossing the stream has symbolic significance. Crossing the stream means making efforts towards solving the suspended social issues. The process of editing makes the subject of this part of the interview-the land-welcoming and inclusive of both races.

Summary

This section discussed the representation of Pākeha in Barclay's films as a reflection of the importance of his Pakea side of identity to his world-view and identity. I reviewed the history of the inter-ethnic relation between Māori and Pākeha. Pākeha have applied various methods in order to subjugate and exploit Māori through their colonial history, and yet finally many have learned to come to terms with them. The history started with trading, whaling and missionaries and moved to colonizing Māori land. After that came assimilating Māori into the social and economic system on the physical level without paying attention to Māori cultural identity. Integration was employed as a reconsideration of Māori cultural and social concerns. However, as a consequence of Māori activism from the 1960s onwards, Pākeha have been moving gradually into building a better relationship with Māori. Barclay was contemporary to those changes and the difficulties associated with them but he mostly maintained a positive representation of Pākeha. Barclay favored those Pākeha who make efforts in the social interaction with Māori. This social interaction took various forms, depending on the historical moments of Pākeha-Māori relation. For instance, in the 1940s where *Ngati* was set, the interaction was limited, while in the 1970s it increased in *Tangata Whenua*. This interaction moves from a small to a large scale in time, where Pākeha have become more knowledgeable and respectful to Māori culture. All Barclay's documentaries, from *Tangata Whenua* and onwards involved a Pākeha presenter who takes the responsibility of uncovering truth to the wider society. Such individuals engage with Māori on different levels of engagement which can facilitate wider social engagement. Ranginui Walker has "great optimism that things are getting better. In the last quarter century, there's been a tremendous cultural revolution and

renaissance of Māori people" (in Spoonley, 2016). Barclay remained positive in representing Pākeha in his films because of his loyalty to his Pākeha identity and his commitment towards making changes on the societal level.

Chapter 8

Representation of Land

Barry Barclay's representation of land is strongly attached to his identification with his Māori side of identity and a reaction to the racial situation in New Zealand and its development in time. The Māori position is the most prominent one in the discussion of land; it connotes its central value to Māori, where land can be important as a source for living, identity and sacredness. As Jospeh Pere points out, to a Māori, "his own ancestors, mana, whakapapa, turangawaewae and marae are as important as breathing twenty four hours a day...each tribal member and his land were interwoven and bound together" (in Keenan, 1996, p. xx). Douglas Sinclair points to the sacredness of the land: "the land was regarded as the sacred trust and asset of the people as a whole...laws of tapu were invoked to protect well-defined areas of land, lakes, rivers, waterways or stretches of seaside from human exploitation or defilement" (in Keenan, 1996, p. xxx). It follows that land is "less a commodity than the basis of identity, the foundation of the tribe and only owned in the sense that it belonged to the community, equally shared among the living, dead and those yet to be born" (Strong, 2006, p. 23). Barclay maintained this connection of identity to land in his writing: "Māori people are mindful of where their feet stand. Identifying with your tribal land is fundamental to a Māori person because the land gives you your turangawaewae ('the place where the feet stand'), your identity" (Barclay, 1990, p. 67). In his own creative work, land permeates the body of films. The representation of land and nature in Barclay's films can be attributed to the energy of his Māori identification. There are a few kinds of land representation in Barclay's films, all of which stem from, and are linked to the position that land has in the Māori sense of identity. Land is a place to stand on and maintain Māori cultural identity; where Māori live in the city there is a struggle to keep their cultural identity. Otherwise, land is a stage for discussing issues of sovereignty, belonging and governance of Māori land. On the other hand, land is used to investigate and discuss settler culture

and Pākeha identity in relation to locality. In this section, I am going to discuss how Barclay builds his argument around Māori land, how he introduces the value system of community which has crucial value on the maintenance of natural resources.I am going to also discuss how land becomes crucial to a Pākeha sense of identity, or the form of identity that Barclay favors for them.

I- Māori and the City

For urban Māori in the 1970s, since they were not living on tribal lands, land could be viewed in a metaphorical sense. Land in its simplest form, in Barclay's early representation of it, is only a small place to 'stand on'. This is clear in the *Turangawaewae* episode of *Tangata Whenua* (1974). Barclay makes use of the Māori term "turangawaewae" (a place to stand on) as a reference to the situation of Māori at the time. In this episode Barclay assesses the possibilities of success for any activist action within the limitations of the country's ideological framework, nationalist and assimilationist as it was. For instance althoughin the early seventies, it was still difficult to put forward the complexities of Māori land ownership, it however became possible later, when a bicultural framework was employed in 1985 (Nikora and Thomas, 1996, p. 11). Poata Smith argues that Māori nationalism had risen in "the struggle to win Māori studies and language programs" (Poata-Smith, 1996, p. 106). Webster argues that the movement extended its goals as state policy began adopting programs that treated the social inequalities and negotiated improved race-relations in the 1980s (Webster, 1998, p. 100). Within this context, Turangawaewae means "survival". *Tangata Whenua* was concerned more with establishing cultural survival - cultural resources including useful practices that keep Māori identity alive and distinct in urban environment. As such, Barclay's film reflects a Māori cultural nationalist position before it was officially given space under the framework of biculturalism. Nineteen seventy-four was an unripe time for discussing such a complex issue as land on the national level, where Māori were struggling to gain the least rights assigned to them by the Treaty of Waitangi. In such a period, just a few

glimpses were possible - yet telling - of the Māori relationship to the land. Otherwise, the concern was more about how to find a place for Māori cultural and social practices in the city.

Therefore, the is characterized as an unfriendly environment for Māori. Māori in the city, unlike those who live in rural areas, are thought to lack a close relationship to the land. *Turangawaewae* shows two generations of Māori: the ones who were born and grew up in rural areas to which Māori social and cultural networks connect them, and their children who were born in the city where they are connected to a new social and cultural network and relationship which causes concern their parents to be concerned for them. The first generation suffers from its departure from the land. One of the elders, living in Porirua (one of Wellington's suburbs), is interviewed while walking near the sea shore. He talks about his nostalgia for the place where he was born in a rural area. While the elder talks, the camera roams and gives glimpses of machines and graders. It then shows how graders and caterpillars are changing the land. Urban areas in New Zealand seem in the early seventies to be unrecognized as Māori land on the collective level. The Māori who migrated from rural places after World War Two carried feelings of contempt towards the city associated with their feelings of disconnection from their social networks, and struggles for living in a racist and economically marginalizing environment. It is widely noted that rural settings reflect Māori essentiality as against degeneration in the urban setting (Sutton, 2011, p. 53). The same is reflected in other Māori films and literature such as *Once Were Warriors* (Tamahori, 1994) and Patricia Grace's *Cousins* (1992). However, Barclay's characterization of urban reality does not take the form of accusation of being disloyal to their rural origins and reinforcement of guilt feelings in Māori. The city of Wellington in *Turangawaewae* appears as an antagonistic place for the Māori individuals. Individual Māori live on the social margin, searching for low paid jobs; homeless people sit on the streets with faces that do not look comfortable and with eyes that are unsettled in that capitalist atmosphere. Māori are portrayed as strangers in this city and deprived of their identity.

The city is shown as crowded, full of cars, noisy and is shot in extra medium shots. In one of the scenes in which the camera stands on the pavement at crowded traffic-lights, through which buses and cars pass by, the camera accompanied by noise, as if entering in large size into the eyes of the spectator, leaving a feeling of being invaded. The next generation is shown to lack wide areas to play on and lacks the Māori environment for the development of identity. The parents show concerns about the cultural well-being of their children, which drives them to travel long distances to satisfy these needs in rural Māori areas. The children are shown visiting a rural marae another time, enjoying playing and running into the bush and washing their hands in a stream. In this representation of landin the *Turangawaewae* episode Barry Barclay favors the rural, as it fulfills the Māori community's social and spiritual needs. Even though urbanity is portrayed negatively, it does not exactly mean for Barclay a sign of degeneration in the people’s Māoriness. It nevertheless refers to a lack of cultural and social connections. Barclay's representation points to this damage and accepts it as a reality of institutional and social marginalization of Māori which raised debates and protests throughout the 1970s-1980s (Nikora and Thomas, p. 3). *Turangawaewae* expressesthe concern of urban Māori and the difficulties they have to overcome in order to provide a cultural and social context for themselves and their children. The episode accompanies the determination of those communities in their struggle to solve the problems. The characterization rather externalizes the Māori community's attempts in establishing Māori cultural locations in the city. *Turangawaewae* then documents and circulates those attempts for cultural survival of urban Māori in the mid 1970's in the face of rural cultural and social network loss.

II- Rural land

It is not a coincidence that Barclay chose rural settings for most of his films; these settings enabled him to discuss various Māori social and cultural issues. Some scholars noticed Barclay's insistence on the representation of rural land. Anna Sutton (2011, p. 205) discusses the

politics of location in *Ngati* and that the rural location permits commentary on people and relations between Māori and Pākeha. Sutton elaborates, "rural setting and past chosen for rural Māori identity is possibly less problematic, its unified expression more protected from fragmentation as their lived experience fits more comfortably with what is considered to be 'traditional' "(ibid). Murray points, "*Ngati* is a film that wishes to capture the familiarity in the relationship between a community and its turangawaewae, and to stress a notion of bounty in the landscape itself" (2008, p. 58). Turner (2013, p. 173) measures the Māori land claims' legitimacy by their long existence and the correspondence between people and land, and the model of Fourth Cinema investigates the properties of this long-time relationship.

An important part of land representation in Barclay's work is that the land fulfills human practical needs. As Cleave Barlow argues, "Māori ideology gained its power through the possession of land, and the power associated with the ability of the land to produce the bounties of nature" (in Keenan, 1996, p. xxv). In a similar vein, Barclay emphasizes that the relationship between people and nature rests on fulfilling the practical needs of living. This differentiates the cinema he makes from the cinema that circulates aspects of 'holiday culture' and 'beach culture' (Barclay, 1990). The cinema that is concerned with Indigenous land is the result of an urgent need to focus on Indigenous people’s rights to regain this land and come to terms with the attitude of official institutions. It is the seriousness in attitude which makes Fourth Cinema behave like this, and this in turn differentiates it from the cinema in which land is represented as a site for entertainment.

Beyond the practical needs there are specific Māori aspects which are strongly connected to land such as identity. Rural film settings facilitate Barclay's discussion of issues about land ownership, belonging and managerial problems. In order to discuss these issues, Barclay's first step is portraying Māori in relationship to the land, a strategy which gives permission to the presentation of the Māori position concerning the land. Other than the episode of *Turangawaewae* in *Tangata Whenua* (1974)

which was set in the city, rural settings are the spaces in which people and land keep interactive relations. Pere argues that the taking of the land by settlers had broken down the interwoven ancient traditions and institutions of Māori (in Keenan, 1996, p. xx). As a reaction, Barclay sought a visual reclaim of the identity of the land and presented a reaction to a history of land taking.

Barclay shows the Māori community working on the land as the sign of legitimate belonging, visually delivered and articulated. This narrative produces a strong ground for arguing for both Māori identity and land, for they strengthen each other's position. Therefore Barclay characterizes rural land in continuous activity in *Ngati* (1987) and *Te Urewera* (1987). Māori work there, plough the soil, ride horses, children run or cry and women do their everyday jobs. Filming includes all the possible activities that allow it to be a testimony on the identity of the land. In a scene in *Ngati*, Jenny takes Greg on his first day for a tour. She goes to the beach and leaves him in the car. Jenny goes to the beach where the school boys and girls with their teachers are gathering shellfish. The camera does a tilting shot down from a mountain, to show the children gathering shellfish with their teachers. The inclusion of the two elements in one shot is not only a characterization of the land nor only the people, it is rather a process of piling visual evidence of the land's identity, a claim for the community ownership of land and belonging to it through visually connecting the two parts of the equation.

III-Community as a source for information

The community of the land is the major source of information about the land and how it is governed. Barclay chooses a strategy for filming a park in which it becomes a source of unresolved social and cultural issues, instead of being a site for tourist curiosity. Normally, filming a park involves educational and tourist objectives, but Barclay touches on several issues about whom the legitimate owner of the park is, and how to manage and maintain the park. The first issue looked at is the narrative of turning the Urewera park into a national park and thus changing its character. The

claim of ownership and belonging to land is based on knowledge. Barclay deepens his conception of documentary as a subjective mode of representation (Barclay, 1990) through fully relying on the community including local Māori officials. Barclay argues in *Our Own Image* (1990) that knowledge in Indigenous cinema is to be taken from the community. *Te Urewera* (1987) then is full of information from local speakers about the plants, birds and animals of the park; from the people who know the park better than others. Another sign of such subjective representation is the absence of objective voice-over in this documentary. In one scene an elder talks about a plant used for healing: the camera shows how he peels one branch of that plant. The elder explains how to use the plant and how much should be used for a particular purpose. The elder informs us that there is an ethical code for dealing with herbs, which fulfils the need and maintains resources. Each person is not allowed to use more than twelve twigs. Providing such information about the method of dealing with the environment based on spiritual imperatives and knowledge is a further step into answering the question about who is supposed to better manage the land. Above all, information results from a local Māori community individual who makes links between the identity of the land and the identity of the community. Knowledge about the land in addition to the space the community members have in the film, qualifies for their eligibility to discuss concerns about the land.

V- Knowledge of governance debated

Through depicting rural land Barclay is able to discuss the knowledge system employed for the maintenance of natural resources in Aotearoa. Edward Said (1979) argues that western knowledge is promoted as "universal and superior" (p. 93-94). Ladislaus Semali and Joe Kincheloe(1999) argue that indigenous knowledge is considered as "inferior, static and primitive" (in Barnes, 2011, p. 23). "The systematic suppression and silencing of knowledge, histories and world-views are examples of indigenous experiences of colonization" (ibid). After setting up the relationship with the land, Barclay tends to introduce knowledge and

cultural concepts that maintain this relationship. In his construction of the early practices around Māori methods of governing the land, Barclay touches on the idea that taking care of natural resources is the solution for social problems. However, this does not happen in a direct address, but rather through meaningful visual relationship between shots. In *Turangawaewae* (1974), the camera shows Porirua beach polluted. One of the participants, a Māori elder, speaks about Māori practices of dealing with nature. The camera shows the Māori elder prising shells off a rock, and then returning the rock to its previous position after taking the shells. This is accompanied by the old woman's voice, speaking about a Māori practice (Mātaitai)that takes care of everything, and returns things to their previous places after benefiting from them. Connecting this scene to another which shows homeless Māori and also Pākeha implies references to social problems and offers solutions. Barclay sets up a comparative framework about a crucial aspect of the human existence, the right to shelter, between the Māori way and the way of governing social issues in the city. Barclay presents a worldview that compares space for caring on a small and on a large scale, which promises a balanced system of social practices. He refers to two cultures, one is exhaustive (capitalist) and the other is protective (Māori). Another example about the treatment of nature is informative because of its comparative framework. In *Te Urewera*, a Māori elder tells her children to be careful when they go into the park and respect everything on their way, because they cannot guarantee the mood of nature. It is an exploration of the ethics of respect that pins down Māori treatment of the land. Barclay sets himself as responsible for bringing attention to what is experienced and worth employing of Māori cultural concepts for the sake of their own land and society as a whole.

The relation between Māori and the land is given special artistic attention in distinguishing them as the natives of the land. As Alissa Strong (2006) argues, for an indigenous person, land means a sense of identity, a source of living and sacredness. Barclay does the same in film as he approaches this meaning of land to Māori identity and show a sense of sacredness. Out of many speakers in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) Barclay

attaches much affection to a Māori participant's speech. The speaker mentions in a scientific tone many places on the Kaipara Harbour, emphasizing the large size that needs care and attention from the government and the people. The aesthetic representation of these moments by the camera incorporates references to an early stage of the earth's existence, giving the representation a mythical aura. The camera makes association between the land and the ethnic background of the speaker. The camera traces the elements of the narration, carried on a boat, probably a few centimeters above the water. It shows both the water and the far hills gradually appearing on the Harbour. Ripples of the waves made by the boat are captured in a continuous close up shot, which turns those ripples into massive ocean waves, as if moved by great natural forces expanding and creating lands that straight away receive their names from the mouth of the narrator. This scene turns the real Māori person, through this device, into a narrator of the story of the land. It is a kind of aestheticization that has its effect on the perception of the real and it strengthens the sense of belonging and identification with the land.

VI- Criticism of Pākeha land management

Establishing the Māori community's relationship with land as being existing for a long time and their accumulated knowledge about it, give permission to criticizing the way land is governed. In *Te Urewera*, Barclay is able to clearly criticize the efficiency of western methods of maintaining the land. Biculturalism as a social policy started to be practiced a few years earlier, which opened more space for the expression of delicate Māori issues. The Tuhoe community stand concerning the official prohibition of hunting (wood pigeon) that Māori hunt for their food is expressed by one elder of that community. This speaker argues that official policy concerning wood pigeon is a failure, pointing to the method of protecting the birds, he says that in fact it harms the birds and they die without benefitting the locals. The Māori community of the Urewera has always hunted wood pigeons and eaten them and when the western official method intervened - as one of the elders says - "the birds started to vanish". This is a crucial cultural

difference that Barclay highlights in his exploration of the two cultures, two methods of management. Barclay highlights that Māori culture differs in its approach to nature from western culture as practiced in New Zealand; it has its own long established methods while the latter is based on empiricism. The protection of natural resources is a two sided sword, which gets imposed by the power of governmental institutions but often proves not efficient. Barclay offers two examples for protecting species, both of which strongly put the empiricism of environmental management under question. He suggests that prohibition is a way of wasting these resources, since wood pigeons, for example, die when they reach full size. An already established knowledge of nature based on ethical use is the main point of focus, which is worth employing instead of the empirical one that involves errors and mistakes, causing people and the environment considerable cost and loss. This is the main point through which knowledge is linked to identity, sovereignty and productive management of the land. This representation of rural land is an expression of Barclay's full dedication to identifying with his Māori side of identity. The next part is a discussion that does not strictly and directly reflect any side of Barclay's forms of identities.

VII- Artistic treatment of land issues

Later on, especially in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005), a twist can be registered to Barclay's world-view is linked more to his representation of Pākeha. The managerial system is not linked to Pākeha as an ethnic group anymore. Barclay departs from that position that dominated two decades in his film career, into a new position in which his films criticize institutional practices. There are moments in which Barclay tries to mobilize public opinion concerning the damage that official policies have caused to nature. Barclay articulates moments of discussion of the exhaustive capitalist way of dealing with natural resources, in order to put forward the Māori alternative method. In a scene in *The Kaipara Affair* (2005), the narration takes the theme of ecological damage, resulting from irresponsible use of natural resources. In this scene the camera finds a visual expression for

the narrator's report of the decrease in people's share of fish. The camera is carried on a car, dangling 15 or 20 centimeters above the ground, showing underneath, the shells which are commonly used for paving roads in rural areas. The camera moves slowly at first, capturing a number of shells on the road. Then, the speed increases and the number of broken shells increases also, until it shows the beginning of the water. The camera's capturing of the immense number of shells, along with the high speed, is an aesthetic expression of the damaging consumption of the natural resources. This treatment results in a sickening feeling in the viewer that stops for a moment close to vomiting. The camera represents here a sympathetic human eye at this climactic and moving moment. The attention that each shell or group of shells need ends in an inability to grasp on the moving scenery of destruction. The continuous extra close up shot and the too small distance between the camera (the viewer's eye) and the shells leaves a feeling of paralysis in the viewer exacerbated by the increasing camera speed. In the next chapter, I will discuss how Barclay's representation of the Pākeha relation with land develops according to the social dynamics in New Zealand in the last three decades of his life and their influence on his re-consideration of his Pākeha side of identity.

VIII- Pākeha and the land

Barclay's representation of land in connection with Pākeha seems to develop in time, from absence into gradually opening a possibility for some sort of connection between them. Barclay started his representation of Pākeha relation to land with constructing symbolic visual arguments, then criticizing Pākeha culture as the main constituent element of governance and absenting Pākeha from having connection with land, and finally starting to form a relation with the land. In Barclay's early Māori films, *Tangata Whenua* (1974), *Ngati* (1987), *Te Urewera* (1987) and *Te Rua* (1991), Barclay represented land in which the presence of Pākeha was almost absent. As Hokouwhitu (2014, p. 450) points to the existence of the binary of "tangata whenua" (people of the land) and "manuhiri" (visitors)

which was established and legitimized by the Treaty of Waitangi. This binary differentiates between Māori as Indigenous and those who came after (Pākeha and the rest), who according to this binary do not have "the same physical and metaphysical...and political rights" (ibid). This popular binary among Māori was at its full strength in the 1970s and 1980s as Māori were concerned with their process of gaining more rights. On the personal level, Barry Barclay perhaps was likely to be affected by these discourses while he was making his way towards his identification with his Māori side.

In this physical absence of Pākeha, Barclay did represent the Pākeha relationship to land through works of art such as in *The Carving Cries* (1974). He discussed this relation as signifying cultural identity anxiety. It is pointed out by both Pākeha and Māori scholars (Belich and Wever, 2011) that Pākeha have this cultural identity sense of anxiety and loss which is more acute than in other settler societies (Ream, 2009). This cultural anxiety, Belich and Wever (2011, p. 11) argue, is a perennial question for Pākeha artists and connected with "deep entanglement of geography and history, the meaning of place and the connection of place with identity, when culture is transmitted from elsewhere and is in uneasy relationship with Indigenous culture". Belich and Wever point out that many artists express these feelings of that spiritual and cultural volatility and dislocation (ibid). Barclay in his early representation in *The Carving Cries* episode of *Tangata Whenua* (1974) sets up visual characterization of Pākeha culture according to its relationship to the land. In this episode Barclay explores Māori carving and its masters. However, he shows two paintings, one by Brent Wong and the other is Ian Scott's Leapway Girl (1969), in a series of mixed shots the paintings appear as one painting. Ian Scott's painting shows a white woman lying on a beach in a swimming suit.The camera zooms in to show the head position of the woman who looks up, and then it moves up to show an image of her flying in the air amongst clouds, gesturing to dreams or wishes. The camera moves back to what seems to lie behind the dreaming woman, showing Wong's painting which includes ruins of ancient European architecture: buildings

and pillars lying on the hills. No doubt there is clear distinction between the Māori carving climate and the European painting, through which Barclay creates a viewing shock or disturbance. It is characteristic in Wong's paintings to express ideas about change connected with landscape (from Wong's page on art-newzealand online). However, while the painting is imbued with meanings which may not have strong connection with what Barclay wants to convey, putting it in this Māori context raises other issues. The painting here is looked at from a Māori point of view. Barclay looks at this painting from a Māori point of view, as representative of Pākeha cultural practices which consider the beach as a place for entertainment. He develops his criticism around European culture (and Pākeha culture is part of it) as occupied by beach culture later on in *Our Own Image* (1990). But on a deeper level, Barclay emphasizes that Pākeha culture is taken by images that belong to a far away culture. Barclay refers here to the associations that Pākeha culture makes with European history and culture. He constructs his narrative on Pākeha culture according to the sense of belonging to the land or lacking it. More importantly, the juxtaposition of these two paintings raises questions about the legacy of colonialism and the connections Pākeha make with it. The hills behind the woman look like they are in a state of absorbing or burying those European structures. A similar metaphor that visualizes the fate of colonization was made by Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish (1995) where the Indigenous grass is expected to eat the citadel after the return of colonizing soldiers. And if we take a close look into this juxtaposition, two periods of time can be identified: colonial past and present and future of continuous identification with Europe. In this use of art, Barclay urges Pākeha to look for what Larner and Spoonley (1991) called "locally-focused identity" (in Webster, 2007).

The 1970s and 1980s were not a ripe time for Barclay to make a strong connection between Pākeha and land. There were attempts by Pākeha figures to urge Pākeha to developing a relationship with land (King, 1985). For instance King (1991) describes Pākeha as second Indigenous

> And for me, as much as for any Māori person, the songs of this land are still to be heard: those of Tangaroa from the beaches, Tane Mahuta in the forest, Tawhirimatea from the hill-side. I hear them … They are an integral part – perhaps the most integral part – of my being a New Zealander, of being Pākehā.

Also, Christine Dann's (1991) wishes: "I want to be Pākehā, which is someone who loves and experiences the land in ways that can only come by living here. Ways that are increasingly less British, and perhaps more Māori" (in Matthewman, 2008, p. 4). As late as 2011, Belich and Wever raise questions about Pākeha identity in connection with land: "Has the connection of our cultural identity with land become 'boutique', aiming essentially at adventure tourism and cruise boats, and retaining almost no real connection with wild landscapes and conservationist values". Stephen Turner, two years later, brings the settler society's attention to the need for rethinking and shaping their legitimacy around the land (2013, p. 175). It can be understood from the first attitudes that they were personal experiences and expressions of wishes. However, in the later ones it was noticed that Pākeha culture did not make enough efforts on the collective level to have the status of a second Indigenous grouping.A painting by Michael Smitherwhich Barclay uses, refers to the lack of serious relationship between Pākeha and the land in the context of the 1970s. *The Carving Cries* episode of *Tangata Whenua* (1974) highlights another aspect of Pākeha culture concerning the land and the meaning Pākeha art made from land. This time the painting is a representation of a mountain that is reduced to a pile of stones. The painting shows a mountain is merely stones put one above the other. The camera follows this accumulation of stones from bottom to top and the minimization of the mountain's beauty into only stones.

Nevertheless, in his last film, Barclay becomes more optimistic about the prospect that Pākeha can develop an Indigenous relationship with land. On the one hand, Barclay chooses two Māori speakers in *The Kaipara Affair*express affection to their participation in connection with the land. The Pākeha participants by contrast seem to focus on the practical realm, in which the land fulfils their needs. The Pākeha in this film are

concerned about the Harbour as a fish resource for them, their children and grand-children. Nevertheless, the majority of participants are shown defending the land and its natural resources against capitalist and bureaucratic exploitation. This implies that the land concerns more Pākeha than before. In this way, Barclay leaves the door open for Pākeha children to have a relationship with the land and this is discussed in detail in the section about Pākeha. This happens when the Māori community leader tells his childhood story with the land, and Barclay chooses footage of a Pākeha boy to accompany the narration (described in Chapter 7). The relation, according to Barclay's characterization develops from absence in the example of art works, into real activist social force which is an encouraging step into developing Pākeha identity based on the element of land.

Summary.

Barry Barclay's representation of land is expressive of his identifications with his Māori and Pākeha sides of identity and the positions that he takes towards complex issues, encouraged by a collective movement towards justice. As long as there is no justice in the human situation, his film compass tries to work towards changing that situation: a tendency that was termed by some scholars as activism (Murray 2007). His identification as Māori directs his films to be a testimony to the Indigenous identity of both the community and the land. Barclay discusses Māori marginalization in the city and follows urban Māori cultural achievements. However, he primarily focuses on the rural as a setting for his opinions about Māori demands such as sovereignty over land and identity. Barclay builds his argument about sovereignty of the community through portraying land as inhabited by farmers, their families and children who maintain continuous care of the land. Barclay backs this up with knowledge of the land taken from locals other than officials. This knowledge is delivered, in contrast to the knowledge officially employed in maintaining natural resources, through introducing its link to the religious belief system of the Indigenous community. Barclay, in his representation of land, explicates the Māori

people’s connection with their land through the aestheticization of that connection,and the damage inflicted on the land.

On the other hand, Barclay characterizes the relation between Pākeha and land in a different way, which takes two stages, depending also on the wider racial relationship and the dynamics of his identification. Barclay's main point about this relationship was based on the localization of Pākeha identity, which appears in the 1970s in his discussion of Pākeha works of Art. In this representation, Barclay characterizes a lack of strong relationship between land and identity. Whereas after thirty years, he develops his ideas about Pākeha identity and land, and becomes more open to them having a second Indigenous status.

Chapter 9

Fourth Cinema: Theory and Practice

I- Fourth Cinema: general view

Any discussion of Fourth Cinema cannot escape the situation that Indigenous people found themselves in after centuries of colonization and its consequences of cultural and ethnic assimilation. Each attempt at conceptualizing Indigenous cinema and media is related in some way or another to the non-Indigenous/Indigenous paradigm. Along with other international theorists, Barry Barclay is a key contributor to the theorization of Indigenous cinema. Each one of the contributions reflects the contributor's different outlook on Indigenous identity. For example, Ginsburg (2002) discusses the fact that indigenous media practices in Australia are acts of identity survival for Aboriginal communities who are usually given a little attention by the mainstream of modern Australian society. Ginsburg points out that Indigenous media have been used for cultural preservation and production and as a form of political mobilization (Ginsburg, 2002, p. 40-41).Self-representations in media are making "Indigenous cultural and historical realities visible to the broader societies that have stereotyped or denied them" (Ginsburg, 1994). H. A. Miller (2006) believes that film is a means of deconstructing stereotypes and improving the lives and situations of Native American people (p. 42). Miller takes into account the engagement of both Natives and non-Natives, keeping an optimistic vision of an Indian future in which stereotypes fade away as a result of communicating knowledge of history and culture between Indian and non-Indian scholars (p. 43). As Coulthard argues, "many colonized societies no longer have to struggle for their freedom and independence. It is often negotiated and achieved through constitutional amendment, or simply 'declared' by the settler-state and bestowed upon the indigenous population in the form of political rights" (in Hokowhitu, 2013, p. 117).

Film representations can be regarded as cultural forms of such negotiation in action. Corrin Columpar argues that it is productive that

Fourth Cinema focuses on the interaction between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous (2010, p. xiv), fostering the engagement of Fourth Cinema with the national cinema, which may include the First, Second and Third cinema frameworks (ibid). "First cinema being Hollywood, and second cinema being European art film which rejects Hollywood's conventions but focuses on the amateur director" while Third cinema is the cinema of countries inhabited by natives which were occupied by capitalist countries (medialectic, 2013). With this approach Columpar departs from the standard "critical paradigm based on binaries of Indigenous/non-Indigenous filmmakers, Invader/Native, stereotypical/authentic, dominant/marginal" (xv). For Kristy Bennett, the non-indigenous is still present but influenced by, rather than influencing, Indigenous identity choices. Bennett (2006) argues in "Fourth Cinema and The Politics of Staring" thatFourth Cinema shifts away from presenting Indigenous peoples as objects for exoticism, permittivity or violence (p. 19). Fourth Cinemainstead encourages ordinariness in the presentation of Indigenous images, inviting "looking in" at things instead of them being objects for "staring".

Brendan Hokodwhitu (2013) is concerned with the Indigenous identity realities that colonization has created and asserts a more inclusive view of Fourth Cinema and media in representing them. 'Fourth Media' is defined by Brendan Hokowhitu as "re-righting (writing) the erasure of indigeneity from the mediated public sphere and, in doing so, reshaping the vision of the postcolonial" (2013, p. 114). Hokowhitu acknowledges what has been excluded and included under the name of indigeneity, and considers cultural spaces produced by colonization (p. 119).

II- Barry Barclay and Fourth Cinema

Barry Barclay's conceptualization of Fourth Cinema strongly relates to two realities: his personal ethnic identities, and the wider racial politics in New Zealand in his time. Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema took a long time to be solidified through a combination of his contemplations on the cultural and social situation of Māori, his own experience in making Māori films,

and communication with other Indigenous people abroad. Barclay's idea of Fourth Cinema is based on "the idea that there is a shared experience of being Indigenous in the contemporary world" (Murray, p. 16). This experience is reflected in similar values and worldviews. In terms of Māori society, this Indigenous identity is expressed in "ancient values such as whanaugatanga (kinship), mana (spiritual power/authority), manaakitanga (hospitality), aroha (love/empathy)" and the like (p. 17). Murray points that community, and its customs and protocols, are at the center of Barclay's film practices and methods.

The official version of the definition of Fourth Cinema appeared in Barclay's lecture "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" (2002), which he gave at the University of Auckland, and published later in *Illusions* (2003). However, before that there were attempts at offering a framework for Māori film in his book, *Our Own Image* (1990). Barclay called the type of films he was making either Indigenous cinema or more specifically Māori Film. In "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" however, he coined the term "Fourth Cinema" for "his convenience" (Barclay, 2003). In this lecture Barclay accentuates the reason for using this term: that Fourth Cinema is the cinema of cultures invaded by nation states, of which First, Second and Third cinemas are representatives. Barclay pays much attention to the differentiation between Fourth and First cinema, which are set as opposites in their use of the camera that reflects cultural concerns, motives and agendas: "the camera on the deck" and of first cinema versus "the camera on the shore", on the ancestral land. He defines Fourth Cinema as a distinct category, in which Indigenous people take control of their own image, and that Indigenous people are the main producer and receptor of it. Emiel Martens points out (2012, p. 3),

> For Barry Barclay, the category of Fourth Cinema does not simply stand for films produced by Indigenous filmmakers, but refers to a distinct politically engaged mode of filmmaking that has emerged from the shared experience of exclusion in postcolonial settler states and peoples and allows for film practices and images that are controlled by-and do justice to-Indigenous peoples and their concerns and customs.

Barry Barclay (2003, p. 2) further defines Fourth Cinema in technical terms around two main principles: exteriority and interiority. "Exteriority" refers to "the surface features: the rituals, the language, the posturing, the decor, the use of elders, the presence of children, attitudes to land, and the rituals of the spirit world". On the other hand, Barry Barclay defines "Interiority" as the uneasy to access "essence" and the difficulty of accessing it that stems from the lost relationship of modern people to ancient cultures (Indigenous cultures). At the heart of Fourth Cinema is the negation of misrepresentations of Indigenous people and culture. Barclay conceives of Fourth Cinema as a medium through which exclusively Indigenous people control their images (1990). In terms of cinematic characteristics, this implies expressing Indigenous cultural values and knowledge in a way that indigenous people feel represents them and that they feel comfortable with on screen.

Now this important issue that Barclay's definition raises of Indigenous and non-Indigenous creates tensions between his theory and practices, because his films have this non-Indigenous presence in a way or another. In relation to Indigenous identity in a post-settler society, Columpar argues that Barclay's theory of Fourth Cinema is more an ideal than an actuality (2010). Wallis (2011) argues that a non-Indigenous filmmaker can make Fourth Cinema and still fulfill the other precepts in the definition. The points that are made by these scholars are actually embedded in Barclay's practice of Fourth Cinema without being explicitly mentioned in the definition. The non-Indigenous makes its way into Barclay's films through a network of relations that encourages contradictions between theory and practice, driven by two realities: Barclay's Pākeha ethno-cultural side and the realities of Indigenous identity in New Zealand.This chapter looks at the relation and difference between practice and theory, and the influence of social context on Barclay's application of his definition. I specifically discuss the non-Indigenous participation in Barclay's films in order to prove that the idealism of his definition is strategic, and to discuss how Barclay kept his films within the framework he suggested. The non-Indigenous participation

in Barclay's films, especially his last film, is something of a challenge to the character of Fourth Cinema as he proposed, but actually it is at the heart of responding to Indigenous realities and a promotion of Indigenous culture in a creative way.

III- Barclay's Fourth Cinema: theory and practice

Generally, there are differences between theory (writing) and practice embedded in the nature of each medium. In writing one can express ideas, wishes and contemplations, and conceive of ways to improve a social and cultural situation. For Barry Barclay as a pioneer in Indigenous film, practice is likely to be bound by personal and collective limitations. Film, as a collective process, depends on social, production and funding bodies for its attempt to cross into the collective sphere. The limitations for Barclay's model stem from his dual identifications and the limitations of the macro-level social situations within which film-making operates. The changes registered in Barclay's work over the course of his career, from Māori nationalism to a more inclusive position in his late work, can be related to his interactions and awareness of the Māori /Pākeha sides of his identity. His theorization can still be valid and apply to both the personal and the collective, depending on the social situation and activism of Māori. So while film-making as Fourth Cinema has social and economic limitations, Fourth Cinema theory in writing can be considered as a liberating project able to be applied in a variety of cultural contexts.

For Indigenous people the history of non-Indigenous control of their own images has been problematic. It became common for Māori filmmakers to be aware of misrepresentations of Māori culture by film. Merata Mita argues in "Soul and the Image" (1994) that as "early as 1930's, the screen was already colonized and had itself become a powerful colonizing influence, as Western perspectives and stereotypes were imposed on indigenous people" (p. 42). Barry Barclay tries to present the purpose of, and motives behind,Fourth Cinema(Barclay, 1990, p. 7).

> "Every culture has a right and a 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."

Pihama argues in relation to Māori that representations in film and the media have the power to perpetuate or transform dominant colonial presentations of Māori (in Sutton, 2011). Working on this property of cinema, "from the 1970's onwards, Indigenous filmmakers have invested in the indigenization of the silver screen" (Martens, 2012, p. 3). Barclay (2003) argues that the Indigenous camera would "defeat the purposes" of First Cinema in stopping or resisting stereotypes. This 'camera' in Māori Indigenous film took the responsibility for changing negative images of Indigenous people into positive images, and this included explicating their culture, ways of living and knowledge system.

In this condition, Barclay presumes that the creators of those images should be informed of this culture and work from a subjective point of view. In most of the films he produced, Barclay tried to establish cultural practices for film crew prior to filming in order to provoke cultural awareness and respect for the community, such us doing karakia (prayer) before filming for instance (Barclay, 1990). Barclay expresses his wish as early as in 1987 for Māori film to have 100% Māori crew and urges Māori to take part in the production of film and television (Lomas, 1987, p. 3). However, Barclay acknowledged the difficulty of achieving this at the time. Actually, after *Tangata Whenua* (1974) Barclay worked to achieve this objective and be in line with his ideas of Fourth Cinema. After working with Michael King, a Pākeha writer, as a script writer in *Tangata Whenua*, Barclay worked with the Māori writer Tama Poata in *Ngati* (1987), and wrote and directed the rest of his films.

Now, some raise challenges to Barclay's principle concerning the ethnic background of who makes Fourth Cinema. Kez Wallis (2011)

argues that a filmmaker can produce a Fourth Cinema film that corresponds to Barclay's framework, without being Indigenous. Wallis demonstrates in her article “Fourth Cinema and the *House Made of Dawn*” (2011) that non-Indigenous filmmakers can produce Fourth Cinema, basing her argument on the film *House made of Dawn* (Morse, 1987). Wallis argues that the ethnic background of a filmmaker does not give him or her ''a greater qualification for understanding'' (Wallis, 2011, p. 2); it is rather that living in that culture is the decisive factor for such an understanding. She makes use of Kahurangi Waititi’s (2008) elaboration of Barclay’s concept of interiority, which is to be gauged by the balanced use of exteriority, and measured by the community's satisfaction with their representation (p. 5). Referring to Barclay’s definition of Fourth Cinema as exclusive to the tribe -that it is the source, actor, audience and evaluator of the film- Wallis argues that *House made of Dawn* consists of all the above elements and succeeded in gaining the content of the Pueblo community and the Native American people without being directed by an indigenous director (p. 6).

Indeed, this non-Indigenous element is a source of tension between Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema and his own practices of Indigenous film. The definition sets the director as the controller of film while practice and earlier writing complicate this principle of Fourth Cinema. As Barclay believes in the collective participation in the production process (Barclay, 1990), it follows that the director is not the only author of a film. Accordingly, Michael King's position, as a white New Zealander in the production of Fourth Cinema, who wrote and took a great part in the interviewing of participants in the *Tangata Whenua* (1974) series, should be considered. It may be argued that including a Pākeha author and participants was a strategic choice that makes the film appeal to Pākeha and get them engaged. However, in the eighties where a bicultural social framework is applied, the non-Indigenous Pākeha participation continued. Barclay states, *Ngati* is not made exclusive to Māori (Lomas, p. 3). Barclay also states in *Breaking Barriers,* (Bourque, 2010): ''*Te Rua* was never made for Pākēha. Open to them, intelligible to them, but from within me,

it's for Māori". While *The Kaipara Affair* (2005), which was produced three years after launch of "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" (2002), should have considered the non-indigenous presence and be in line with the definition, but on the contrary, *The Kaipara Affair* was full of Pākeha participants.

Barclay's definition cannot be accepted without considering the contextual influences on his film practices and earlier writings. Māori society in the seventies, where assimilation was the official socio-political framework imposed on Māori . However, they lived as second class citizens, underestimated by governmental institutions. It was not unexpected for Barclay to be motivated to employ a "Talking out" mode of communication in order to inform and get Pākeha people engaged with Māori concerns. Barclay did not say much about his experience in *Tangata Whenua* (1974) except that it used a "Talking out" strategy and that it was a failure in his opinion (Tuckette, 2009). But other information about the shaping of *Tangata Whenua* might be helpful, in which Barclay expressed his debt to Michael King for the achievement of it. It is curious to note that Barclay had two evaluations of *Tangata Whenua* at two different times. King mentions in the screening of *Tangata whenua* on Māori TV (2006)that the making of the series was King's project to present Māori in their own voice at the beginning of his career in journalism (2006). The other was mentioned above, because of the "Talking out" strategy that steered the series, which was likely shaped and belonged to Michael King more than to Barry Barclay. Or at least, it was an expression of their cooperation.

In the eighties and nineties, Barclay applied his concept of Māori controlling their own image and made the concept clearer in *Ngati* (1987), to be written and directed by Māori, but maintained a degree of the "Talking out" mode of communication. Murray asserts that *Ngati* (1987) advocates an idea of a bicultural New Zealand that is fundamentally Māori in spirit (2008, p. 62). This was achieved through positive images and representations of non-Indigenous (Pākeha) characters which were meant to appeal to Pākeha society through the "Talking out" mode of communication. Later on, Barry Barclay wrote the scripts and directed his

films: *Te Urewera* (1987), *Te Rua* (1991), *The Feathers of Peace* (2000) and *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). In *Te Urewera*, the "Talking out" mode was reduced to choosing only a Pākeha presenter but this did not diminish it. In *Te Rua* there was not much space for "Talking out" in presenting the issue of Māori sovereignty over their cultural treasures, however, one Pākeha character helped the Māori group regaining their carvings. As for *The Kaipara Affair*, the main point of view seems to come from a community that Māoriare only a small part of the community, using a "Talking in" mode of communication with the wider New Zealand society. The large number of Pākeha participants in the film, who voluntarily privilege and adopt Māori cultural practices, direct the film into having a community, dominantly Pākeha but imbued with a Māori spirit.

On the obvious level, *The Kaipara Affair* either marks a contradiction or at least an update to Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema. This update problematizes the official definition on several levels and makes the employment of such a definition less obvious and less concerned with Indigenous people. The principle of who controls the Indigenous image, which needs an Indigenous crew member is fulfilled here, but the subject matter is not clearly about Māori people and culture. This was clear in the words of one of the Pākeha participants who says: "this film is not about Māori; it is about us all".

The Kaipara Affair also complicates the definition concerning "Interiority" and "Exteriority". In this film, Barclay does not deploy exteriors as much as he used to in the rest of his films. It is useful to re-mention what Barclay meant by "Exteriority", the surface elements: the rituals, the language, the posturing, the decor, the use of elders, the presence of children, attitudes to the land, the rituals of a spirit world" (Barclay, 2003). In early films, Barclay tended to prepare and deploy the signs that define Māori community through exteriors. In *Tangata Whenua* (1974) he synchronized the filming with social events. For instance, the process of building the first Māori marae in Porirua was followed by the camera in every stage of its development. The final scene in which the marae arrives carried on a truck contains immense deployment of a number of 'exteriors'

elements. It included: rituals, language and songs in Māori, presence of children and elders. Other episodes such as *The Carving Cries* included images of marae carvings and decorations. The process of deploying exteriors continued in *Ngati* (1987), including rituals of death, presence of elders, children, language and songs in Māori and decor. *Te Rua* involved a tremendous amount of exteriors such as: spirit rituals, language and songs in Māori, presence of elders and children, decor and rituals.

It can be noted that in Barclay's last film that the deployment of 'exteriors' decreases significantly. In *The Kaipara Affair*, as the subject-matter concerns the mixed community, exteriors are not employed in the characterization of the community except for the first images which are images of digging the ground to cook according to the Māori way of cooking. The music is disconnected from Māori language. In *Tangata Whenua* (1974) Barry Barclay deployed a considerable amount of Māori Music and songs in the beginning, the end and within the text itself. Barclay uses this narrative device to characterize the community as Indigenous, insisting on and supporting cultural determination. He insisted on the deployment of Māori music in his next work including *Ngati* (1987), *Te Urewera* (1987) and *Te Rua* (1991).

The movement towards interiority resulted in a gradual retreat from focusing on exteriors. There must have been something encouraging for Barclay as an Indigenous filmmaker in for him to undertake the process of filming a dominantly non-Indigenous community. Otherwise, it is unjustifiable to bring Indigenous exteriors to the process of filming such a community, but Barclay seemed to identify something of a shared Indigenous Interiority. An attentive look back at his writing can explain how and why he dealt with exteriors. Barclay moves from one example to another in "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" in order to explain interiority and reaches a point where difficulty stems from the boundaries between modernity (Western) and ancient cultures (Indigenous). Barclay states: "I believe that in Fourth Cinema -at its best- something is being asserted which is not easy to access" (p. 2). Barclay tries to arrive at where the

difficulty of accessing interiority comes from; the modern mentality which is "less concerned with essence" (p. 3). For Indigenous people, "art forms may have changed, their diet, their work patterns, their instruments of governance...but the ancient outlook persists...an outlook [which remains] outside the national outlook" (ibid). For a modern mind then, working with exteriors, because of the gap that modern knowledge has created, is the best possible way for making Indigenous cinema; "fixing on the minutiae of exteriority" (ibid). As someone who took part in the film, I affirm that a Māori welcome was filmed and it was suggested to include filming Māori cemetery, marae and the hui, but finally were not integrated into the body of the film.

When Indigenous culture is practically adopted, exteriors become of less importance. The community of the Kaipara Harbor encouraged Barclay to compromise emphasizing exteriority in his pursuit of interiority. The activists who appeared in the film are typically what Barclay tried to include in his early films; the ones who have cultural awareness and respect for Indigenous culture. But the activists in *The Kaipara Affair* go further this time. On the one hand, some of the Pākeha participants who speak Māori, have knowledge of Māori customs, and all of them support the application of Māori cultural practices to the common concerns. The Pākeha fishermen fight for the promotion and application of Māori environmental maintenance methods such as Rahui. Rahui is a "practice of separating people from land, water and their products for a variety of reasons such as: pollution, conservation and politics" (Māoridictionary). This practice takes a form of "temporary ritual prohibition, closed season, ban or reserve, put on an area, resource or a stretch of water" (ibid). Through a "Talking in" mode of communication those Pākeha activists can appeal to the wider national community and spread the importance of Māori practices. What Barclay has included of Pākeha and Indigenous world-view in *Tangata Whenua*, *Ngati*, *Te Urewera* and *Te Rua* reaches its full force here in *The Kaipara Affair*. Through Pākeha adoption of Māori cultural practices and their assertion and promotion, the rhetoric becomes stronger than the continuation of presenting them through Māori

themselves. This mode of communication reconsiders the importance and viability of Māori cultural and social practices, the benefits of which the nation is deprived. In order to find a clue to the principle that Fourth Cinema is to be exclusively made by an Indigenous filmmaker, it is helpful to recollect Barclay's wish for a filmmaker or scholar standing on where he gave his lecture and starts from where Barclay ends. This wish opens the horizon not only for filmmaking but rather for social environment, an environment which Barclay tried to give a glimpse of in *The Kaipara Affair*. This community is a small picture of a society in which it is hoped that Indigenous people can change their situation and work with other social groups as partners in a just society. Nevertheless, this society may take generations to develop to its fullest form.

Social metaphors also motivate the Fourth Cinema shift from exteriority towards interiority. *The Kaipara Affair* then is not a film outside Fourth Cinema as it might seem; it rather moves from the obvious into the metaphoric in the treatment of indigineity. Since it is characteristic that Barclay builds each one of his films on a metaphor (1990), *The Kaipara Affair* can be looked at from this angle. The presence of non-Indigenous participation becomes a method, a representation of Indigenous culture that goes beyond the ethnic, and on the other hand a reflection and promulgation of an example of bicultural (or multicultural) interactions in a post-settler society. Barclay steps further in his working on metaphors through the presence of Mikaera Miru, one of the community leaders and the one who shot with a gun on the commercial fisheries. Miru is passionate about the rights of Māori and the need to employ rahui method in the Kaipara Harbor. Miru is an example of the inter-ethnic background but identifies much more with his Māori side of identity than the Pākeha side. Physically Miru has Māori features and white skin. In addition to the resonance of Barclay's identification with Miru as an ethnically mixed man, Barclay employs the figure of Mikaera Miru as a social metaphor on a deeper level and a carrier for a difficult to ignore social reality in post-settler societies. Mikaera Miru represents an image of a nation of ethnic mixture with Indigenous spirit as Stuart Murray conceives of the

community in *Ngati* (1987). The ethnically non-Indigenous element makes its way to acknowledgment in the definition of Fourth Cinema through practice and this point needs to be included in a more inclusive reworking of Fourth Cinema definition, which Barclay was encouraged to think of in "Celebrating Fourth Cinema", wishing another person in another time to stand and give a lecture on Fourth Cinema (2003). The space given to Mikaera Miru is not accidental as it happened before in *Ngati* (1987) with the inter-racial character of Greg.

This film practice marks changes in the way Barry Barclay applies his definition of Fourth Cinema. As noted earlier, it is important that the official release of the definition was two years earlier than the production of *The Kaipara Affair*. It is assumed that *The Kaipara Affair* should apply the principles of the definition more than any of Barclay's films. Barclay returns to his mode of communication which he thought was a mistake in earlier films. Barclay focused in his earlier films on "Talking in" as Māori people were in need of more knowledge about their cultural practices. There was a margin of focus on "Talking out" in order to inform New Zealand society and institutions about Māori cultural practices and mobilize public opinion about it. As a result of "Talking out" which was triggered by initiatives, the wider society started acknowledging Māori culture, and the responsibility of "Talking in" has since been taken by schools, universities and other institutions. The level of knowledge and the improvement that Māori have gained in New Zealand was noticed and greeted by one of the founders of Māori renaissance, Ranguini Walker (Spoonley, 2016). Barry Barclay makes important changes in his way of addressing issues. He departed from the mode of communication of "Talking in" in his last film, *The Kaipara Affair*, and fully focused on "Talking out". Now, Barclay's audience becomes the whole society instead of only Māori. Even if he is not interested anymore in informing both Māori and the wider society of Māori culture, as they become aware of it, Barclay turns from Māori culture in its broad sense into the practical aspects of it. Barclay moves in *The Kaipara Affair* into universally suggesting Māori (and Indigenous) practices as alternatives to Capitalist ones. And this twist can be an answer to the

seeming deviation from the definition of Fourth Cinema and a way of accessing the "difficult to access" interiority.

In addition to meeting social realities, Barclay's practice of Fourth Cinema moved towards interiority in his technical treatment. An attempt at approaching interiority was made by Barclay twice in his move to employ a kind of music which is different to what was used in earlier films. The music Barclay used in both *The Feathers of Peace* and *The Kaipara Affair* does not contain specific references to being Māori. The music tries to approach interiority through connecting with the metaphysical or supernatural and establish a misty atmosphere that goes beyond modern music. It does so through betraying rhythm and usual employment of instruments into flute playing. This employment of music re-connects with the ancient atmosphere of Indigenous culture.

Summary

This chapter discussed problematic issues in Barclay's own work that challenge Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema, which are challenges to any Indigenous cultural project at the same time. These consist of non-Indigenous element (cultural and ethnic) embedded in the Indigenous which is the creation of colonization. Barclay in his definition insists on the idea that Fourth Cinema should be made about, by and for Indigenous people. In this definition, Indigenous people are the makers, the subject and audience of Fourth Cinema. However, this definition, before it is challenged by the people who wrote in the field of Fourth Cinema, is challenged by Barclay's film practices themselves. In terms of who controls image and content of Indigenous people and culture, the first TV series of Barclay *Tangata Whenua* (1974) can be challenged, as Michael King is Pākeha. The non-Indigenous was dealt with by Barclay once he moved to work with Indigenous writers and wrote and directed the rest of his films. However, the non-Indigenous aspects kept appearing in his films, especially the last film. I tried to prove that understanding how Barry Barclay conceived of the terms he provided as main elements in Fourth Cinema, exteriority and Iinteriority, would lead to discovering the solution

for what seems contradictory. Tracing the employment of exteriors in Barclay's films from extensive use to pushing them away from the center, is telling. This happens in Barclay's last two films, especially *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) in which participation is dominantly made by Pākeha. A community which adopts and promotes Indigenous cultural practice is worthy of compromising exterior deployment. Another aspect which would also be a better reason for compromising exteriority, is the community leader Mikaera Miru, who is an embodiment of the wish for the nation of New Zealand. In my opinion, this is interiority for Barclay, the Indigenous cultural practices adopted and reactivated by the community for the sake of a better life. In this way, what seems contradictory between the definition and practice in Barclay films is proved not contradictory. This in turn leads to the idea that film practice can help in understanding the definition of Fourth Cinema and of the ways in which Barclay negotiates and displays some aspects of his dual identity over the period of his career.

Chapter 10
Conclusion

This thesis focused on the reflections of both of Barry Barclay's ethnic identities (Māori and Pākeha) in his work. To the best of my knowledge, there is, for various reasons, a lack of research on this subject. However, studying theories of identity proved to be valuable as a key to understanding Barry Barclay's films and his theory of Fourth Cinema. The thesis followed the identifications Barry Barclay consciously made out of those which were available to him during his life-time career. Those identifications were affected by the interaction of two factors: his personal affiliations and the socio-political context. Barclay lived and became a filmmaker in his first stage of adulthood, emphasizing the Pākeha side of his identity since it was a form of identity which was officially encouraged under the assimilation policy for Māori. However, as Māori put forward their concerns through activism of the 1970s-1980s, Māori identity became recognized as a proud of form of identity under biculturalism. Governments nevertheless, through their institutional outlets, tended to encourage essentialist forms of Māori identity.

This research can be divided into two interconnected processes: grappling with the available literature, and then, the interpretation of Barclay's film practices, linking them to his identifications. Since Barry Barclay is under-studied, and the literature on him is small in quantity and does not cover all the aspects that his work dealt with. I had to investigate social issues that gave rise to Barclay's identity choices. The scarce material on Barclay's work had directed me to enjoy more space in interpreting his film practices.As a man of mixed ethnic background (Māori and Pākeha) with obvious Māori features, Barclay had likely negotiated these concerns, before he identified with his Māori side, including the personal benefits and limitations of such choices. In order to come close to understanding Barclay's choices, knowledge of the history of Māori-Pākeha inter-racial relationships was an important subject in the literature. This literature provides information about the Māori development of

anactivist voice in the 1970s and afterwards, which helps to understand the issues Barclay addressed in his films and writings concerning things Māori. This history of enter-ethnic relationships helps also understand those of Barclay's film practices which are related to his other ethnic side of identity (Pākeha). The development of this relationship, which resulted from an increase in Māori activism and engagement on the Pākeha part with Māori grievances and concerns, is reflected in Barclay's films. This development encouraged Barclay to acknowledge his Pākeha side through increasingly involving Pākeha representations in his films. In the end, any human being is a creation of his or her social and cultural environment, even if a degree of resistance is exerted, but ultimately some of what institutions such as school, the media and the like, left in that human being, will remain. So, Barclay was culturally and ethnically not far from longitudinal Pākeha influences. Even if he favored to identify with his Māori side of identity the Pākeha side of identity. As soon as Biculturalism was employed Barclay like many Māori, Barclay fully identified strove to establish himself as Māori and dedicated his films and writing to this goal. But after more than two decades, as the Māori situation improved, Barclay reconsidered his Pākeha side of identity.In order to better understand Barclay's identity choices which were not linear in the ways in which they changed, this research was forced to look for theoretical approaches outside available identity arguments. Roughly, there are two arguments concerning Māori identity: *Essentialism* and *Fluidity*. *Essentialism* (Smith (1999), Schwartz et al (2010) and Chadwick (2002)) is built on the desire for returning to a pre-colonization time, where social networks were not yet affected by new comers. This argument has been a bit modified in order to include the social categories created by colonization and its subsequent social policies (assimilation and integration) such as half-castes. Nevertheless, this took two or three decades to happen. On the other hand, *Fluid* identity arguments (Harris et al., 2013) and (Poata-Smith, 2013), come from modernist and postmodernist thought, which see identity as a phenomenon of fragmentation and an open-ended process. In a way, this argument does not leave enough space for conscious identity choice

to flourish. Identity in this regard is driven all the time by structural forces. *Self-management* and *developmental theory* (Bransen (2007), Fearon (1999), Taylor (1976) and Velleman (1996)) offer other frameworks within which to view identity and the possibility of a self-identity project that the self can work towards achieving. These frameworks valueBarry Barclay and other half-castes who chose to identify more with the Indigenous side of their identity, and yet does not ignore structural influences which have a share in constructing identity. *Developmental theory* explains better than the two arguments (*essentialism* and *Fluid identity*)the identity dynamics of Barry Barclay as,reflected in his films and writing while he moved from being considered as Pākeha, to choosing to live as Māori, but then balancing between his both sides.

This research observed the reflection of Barclay's Māori and Pākeha sides of identity in his films. This involved looking for literature on Māori issues such as: cultural and social displacement, Māori-Pākeha race relations, and the relation to land. It also involved issues such as: Pākeha anxiety connected both to identity and land (Mita, 1991). Immersing myself in both the literature and Barclay's films and writings enabled me to identify patterns of representation of Pākeha and Māori and their development and modification. A qualitative approach to the Māori side of Barry Barclay's identification enabled my subjective position, as a friend of him, enabled me to immerse myself in his work which was driving meto be attentive to the reflections of his both sides of ethnic identities in his work. The scholarship on Barclay is selective. Māori scholars mostly deal with his work and theory of Fourth Cinema only from the Māori point of view, the one he chose to identify with. However, they have not investigated the changes that occurred in his films in relation to his Pākeha side of identity.My attempt for attending to the personal dimension demanded for more information about the history race-relations (Māori and Pākeha) introduced to get the benefit of. The personal information was provided, though scarce in Barclay's writing, for interviews with him and accounts in secondary materials. Historical accounts of Māori activism implicitly shed light on the development of Māori-Pākeha race relations and Pākeha

sense of identity in reaction to Māori activism. In a way, Barclay seems to be a Māori cultural nationalist at the beginning of his Māori period and gradually withdraws from this position as Māori-Pākeha relation gets better, so that his Pākeha side enjoys a wide space in his last film, *The Kaipara Affair* (2005). In *The Kaipara Affair*, Pākeha play a significant role in working for the well-being of New Zealand society and pushing forward the need for applying Indigenous cultural practices.

Barry Barclay's long career can be looked at as revolving around one main idea: that New Zealand society can live according to the communal warmth of Māori society, the practices of protecting natural resources such as 'rahui'(discussed earlier in Chapter 8 and 9) and the like. Indigenous culture. It is the same journey that Barclay himself chose when he identified with his Māori side of identity. Although he was of both Pākeha and Māori mixed ethnic background, he chose to identify as Māori. This choice took him in the opposite direction to the official social policies employed in New Zealand society ever since Britain colonized Aotearoa in the early 19th century. The Indigenous people of Aotearoa had to be integrated into the settler society and adopt its cultural and social practices. There were points that attracted Barclay in Māori society and culture which he wanted the wider society to share with him; aspects of Māori culture which he expressed in his wish that New Zealand would benefit from Māori culture (Barclay, 2005). However, this was a matter that needed to go beyond the personal boundaries in order to be achieved.

This research tried to outline a narrative for Barry Barclay's film career from the outset of his Māori period, *Tangata Whenua* (1974) to *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) and observe the changes, that all the sections start focusing on the Māori side of Barclay's films. But the sections ultimately come to a resolution or a balance state, same as Barclay's identifications, as this thesis argues. The sections end with Pākehaappreciate and willingly promote Māori cultural practices. This was a career which was heading towards promoting Māori culture as an overarching culture for New Zealand society.

Since Māori society was socially and culturally damaged by colonization and its subsequent social policies and cultural displacements, Barclay had first to inform Māori people about their culture and this had to involve critical accounts of European culture. Those critical accounts included observations of how Māori had adopted and practices that belonged to Pākeha culture through colonizing cultural institutions such as education, church and etc. At this stage, in the early 1970s, direct expression of such criticism was not an easy matter to be accepted under assimilation social policy. Barclay expressed his commentaries on the elements of Pākeha culture embedded in Māori culture indirectly through disturbing the relation between the aural and visual. As Biculturalism was officially employed in mid 1980s and brought more freedom for Māori to put forward their concerns, Barclay was encouraged to discuss issues of central importance such as the relation between Māori and the land, their need for having control over their land, applying their cultural methods to their economy and having sovereignty over their cultural treasures. As he worked to increasingly express Māori issues Barclay experimented with how to articulate Māori social and cultural achievements: the achievements of individuals who resurrected their Māori identity and communities which exerted effort to regain their rights.

On the other hand, in order to get Pākeha engaged with Māori concerns and way of life, Barclay involved, in all of his films, Pākeha figures and characters who are passionate about Māori culture and society. In *Tangata Whenua* the Pākeha participants such as Michael King (conductor and writer) and others were in favor of the Māori way of life, in *Ngati* (1987) the Bennetts are an organic part of the Māori community. In *Te Rua* (1991) Europeans including Pākeha work with the group of young Māori for the return of Māori treasures. In addition, all of Barclay's Māori documentaries such us *Tangata Whenua*, *Te Urewera* (1987) and *The Kaipara Affair* (2005) include Pākeha include Pākeha journalists who work for the uncovering of Māori social and cultural concerns. On top of that, *The Kaipara Affair* features several Pākehawho are knowledgeable about Māori culture and who fight for the application of important Māori practices

to the environment. The positive Pākeha-Māori inter-racial relationship is set as an example and was one of the strongest reasons for choosing this community to make a film about. This community modifies and develops the way Barclay discusses the issue of belonging to the land. In this discussion, not only do Māori have a connection to the land, Pākeha also come to identify with it. The idea that Pākeha have a sense of identity-anxiety which concerned both Māori and Pākeha for a while, because of their lack of deep connection with the land, is updated in *The Kaipara Affair*. Pākeha also become active in Barclay's films in creating strong public opinion with regard to pressing national matters. This representation of Pākeha complicates the relation between Barclay's definition of Fourth Cinema and his own films practices, placing them somewhat in contradiction with his definition. The definition clearly considers Indigenous people as the exclusive controllers of their own images: as producers, participants and receptive of Fourth cinema. However, the Pākeha presence gave Barclay a chance to access interiority as against the deployment of exterior elements. I tried to prove that interiority is the essence that Barclay attempted to explore, but finally find it in the practical aspect of Māori culture. The deployment of exteriority which pervaded his previous films, is largely absent in *The Kaipara Affair* and this signals a large difference, or an achievement of some of Barclay's goals for Māori culture. Barclay's attraction to the Māori side of his identity is more a cultural matter than an ethnic one. And when a community such as the Kaipara community of activists becomes representative of Māori culture, Indigenous culture has the prospect of being retrieved. And this is what Barclay wished for; that Indigenous culture becomes a culture practiced again also by non-Indigenous people after thousands of years of invasions as he expresses in his article, "Celebrating Fourth Cinema" (2003).

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