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'To be one of the…'

(Re-) Imagining the 'Native' in Ethnotainment Programmes of Pacific 'Tribes'

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Date: 6 May 2021

Declaration of Authorship

I, Anita Purcell-Sjölund, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. I have clearly stated where I have consulted the work of others.

Signed:

Date: 6 May 2021

To my husband Peter for his curiosity, and to my parents Edward Lilomaiava Purcell and Teresa Ah Honi for teaching me to walk proud in not quite belonging and to enjoy being out on the edge.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank and acknowledge my supervisor Professor Marianne Franklin for her patience and guidance which included tough conversations to make me see my project through different perspectives. I would also like to thank her for her concern and help when it seems as if life would stop me from ever finishing this project.

I would also like to acknowledge the Media and Communication and Cultural Studies department, in particular Gareth Stanton, MPhil/PhD convenor of the department, who along with Marianne Franklin, understood my circumstances and provided the administrative support I needed to help me with my project.

I also acknowledge Professor Sean Cubit who encouraged me to apply for the doctoral programme at Goldsmiths and who gave me encouragement and added insight into my project.

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Abstract

'Going tribal' programmes are hybrids of documentary and reality television. I call these programmes ethnotainment which is a product of primitivism reality television. As a hybrid product, ethnotainment works in the liminal spaces of media. Within the post-colonial theoretical context, liminal spaces are ideological spaces in between designated identities, and processes of identity and self-hood are negotiated within these spaces. Post-colonial Pacific discourse often de-create and subvert coloniality through subaltern narratives, and they can be in liminal spaces. However, as already noted, 'going tribal' programmes are also in liminal spaces. Since some programmes feature colonised and post-colonial Pacific peoples, they can also be in the same liminal space as post-colonial Pacific discourse. In my research, I examine programmes of Euro-American adventurers travelling to remote locations to contact endangered peoples. Their aim is to live as 'one of the tribe'. These programmes are what I call transnational ethnotainment. I also discuss what I refer to as Pasifika ethnotainment. These are programmes produced by New Zealanders with Pacific Island backgrounds in former colonial centres in the Pacific such as New Zealand. The main theme is the journey to a cultural homeland. This dissertation considers issues regarding 1) What happens when an ethnotainment product participates in liminal spaces of post-colonial discourse? (2) How does this affect discourse subversion from the filmed indigenous groups?

Edgewalking is a concept contesting liminality and hybridity and, as this dissertation shows, the filmed indigenous groups can be seen to edgewalk the borders of their cultural and social contexts. As edgewalkers, these groups, as subjects and objects of the camera's lens, create subversive methods, despite not controlling the camera. The filmed groups control the presenter's perception of himself and of them by controlling access to their cultural cosmologies. This creates moments of ambiguity and ambivalence, despite minimalisation, through explicit editing. In this conceptual framework, analyses of a selection of ethnotainment programmes are done using an adaptation of a methodology from Linguistics called Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory. This adapted methodology is used to unpack how, in the final programme cut, these representations of Pacific peoples demonstrate a (re-)imagining of Pacific cultures. This process can be seen to be repeated in this ethnotainment genre, regardless of who the main protagonist is, or the documentary production values' claim to represent the indigenous voice.

Keywords: Transnational media, Pacific post-colonialism, Ethnotainment,
　　　　　Reality television, Documentary

List of Samoan, Māori, Anutan, Kombai, and Rotuman Terms.

Samoan

Fa'aaloalo	Respect.
Fa'asinomaga	A direct or right path.
Fa'a Palagi	'Way of white man'. Following Western lifestyle, culture, and values.
Fa'a Samoa	'Way of Samoa'. The Samoan culture.
Fāgogo	Samoan oral storytelling as well as an oral story.
'Ie toga	Ceremonial handwoven fine mat.
Loto malie	Satisfaction through learning and understanding.
Malu:	Female thigh *tatau*/tattoo comprising of geometric shapes each with their own meaning. When these shapes are combined in a *tatau*, the *malu* tells the story of the *tatau* wearer, and her link to family, land, clan, and village. The *malu* gives the wearer status and prestige.
Mamalu	Dignity.
Pasifika	Term refers to people with Pacific heritage and cultural backgrounds, and cultures.
Pe'a	Full body *tatau*/tattoo given to men receiving a chiefly title. This is a *tatau* from the rib cage down to the knees. The method is the hand-tap method. The *tatau* comprises of geometric symbols each with their own meaning and when combined on a tattoo tells the story of the person and his link and responsibility to family, land, clan, and village.
Pule	Authority.
Su'ifefiloi	Weaving technique for making ceremonial and common use mats. However, the weaving technique of weaving a mat is used to refer to a narrative model.
Tapu'e lagona ma le mafaufau	Enriched imagined and spiritual world.
Tapu	Sacred and taboo.
To'amalie	Reaching a point of knowing.
Vā	This refers to relational space determining Samoan relationships, both ancestral and living, one's place in the Samoan cosmology as well as one's place within the culture itself.
Mana	Honour, prestige.

Māori

Tangata Whenua	"People of the land" referring to the indigenous Māori as the first discovers and settlers of Aoteaora (Land of the Long White Cloud)/New Zealand.
Uenuku	Rainbow.

Anutan

Aropa	Love. Love is more than an emotion. It is a cultural tenet bound to giving and sharing with others to establish relationships. Love means compassion, charity, and so on.
Kainanga	Clan.
Pakaaropa	Sympathy producing, pitiable.
Patagoni	Patrilateral extended families.
Manu	Mana (honour, prestige).

Kombai/Korowai

Khombaye-lu	'We who sound' (Indonesian version: Kombai people).
Kolufo	'Upstream' (Indonesian version: Korowai people).
Mbürü	Clan territory.
Khakwa-rumu	Male cannibalistic witch.

Rotuman

Kainaga	Family /kin, Districts, clan.
'Ho'aga	Group of households (village).
Kau noho'ag	Individual household.

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Origins.

Transnational media networks and channels such as Discovery, the Travel Channel, and National Geographic Channels routinely (re-)broadcast programmes of extreme adventurers travelling to remote corners of the world to immerse themselves in exotic hostile environments, exotic traditions, or with so-called exotic, 'uncontacted' peoples. These types of programmes I refer to as going-tribal programmes, and they form a sub-genre known as primitivism television within the broader genre of reality television. Ball and Nozawa (2016) explain primitivism television as the joining of reality television with early travel and touristic narratives which become "a vehicle for...telling the viewers who consume it something about their own place in the world through visions of primitive Others" (Ball & Nozawa, 2016, p.243) communicated through media technologies.

In going-tribal programmes, the frontmen are adventurers, ex-military special forces officers, explorers, 'primitive' survivalists, and in recent variations, renown chefs. The forerunner of going-tribal programmes, and which prompted this research project, is Briton Bruce Parry. Parry is known for his *Tribes* television programme series in which he lives with various indigenous communities to 'be one of the tribe'. Another presenter who made his name primarily in wilderness survival is Canadian Les Stroud in programmes called *Survivorman*. Stroud extended his *Survivorman* brand by presenting a variation of Parry's concept in a series called *Survivorman: Before They're Gone*. A rising 'going-tribal' personality is Native American Indian Hazel Auden who is a biologist, educator, and primitive survivalist. One of his programmes series is called *Survive the Tribe* in which, like Parry and Stroud, he lives with indigenous groups to learn primitive skills to complete endurance tasks set by the host groups.

The origins of my research interest in the (re-)imagining of Pasifika[1] peoples in reality television is a deceptively simple question: is this real? My husband asked me this

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[1] Pasifika is an indigenisation of the term 'Pacific'. I use the term 'Pasifika' to refer to indigenous people in Pacific Island states such as Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, etc, immigrants from Pacific Island states to countries such as New Zealand, Australia, USA, etc, or those who identify with the Pacific Island states because of ancestry or heritage. Pasifika does not infer a single ethnicity, nationality, gender, or culture. The term is one of convenience used to encompass a diverse range of peoples from the Pacific. 'Pacific' is the name Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan gave to the world's largest ocean while circumnavigating the globe during the 16th century. Therefore, 'Pacific' is a Western label. In discussing Euro-American political, cultural, social, and economic activities in and ideologies of the region and its peoples, I use the term 'Pacific'.

question as he watched on the Discovery Channel a programme of ex-military special forces soldier-cum-explorer Bruce Parry 'going native' among the Kombai people in the Indonesian province of West Papua, in New Guinea island. In his programme, Parry lived with a Kombai family for four weeks. During that time, he dressed Kombai, ate what the Kombai ate, and participated in hunting and gathering activities. Parry had to prove himself in cultural and social activities for approval from community and family leaders to participate in a rite of passage for tribal membership. Parry seemed sincere in his desire to feel and experience being, in his words, 'one of the tribe'. Moving from the position of cultural outsider to cultural insider during his stay, Parry became an authoritative voice based on his first-hand 'authentic' and real-time experience of living and being indigenous.

Parry's programme of his living with the Kombai reminded me of the historical accounts of British navigator Captain James Cook and his Pacific expeditions during the 18th century. At first, this may seem random and unconnected; nonetheless, as I watched Parry's programme, I recognised echoes of narrative elements of Cook's expeditions in Parry's narrative of his experience. To exemplify this intertextuality, Cook charted unexplored territories which he later claimed in the name of the British Empire. Cook also discovered uncontacted peoples. In his programme of the Kombai, Parry could be a type of modern-day Cook. In his programme, he travels through uncharted territories (thereby implicitly mapping them) and discovers who he considers uncontacted peoples. Like Cook, Parry uses his position as a cultural outsider and insider (through contact experience) to document, observe, and comment on indigenous groups and their lifestyles. Cook claimed lands and peoples as part of the British Empire; Parry imaginatively claims indigenous peoples and their lands by presenting an uncontested narrative of his experience of tribal living. An interesting aspect of Parry's programme, and others that are similar, is that it blurs the narrative boundaries of subject and object creating ambiguity and fluidity in the identity of the cultural other and his/her narrative role.

1.2 Rationale & Questions

Going-tribal programmes are fluid in their narrative aims. The presenters experience cultures which they claim have remained unchanged over millennia. The presenters document endangered peoples on the edge of cultural survival by living as and

being 'one of the tribe'. In these programmes, the idea of 'being one of...' is immersion in something that is extreme, exotic, and supposedly untainted from modernity. The presenters, who by 'being one of...', tries to conform to whoever they encounter, but this is in the knowledge that such an effort is juxtaposed against their position as cultural outsider. As part of the narrative of going-tribal programmes, the presenters respect the environments, the histories and longevity of cultural traditions, and they respect the indigeneity of the filmed groups. Yet, the presenters are not above speculating on the future of the filmed groups and their cultures as well as perhaps criticising the cultures for being too closed off or exclusive.

These going-tribal programmes do not emphasise a return to Eden, rather they document the Janus nature of the beauty and harshness of the presenters' encounters with indigenous peoples. On one side is exoticism, strangeness, the extreme, and the grotesque. On the other side is wonder and awe of people living a simple uncomplicated and unmaterialistic life. At the same time, these programmes are entertaining, as the presenters document themselves surviving life as 'one of the tribe'. Thus, I refer to these examples and their variations as ethnotainment.

Ethnotainment programmes are entertaining due to 'real life' comedy of errors of the presenters surviving being tribal. However, these programmes also document indigenous cultures and groups through the presenters' participant observations, creating a superficial "resemblance to an ethnographic methodology" (Basu, 2008, p.99). Therefore, these programmes blend documentary genre elements with entertainment elements from reality television accentuating the theme of survival, which camouflage stereotypical tropes of indigenous peoples and recall the mimetic capital of colonialism. Literary scholar Stephan Greenblatt (1991) writes mimetic capital is:

> … accumulated, 'banked', as it were, in books, archives, collections, cultural, until such time as representations are called upon to generate new representations" (p.6).

The history of the Pacific region includes over 500 years of colonisation, creating a vast storehouse of colonial representations. Examples of colonial mimetic capital are maps, expedition journals, appropriated and recontextualised images of indigenous peoples, and cultural artefacts. Colonial mimetic capital enforces racial stereotypes of indigenous Pasifika peoples as, for example, childlike, savage, primitive, native, exotic, and bestial. These representations are juxtaposed against tropes of European, British, and American

nation building, civilisation, modernity, and progress. An example of these Western tropes is Captain James Cook who made three expeditions to the Pacific in which he mapped New Zealand, Australia, and the Pacific. Cook's expeditions to the Pacific immortalised him to legendary proportions. Edmond (1997) writes, "the European myth of Cook had begun in his lifetime, and it ramified after his death" (Edmond, 1997, p.40). According to Edmond, Cook was often compared to classical Greek or Roman figures of sacrificial gods or religious martyrs. He was also a symbol of "the liberal, humane values of the Enlightenment [and] the harbinger of the modern expansionist, commercial and scientific Europe" (ibid). In addition, Cook is a "Christian hero and apostate…a national, European, and imperial hero, a common man's hero, a woman writer's hero, [and] a founding hero…" (Edmond, 1997, p.51). Cook is a "floating signifier" (ibid) that could be signified many ways depending on the group claiming his name or those who are willing to follow in his wake. A consequence of Cook as a source of inspiration is that "new Cooks keep appearing over the horizon" (ibid). These modern-day Cooks are television extreme adventure/explorers, such as Briton Bruce Parry, who trek to hostile regions, encounter tribal peoples, and experience exotic cultures and customs in ethnotainment programmes. Pacific colonial discourse and its own mimetic capital, such as Cook, are products of original colonisation as well as producers through their ability to re-generate through those willing to reproduce them, for instance ethnotainment programmes.

Colonial tropes of the imagining of the Pacific are linked to the question prompting this research project: is everything in ethnotainment programmes real? Behind this question is an assumed level of exposure to colonial tropes which are innocuous in contemporary society. Examples are the paintings of Tahitian women by Gauguin or literary works from, for example, Robert Louis Stevenson and Herman Melville. A recent and popular example is Disney's animated film *Moana* (2016). A consequence of readily available stereotypes of the Pacific is that they become layman references about Pasifika peoples and cultures, particularly if these references claim authenticity, such as in the case of the film *Moana*[2]. These references become authoritative images that either show or are based on other authoritative images showing the so-called real Pacific.

The seemingly simple question 'is this real?' disguise conceptual problems. The term real is a relative and highly contextual term. Claims of the real in ethnotainment

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[2] Flores, T. (2016). 'Moana' Production Design Team Aimed for Island Authenticity. *Variety.* https://variety.com/2016/artisans/production/disney-moana-production-design-1201925147/

programmes are based on authenticity. The concept authentic poses further issues in that it is also relative and contextual. The question 'is this real?' illustrates a flawed circumlocution, as the term real is defined by authenticity as authenticity is defined by real. This circumlocution is the currency of ethnotainment programmes to heighten their entertainment value. The more entertaining they are, the more the demands for production, programming, distribution, broadcasting, re-broadcasting, and original product sales. In addition to this are spin-off programmes and their production, distribution, broadcasting, re-broadcasting, and spin-off product sales. Basically, primitivism sells.

Ethnotainment programmes are shaped by "conditions of modernity, particularly by the dictates of transnational capital, global audiences and the culture industries" (Pearson, 2013, p.22). Through their blend of documentary and reality television, ethnotainment programmes operate in the liminal space of transnational media. Ethnotainment programmes can also locate themselves in the liminal space of national and regional media which are not immune to the transnational flows of modernity.

In a post-colonial theoretical context, liminal space is a "space in-between designations of identity…[creating] cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha, 1994, p.5). Liminal space is a space of ambivalence, ambiguity, and the potential for subversion and change. Liminality prompts new meanings, social relations, and identities that challenge, disrupt, and subvert established or imposed meanings, identity, and relations. Because of this, many post-colonial Pasifika productions work in ideological liminal spaces. They draw upon oral histories, literature, fine arts, the performing arts, film, and television production to create and disseminate their own narratives. Examples, just to name a few, include Samoan filmmaker Tusi Tamasese, Japanese-Samoan fine artist Yuki Kihara, New Zealand Māori artist Lisa Reihana, Australian-Solomon Islands filmmaker Amie Batabilibasi, Tahitian writer Celestina Hitiura Vaite, and Samoan writer Sia Figiel. Pasifika cultural productions address colonial images by (re)discovering self and cultural heritage. Works by contemporary Pasifika artists, "distance themselves from romantic assumptions about paradisiacal primitives, asserting the modern quotidian context in which they live and work" (Pearson, 2013, p.24). Transnational and post-colonial literature scholar, Rob Wilson (1999) explains liminality involves decolonisation, critical negation, and seizing opportunities for self-expression and self-representation (pp.1-14).

However, ethnotainment programmes blend elements from documentary and reality television, and therefore can locate themselves in a liminal context. On one level ethnotainment programmes challenge the documentary's claim to authenticity and authority. These aspects can de-marginalises reality television as a frivolous form of entertainment. Thus, in ethnotainment programmes, reality television becomes educational while documentary-like elements become entertaining. On another level, since some ethnotainment programmes feature colonised, post-, and neo-colonised Pasifika peoples, these programmes can locate themselves in the same liminal discourse space as post-colonial Pasifika discourse. The ethnotainment presenters evince hybrid selves. They have their own cultures, but they arrive to Pasifika cultures (as defined by an indigenous Pasifika worldview) with the purpose of being one of a Pacific tribe through immersion and a rite of passage (the idea of Pacific tribe is couched within Euro-centric mimetic capital of the Pacific). The programme frontmen are subject presenters, but the process of 'being one of...' makes them recipient objects. From the perspective of the presenters, this process positions them as *outsider-insider*. However, the Pasifika groups, at first, regard the presenters as cultural and social outsiders*,* and at the end of their stay, the presenters, despite cultivated social familiarity are still cultural outsiders. This signifies the macro binary of *Pacific – Pasifika*.

Ethnotainment programmes are transnational media productions. They can also be regional or national productions. But they are all influenced in varying degrees by, as Pearson (2013) noted above, the demands of transnational flows of capital and culture. As genre-blended productions, ethnotainment programmes can locate themselves in a liminal discursive context that advocates multiplicity and encourages the potential of erasing the idea of singularity. Ethnotainment programmes are cultural productions, but they are not tied to any cultural framework; yet they inhabit a culturally specific discourse. They can prompt the creation of a mediaverse which is exclusive as they become the centre of information about indigenous groups.

How does a programme about tribal experiences and featuring Pasifika peoples impact Pasifika peoples' perceptions of self, let alone the imposed perceptions from an outsider wanting to be 'one of the tribe'? Are there opportunities of subversion by the filmed Pasifika groups? How is any form of subversion achieved? What is going on in these ethnotainment programmes?

1.3 Aims

Ethnotainment demonstrates a (re-)imagining of Pasifika cultures within Euro-American conceptions and constructions of Pacific cultures as defined by colonial discourse. This (re-)imagining on the narrative level is seemingly uncontested, lending itself to repetition on different media platforms such as social media, video sites, or international distribution networks, in other words, a self-contained mediaverse within the transnational mediascape. Indigenous Pasifika peoples are repeatedly and imaginatively colonised in contexts with no fixed cultures, borders, or time frames. Nevertheless, within that discourse, indigenous groups manipulate their cultural cosmologies (relational spatial world) to subvert this discourse through a strategy called edgewalking which in turn counters the presenters' own hybrid (re-)presentations. Edgewalking contests the genre-blending nature of these programmes as well as their position in the discourse context of liminality.

The concept of edgewalking will be discussed further in this paper, but in brief, American psychologist, Nina Boyd Krebs developed the concept of cultural edgewalking in the late 1990s. Based on a series of interviews of people with multiple ethnic and cultural contexts, Krebs notes that such people do not see themselves as cultural hybrids, rather their multiple cultures permit them to walk along the borders of the social, ethnic, and cultural contexts to which they belong. They acknowledge their cultural complexity and the benefits of such complexity while simultaneously engaging in mainstream society. Krebs (1999) explains edgewalkers do not shed one skin when they move from their cultures of origin to the mainstream and back. An edgewalker maintains continuity where he or she goes, walking on the edge in the same persona. Borders invite a perspective of crossing and of leaving a point to arrive at a destination, i.e., 'becoming'. Edgewalking does not imply this. To maintain the same persona or subjectivity is to adopt a position of 'being' rather than 'becoming'. Edgewalking implies walking on the borders of cultures and identities in a continuous movement back and forth to reach intersections that crisscross multiple cultures.

The filmed indigenous peoples belong to several cultural and social contexts, whether those contexts are indigenous or imposed by outside cultural interaction. These peoples demonstrate ease at being filmed indicating familiarity with modernity without compromising their cultural subjectivity. This contrasts the presenters who for the most part is in a state of 'becoming'. While the indigenous groups are their cultural selves (the

sense of being), the presenters have in-between cultural identities. As edgewalkers, the indigenous groups create innovative methods of subversion, despite not being in control of the camera. By controlling access to their cultural cosmologies (relational spatial world), the filmed indigenous groups control the presenters' perceptions of themselves and of the filmed groups. This creates filmic moments of ambiguity and ambivalence of the presenters' perceptions of themselves and of the indigenous groups, even if these moments are fragmented through editing. Ambiguity and ambivalence are rejections of the presenters' attempts to become 'one of the tribe'. In these programmes, presenters receive partial access to the indigenous groups' cultural knowledge which is akin to having no cultural knowledge.

1.4 Focus Programmes of Analysis

Ethnotainment is a product of the sub-genre of primitivism reality television within the broad category of reality television. The term ethnotainment acknowledges the incorporation of narrative elements from documentary and various reality television programmes to emphasise authority, authenticity, and entertainment. Contextualised within primitivism reality television, ethnotainment raises issues related to indigeneity, for example, tribalism or primitivism and modernity.

In my research project, I analyse ethnotainment programmes featuring Pasifika peoples and cultures. One group of ethnotainment programmes of focus originate from Europe, United States or Canada, and they are broadcast on transnational networks such as Discovery, National Geographic, and the Travel Channel. These programmes have the production backing of national broadcasters such as the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the distribution might of transnational media giants such as Discovery or National Geographic. Another group of ethnotainment programmes are those produced in the Pacific region, but in former colonial centres, such as New Zealand and Australia. This group of programmes I call Pasifika ethnotainment. This type of ethnotainment programme features Pasifika cultures in Pacific Island states, other than New Zealand or Australia. These ethnotainment programmes are first broadcast on national networks in countries of origin, and secondly in other Pacific nation states through their own national broadcasters, Pan-Pacific film festivals, limited film releases, and on specialised public

broadcasting channels. I chose a Pasifika ethnotainment programme produced in New Zealand by New Zealanders with Pasifika backgrounds or heritage.

I have also included a short documentary film. This short documentary is filmed and produced in the Pacific, more specifically the Indonesian province of West Papua, New Guinea Island. In comparison to Pacific countries such as New Zealand or Australia, national media agencies in smaller Pacific Island nations have less funding; therefore, media production in smaller island nations may receive financial assistance from regional and international aid agencies, and international charity organisations. The reason for the documentary's inclusion is to compare its filming techniques with those used in the programmes I regard as ethnotainment to examine the roles of the documentary's subject-object in comparison with those in the docu-reality programmes.

The first group of ethnotainment programmes is fronted by Briton Bruce Parry, former ex-special forces officer, extreme adventurer, and explorer. The programmes are:

- 'The Kombai, hunter-gatherers of the West Papua Jungle' from *Tribe, Series One* presented by Bruce Parry. DVD. (Parry, & Clay. 2005).
- 'Anuta, tiny island in the South Pacific' from *Tribe Series Three,* presented by Bruce Parry. DVD. (Derrick, Smith, Brandon, & Searle. 2007)

The following programme of focus illustrates the second type of ethnotainment mentioned above.

- *Selat se Rotuma - Passage to Rotuma* (Fuata, & Stehlin, 2011). Web, nzonscreen.com.

The last programme of focus in my research is a short documentary film of West Papuan hunter Leo Wambitman. Wambitman belongs to one of several endangered indigenous communities living in the Wasur Wetlands in the province of Merauke.

- *Last Hunter* (English Subtitle). 2013. Web. EngageMedia https://cinemata.org/view?m=UsFe73efc

In this sub-section, I presented the programmes of focus in this study as well as briefly discussed my idea of ethnotainment. Detailed descriptions of these programmes and ethnotainment will be discussed later in the chapter following the introduction.

1.5 Brief Summary of Analytical Method

Close analyses of key plot events from selected ethnotainment programmes and programmes from and by Pasifika peoples are conducted using an adapted version of a linguistic discourse and content analysis model called *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory* or SFDRST. More discussion about SFDRST will be provided later, but in summary, Janine Wildfeuer, researcher in multimodal and semiotic analysis of moving images, adapted the original analytical method of Segmented Discourse Representation Theory developed by professor of philosophy and linguist Nicholas Asher and researcher in computational linguistics, Alex Lascarides. Asher and Lascarides' model analyses oral communication to map the meaning-making processes a recipient uses to make sense of what he/she hears.

Wildfeuer adapted Asher and Lascarides model to include analysis of film discourse. Wildfeuer contends that film (and by extension moving images in general) has its own language in the form of film modes such as camera angles, sound, and so on. While she adapted Asher and Lascarides' model for the discourse analysis of film, the original objectives of their model are maintained in Wildfeuer's version. Wildfeuer is interested in the interface of meaning-making between spectator and film. Her objective is to understand how a person interprets a film. I use Wildfeuer's model to analyse the discourse interface between the filmed subject and objects. My purpose of using Wildfeuer's model is to identify moments of subversion of the presenters' media and cultural position of liminality as well as moments of edgewalking of the filmed groups. I am interested in the socio and cultural interactions between the filmed subjects and objects within the story world of the programmes and how that is mirrored or contested in the filmed groups' socio-cultural cosmologies.

After close content analyses, the findings are placed within the socio-cultural frameworks of the filmed groups. To do this, I draw upon anthropological studies as well as other areas such as Indigenous and Pacific Studies. These place the programmes in the groups' cultures as opposed to the objectives of the programmes which recontextualises the indigenous cultures into the media cultures of the programmes and presenters.

1.6 Position as a New Zealander-Pasifika Researcher

My research deals with Pasifika cultures, and I contemplate my position as a New Zealand-Pasifika person and researcher. Finding my position as a researcher begins with understanding my own cultural heritage and roots, how they inform and impact my work, as well as how I deal with such impacts.

My parents immigrated from the Pacific Island nation of Western Samoa to New Zealand during the 1950s, and I was born and raised in New Zealand. Therefore, I am referred to as a New Zealand-born Samoan. As a first-generation New Zealand-Samoan, I grew up in a middle-sized town of which the population was either New Zealand-Pakeha (European/foreigner/white) or the indigenous New Zealand –Māori. I was not raised in the Samoan culture or *Fa'a Samoa,* nor was I taught the Samoan language. I was raised *Fa'a Palagi* (the way of the white man), i.e., a New Zealander. I learned the Samoan culture during my university undergraduate years. As a New Zealander of Samoan descent, I had to find a way to fit into both the New Zealand and Samoan socio-cultural contexts. This culture-seeking position is felt by many first-generation New Zealanders with Pasifika backgrounds, as reflected by Pasifika academic Melanie Anae where she writes:

> I am a Samoan – but not a Samoan
> To my aiga [family, relatives] in Samoa, I am a palagi [foreigner]
> I am a New Zealander – but not a New Zealander
> To New Zealanders, I am a bloody coconut, at worst
> A Pacific Islander, at best,
> To my Samoan parents, I am their child.

Anae's poem is published on the online *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* in a section called 'New Zealand Peoples, Samoans'. Like Anae, I have been called the same terms she describes. Anae's poem communicates the issues of 'in-between' for New Zealand-Pasifika peoples. To be 'in-between' cultures is to be in a liminal space. Liminality is a space in which a third culture is borne from the clash of cultures; that third culture is a hybrid culture. The problem for New Zealand-born Pasifika people such as Anae is that hybridity infers half-identity and culture, which according to the poem is no culture or identity.

Albert Wendt is a leading figure in Pacific post-colonialism. Born in Samoa and educated in New Zealand, Wendt is a prominent Pasifika novelist and academic. In an essay, called 'Tatauing Post-Colonial Body' (referencing the full body *pe'a* tattoo for

Samoan men, and the thigh-to-knee *malu* tattoo for Samoan women), Wendt criticises the concept of hybridity.

> You'll notice I use the terms blend and new development and avoid hybrid, a term which sprouts prolifically in a lot of papers. Why? Because it is of that outmoded body of colonial theories to do with race, wherein if you were not pure Caucasian or "full-blooded" Samoan or what-have-you, you were called "half-caste", "quadroon", "mixed-race", "coloured", "a clever part-Māori" and inferior…Hybrid, no matter how theorists, like Homi Bhabha, have tried to make it post-colonial, still smacks of racist colonial!" (Wendt, 1999, p.411).

Wendt heavily criticises the concept of hybridity which confirms racial prejudices of colonialism, and to place such a concept within post-colonial discourse and contexts diminishes or limits any attempt to be post or beyond, in other words to be post-colonial. Hybridity is a step backwards, as it creates identity dilemmas of 'being' based on colonial precepts.

Wendt uses the Samoan *tatau* as a metaphor for post-colonial discourse, but it is also a fitting metaphor for identity. The *tatau* is a person's narrative of becoming and finally being Samoan. The name Samoa means sacred centre; thus, the Samoan identity is the sacred centre of being. Samoa is also the sacred cultural centre or *Vā* in which Samoans belong. The last line of Anae's poem speaks of completeness and satisfaction or *loto malie* within a private and intimate relational space within the *Vā*. That relational space is represented by the parent-child relationship. The last line dismisses hybridity of New Zealand and Samoan linked by a hyphen, as a symbol of in-betweenness. The tone of Anae's poem suggests the hyphen is a symbol of no identity.

Cultural and social mobility of Pasifika people subvert and challenge Pacific identity theories cementing three distinct groups: those born in the islands, those born in New Zealand, and those with dual (New Zealand and Pasifika) citizenship (Mulitao-Lauata as cited in Gray, 2001). I belong to the second group. These are categories of exclusion as they ignore the cultural depth of identity. Tupuola notes that second and third generation Pasifika women born in New Zealand and of Samoan descent, "refuted the ethnic label 'New Zealand-born Samoan', arguing it dangerously essentialised and homogenised youth of Samoan ancestry in New Zealand" (Tupuola, 2004, p.88). Tupuola explains such people used their multi-racial backgrounds to weave "within and between multiple cultures with relative ease" (ibid). Tupuola (2004) refers to these young women

as edgewalkers. Edgewalkers do not sacrifice their self-defined subjectivity. They walk the borders of their multiple social contexts in the same persona.

Like the women Tupuola interviewed in her study, I approach this study from various cultural and social contexts. To research and write about cultures from my home region necessitates a position requiring, a "weav[ing] within and between [my] multiple cultures [and social contexts]" (Tupuola, 2004, p.88). In Samoan narratology, *su'ifefiloi*[3] is to weave various perspectives and narratives to form a complete narrative in which patterns emerge, and where intersections and disconnections of the various narrative strands are made visible (Galea'i, 2005). In my *su'ifefiloi*, in putting together this research narrative, I am a research edgewalker.

To summarise the concept of a research edgewalker, Cariou in his discussion of Indigenous poetics in Canada writes that edgewalking is "someone who travels along boundaries, making them visible again and providing a necessary window across them". Cariou notes that edgewalking has the "capacity to shake up the divisive mindset that is endemic in our class-inflected and still-colonized world… it can do this by holding different realities side by side: by juxtaposing the received mainstream perception of colonial reality with a perception that is rooted in [marginalised]experience." (Cariou, 2014, pp.32-33).

1.7 Thesis Structure

Chapter two introduces the Pasifika cultures, the presenters, and provides plot overviews of focus programmes in this study. Early provision of background information aids in following references I make regarding programme events and participants in the theoretical and methods chapters that follow. Chapter three reviews the context and theoretical principles guiding this project. Presented are the media contexts of this project's focus programmes along with an exploration of the concepts of representation and performativity. The phenomenology of the camera and its role in the representation and performativity of self and culture are also given. To contextualise the narratives of the chosen focus programmes, colonialism and post-colonialism are examined to introduce the

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[3] *Su'ifefiloi* a compound word, *su'i*, means to sew or to weave and *fefiloi* = mixed. The term describes the weaving of strips of pandanus leaves to make ceremonial fine mats as well as other types of mats used for sleeping etc.

concept of edgewalking. Chapter four is a discussion of the methodology I use to analyse my focus programmes. I adapt and use a linguistic method called *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory* (SFDRST). In chapter four, I define the terms I use in my analyses, as well as explain why I chose to adapt and use a linguistic model based in structural functionalism. Chapters five to eight deal with analysing key plot events in this study's focus programmes. Finally, chapter nine discusses the discoveries uncovered in the programmes' analyses. This chapter discusses the implications of this project, namely what does it all mean, and does it really matter?

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2. Introducing the Programmes and Participants

Introductions are acts of acknowledgement, recognition, invitation, and the creation of expectations (Durante, 1997). The characteristics of introductions describe the purpose of this chapter which is to introduce the focus programmes of study and the filmed participants. I present the cultural and geographical contexts of the filmed Pasifika peoples, short biographies of the presenters as well as synopses of the programmes' plots. As I discuss and refer to Pasifika peoples and specific events in the focus programmes, introducing the cultures and programmes at this stage provides background information to my discussions and analyses. In addition, introducing the programmes and filmed participants invites and establishes a framework of expectations of what is to follow.

2.1 Ethnotainment and the Focus Programmes

As previously mentioned in chapter 1, ethnotainment is a product of the sub-genre of primitivism reality television within the main genre of reality television. The idea of ethnotainment will be discussed in more depth in chapter 4, when I present the theoretical and ideological strands that inform my research project. As a reminder, my project's focus programmes demonstrate different forms of ethnotainment, except for one. The first form of ethnotainment are programmes originating from Europe, United States or Canada; they are broadcast on transnational networks, have the backing of national broadcasters, and are distributed by transnational media giants. Another form of ethnotainment are programmes produced in the Pacific region, but in former colonial centres, such as New Zealand and Australia. This form of ethnotainment I call Pasifika ethnotainment. I focus on a programme produced and presented by New Zealanders with Pasifika heritage. In Pasifika ethnotainment programmes, the presenters travel to their cultural and parents' homelands. The last programme I discuss is a short documentary film produced and featuring indigenous Pasifika peoples living in Pacific Island states, other than New Zealand and Australia.

2.1.1 Transnational Ethnotainment, Parry's *Tribe*: Kombai and Anuta

These programmes fall within the boundary of ethnographic documentary and reality television. Parry refers to himself as an adventure-explorer, and outside these

programmes he is a spokesperson for indigenous issues. However, he is a television presenter as his desire is to be one of the tribe, which from a spectator's point-of-view is entertaining to watch.

Parry's *Tribe* programme series (of which there are three) were made from 2005 – 2007, but he is still riding on the success of these programmes, and he has followers who still refer to his programmes, evincing the lasting power of the image of the representation of the Pasifika peoples in the programmes. I consider Parry a forerunner of these 'going tribal' programmes. Since *Tribe,* variations of his concept are created and broadcast.

Parry is still travelling the world, living with indigenous peoples, and making independent films about his experiences with them. A recent production is a film called *Tawai. A Voice from the Forest* (2018) which is described as an odyssey into how indigenous people relate to nature and how that shapes human lives. In 2020, Parry participated in a Q&A session about work. In the interview, he discussed his experiences in making the *Tribe* programme series. The *Tribe* programme series had the backing of the BBC, and they were, and still are, distributed by transnational media giants such as Discovery. After making a five-part programme series about indigenous peoples in the Arctic circle in 2011, Parry left the BBC to pursue a career as an independent filmmaker. Parry said much of what was edited out or left in his *Tribe* programmes were dictated by the programming desires of television networks. After time spent as an independent filmmaker, Parry admitted that his leaving the BBC as a bit naive. He says,

> There is power to being in that industry, in the institution. And you get to speak to a lot more people than you do if you make your own film...The medium of television didn't allow for the deeper aspects for what I was learning to really come across. What I was really learning was about this connection to nature like it was a spiritual thing...whenever I proposed those ideas to the TV executives, they would say listen... we can't do that (Parry, 2020, 00:06.42 -00:07:30)[4].

Later in the interview and in the context of the worldviews and narratives of indigenous peoples, Parry exclaims that there are power in narratives. This is relevant in his *Tribe* programmes which not only set up his career, but they also establish tropes concerning the so-called natural man and the idealism of an egalitarian tribal lifestyle and connection to nature. In the quotation above, Parry acknowledges the power of the media institution;

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[4] Medicine Festival (2020, July 8). *Tawai Q & A with Bruce Parry with George Barker* [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/medicinefestival/videos/2860022110909349

however, the price of that power is the control of the institution and television executives who dictate programme content. Now that the programming climate has changed to reflect issues personal to Parry, such as climate change, he is considering a return to the BBC.

Parry's *Tribe* programmes exemplify genericism of his television format and concept. The comment by Parry above regarding his *Tribe* programmes indicates the political economy of a programme concept and the impact of uniformity of format, plot, and narrative. Parry's *Tribe* programmes are examples of programmes with high export value. Therefore, in this context, I regard Parry's programmes as transnational ethnotainment.

Parry's programme episode 'The Kombai, hunters-gathers of the West Papua Jungle' from *Tribe, Series One* begins with a prologue. It starts with images of him sitting on a plane looking out the window to the landscape below. A voiceover declares that he is flying over New Guinea Island covered in impenetrable mountains, thick jungle, and malaria infested swamps. This prologue comprises of a montage of him trekking through the jungle and meeting different Kombai groups. Through a voiceover, Parry explains he will stay with the Kombai, a people famed for cannibalism. He wants to know what makes a person eat another person and whether it is still practiced. Following the prologue are the opening credits, which is a montage of his various expeditions and a voiceover explaining who he is as well as his goal to know what it would be like to be one of the tribe.

The plot of Kombai episode begins with Parry sitting on a canoe sailing upriver to meet a fleet of canoes of the Asmat people, famed for head-hunting. After his visit with the Asmat, Parry flies into the interior of West Papua, and he arrives at a Christian outpost called Wanggamalo inhabited by 'clothed' Kombai (converted Christians). He explains that Wanggamalo is the last sign of civilisation and that he will be venturing into uncharted territory.

After a short stay to stock up on supplies, Parry, his crew, Kombai pack guides and translator, trek through the jungle interior where they encounter threatening warriors from a 'tree' Kombai clan living a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, and who live in tree houses. He offers them cigarettes as a sign of peace. The 'tree' Kombai take Parry to meet their elders but only after he strips naked. Parry and his entourage continue their journey deeper into the jungle, where they encounter warriors from another 'tree' Kombai clan. This time, their reception is more hostile than the first 'tree' Kombai men. After appeasing them with cigarettes, they help Parry contact another Kombai clan to host him. Again, Parry treks

through dense jungle to eventually meet his host 'tree' Kombai clan. The prologue, opening credits, and Parry's interaction with the Asmat, and three Kombai groups take 17 minutes of the programme.

Parry's contact with the men of the host group is also hostile. After giving them cigarettes, Parry is accepted by the clan. During his stay, Parry goes pig hunting, learns dam fishing, as well as make sago and gather food such as grubs with the women. For the most part, Parry fails at the hunting and fishing activities, and he finds it difficult to keep up with the men, women, and children on hunting and gathering trips. He remarks that they see him as a small child, and he is the butt of their jokes and pranks. One such prank is their misleading Parry about using grubs to clean their ears. In other events, the men tell stories of cannibalism. In the climax of the programme, Parry participates in a rite of passage in which they first dress him as a Kombai man, for instance, they pierce his nose with sago thorns. The next step is genital inversion. He is reluctant about this second process. He tries it, but he is unable to complete the process.

In Parry's programme of the Anutans, the opening is a prologue of Parry sitting in a catamaran in the middle of the Pacific on his way to Anuta. The prologue is a montage of him looking at navigation maps and reading books about British exploration to the Pacific. Some of these images in the montage are pictures of traditional Polynesian canoes, half naked Polynesian women on white beaches, and Captain James Cook. In the prologue, Parry comments he has never felt so isolated as there is nothing around him. The theme of this programme is the Anutan concept of *aropa,* which Parry translates as being one with nature and having compassion for others. Parry wants to know what it is like to live on one of the remotest places on earth. Following this prologue are the opening credits. The opening credits consist of a montage of his various expeditions and a voiceover explaining who he is and his goal to be one of the tribe.

The plot of the Anutan programme episode begins with Parry sitting in a canoe being paddled ashore by Anutan men. As he steps ashore, he is met by Anutan children speaking fluent English to him. As a visitor, Parry greets every single person on the island – all 200 of them. He notices their open warmth and friendly smiles, and declares he is on paradise. The Anutans dress Parry in ceremonial clothing and paint him with turmeric paste. Then he is taken on a tour of the island, after which the Anutans hold welcome festivities for Parry. Demonstrating *aropa,* food from the festivities and gifts Parry brings to the island are equally divided among the Anutans families.

The men from Parry's host family take him on a deep-sea fishing trip where they teach him an unusual technique of fishing. He fails to catch anything; nonetheless, the men administer to Parry a rite to mark a man's first fishing trip. In this rite, the men wash Parry with warm water and paint him with turmeric. Other activities in which Parry participates are night bird hunting, and night spear fishing. In the latter, he lasts a few minutes before accidently landing on a sea urchin forcing him withdraw from the fishing activity. In another event, Parry spends time with the Anutan women who gather on the beach to wash the turmeric harvest - a women only activity. To farewell Parry, the Anutans dress him in traditional clothing and paint him with turmeric. Anutans gather on the beach where they sing and dance. Suddenly, the Anutans begin wailing and crying loudly. This is unexpected from a people who, according to Parry, are softly spoken, shy, and always with a genuine smile on their faces. Parry, caught up in this emotion, begins to cry himself.

A side theme is the sustainability of Anutan life in isolation. As requested by the Anutans, Parry brings with him a shortwave radio to replace a broken-down radio on the island. In the programme, the new radio is used to contact other outlier islands for information about one fisherman missing at sea. Also Parry frequently checks on a fisherman who is feverous from a badly infected leg. Because of the lack of medicines, Parry gives the fisherman penicillin from his own medical supplies. In addition, Parry notices economic inequality among the Anutans, as some make money by selling shark fins. He notes, Anutans may equally share resources such as food and labour as part of *aropa*, but not money.

2.1.2 Pasifika Ethnotainment: Ngaire Fuata's *Selat se Rotuma* (Passage to Rotuma)

With my initial aim of focussing on narrative dynamics between Parry and the film indigenous communities, I analyse, for comparative discourse analysis, a similar type of programme featuring someone with a Pasifika background living among Pasifika people.

To choose a Pasifika programme, the presenter had to be a type of outsider on a journey to the Pacific. Given the theoretical and conceptual ideologies framing my project, the presenter had to come from a former colonial centre, as Parry comes from a former colonising nation. As one from living in a former colonial centre, the presenter would have

limited, broad, or even no knowledge of the culture he/she would encounter. In addition, the programme had to have a similar (as close to) plot structure as those in Parry's programmes. In other words, the programme replicated the generic format of a blend of ethno-documentary and reality television. Choosing a suitable programme is based on the criteria of narrative and plot similarities as well as thematic and conceptual likenesses and how they are developed.

New Zealand-Pasifika peoples' practices and knowledge of their Pasifika cultures and heritages vary. For example, regarding New Zealanders with Samoan heritage, Gray (2001) notes many Samoans born and raised in destination immigration countries may not have visited Samoa, and they may have limited or no knowledge of the Samoan language. Her comments are related specifically to New Zealand-Samoans, but they can be applied to many New Zealanders with a Pasifika heritage. Fijian essayist, writer, and academic Subramani (2001) explains that seeking connections among diasporic communities who have shifted away from island experiences is normal. Often cultural production from emigrant Islanders and from children of immigrants contain "key elements... [of] expatriation, collective memory, dreams of ancestral home, visions of return, and self-definition in terms of a lost home" (Subramani, 2001, p.155). One example are the so-called 'sons-and-daughters-for-the-return-home' television programmes. These programmes showcase prominent New Zealanders whose parents are immigrant Pasifika. These New Zealand-Pasifika go on pilgrimage to their parents' island homelands to experience their cultural heritages. Such journeys are often based on an imaginary sense of a cultural homeland in which cultures there are utopian practices. Such an assumption demonstrates a warning by Subramani in which he states discourse narrative or any cultural production romanticising the sense of 'home' are often "cosy in Eurocentric discourses – living joyfully in contemporary postmodernism, for example...there is much in the various postmodern outlooks that is seductive: freedom from authoritarian constraints, free flow of ideas, opportunities for travel, for readings and for visits" (Subramani, 2001, p.155). Subramani's point emphasise that for the most part New Zealand-Pasifika are travellers who arrive to their cultural homelands with a New Zealand-based knowledge of his/her cultural heritage. The consequence is immersion into an unfamiliar cultural world in which their perception and practice of Pasifika cultures in New Zealand is not the same as cultures in the islands.

Parry's physical journeys to remote parts of the world is a conceptual journey of self as his goal is 'to be one of the tribe'. For a New Zealand-Pasifika person, the journey to 'home' is often a first-time trip, but it is also a conceptual journey into understanding the Pasifika side of identity. Through the lens of being 'Kiwi-with-brown-skin', the experience is to be 'one of ...', in other words to live in the islands as an islander. It is about experiencing the essence of Pasifika as Pasifika. However, these cultural journeys (both physically and conceptually) are framed within the Eurocentric position of being New Zealand born. This position is no different to Parry's who enters a cultural and social world of the indigenous within the frame of his being a British television presenter. These Eurocentric lenses affect their interactions with the indigenous contexts in which they find themselves.

I chose Fuata's programme because of the development of her cultural identity and sense of self, which is a hybrid of many cultural selves. Her 'English-Dutch-thought-I-was-Māori-but-am-Rotuman' path to her chosen subjectivity of New Zealand-Pasifika or New Zealand-Rotuman (she uses both terms) is an interesting backstory to her journey to Rotuma. Parry by his goal of being 'one of the tribe' develops a programme subjectivity of becoming-being (one of...), modern-tribal, or subject-object. Fuata's programme subjectivity is more complex. She asserts her subjectivity as New Zealand-Rotuman, yet in her travels to Rotuma, she adopts the position of ' I am Rotuman'. Her journey to Rotuma is about going 'home' (despite never been there before). She is in the position of 'being-to-becoming'. To clarify, her trip to Rotuma is to confirm her self-defined sense of Rotuman.

The plot of Fuata's programme is conceptually like the plots in Parry's programmes. Both presenters experience long, arduous journeys to their destinations. Both are unfamiliar with the lands they travel to. They have never met their host families. There is the sense of anticipation with the first arrival, first meetings with their hosts, first cultural experiences, a ritual of acceptance or welcome, and a sense of coming into a perspective about their identity, in other words being part of something. In Parry's case, it is literal; in Fuata's case, it is ideological, yet both develop their aims using similar processes. The other aspect is that her programme about her journey and of the Rotuman culture is a visual synopsis of a complex culture palatable for a pan-Pasifika and New Zealand audience. This is like Parry's programmes in which he summarises complex indigenous cultures for a transnational audience. Thus, based on the discussion above, I assume a position arguing that Fuata's programme is a Pasifika version of ethnotainment.

Selat se Rotuma - Passage to Rotuma is produced in New Zealand. It is filmed in New Zealand and on the Polynesian outlier of Rotuma within the Republic of Fiji, which is part of Melanesia. The programme is about New Zealand-Pasifika Ngaire Fuata's trip to her father's homeland of Rotuma. *Selat se Rotuma* can be accessed on nzonscreen.com where it is divided into four parts. In the programme format presented on nzonscreen.com, a fade to black screen and a fade-in of a scene marks the end of one part and the beginning of another.

Part One is 00:09:23 long, and it opens with a short prologue of the presenter, Ngaire Fuata, who is on a boat looking out to sea and seeing an island on the horizon. Her voiceover says, "I always dreamed of going there one day" (00:00:00- 00:00:05). At the end of the prologue she states, "I am Ngaire Fuata and this is my story." (00:00:21- 00:00:32). The programme's plot begins with a fast cross fade into a baby photo of Fuata. For the next five minutes, Fuata's childhood, her former career as a pop singer, career as a television producer, and role as mother to eight-year-old Ruby are given. Also, her father's own background is presented. Their stories are told through Fuata's voiceover, montage of family photos, shots of her father (who is in hospital), and interview snippets from her parents. The rest of part one is Fuata and Ruby's journey from New Zealand to Nadi in Fiji, and from Nadi to Fiji's capital city of Suva. At Suva, they stay at an upmarket hotel, and shop for supplies.

Part two (00:08:21) is the ferry trip to Rotuma. In Suva, Fuata and Ruby board an inter-island ferry to Rotuma and are stressed about their luggage. Family members going to Rotuma help them orientate their way through the ferry and find a place to sleep, as there are no cabins. This part is about the stress and discomfort Fuata and Ruby experience on the ferry as the ferry has no air conditioning, no beds, and limited facilities. In this part, Fuata comments on the conditions of the trip. She also does on-the-spot interviews with passengers returning to Rotuma. The climax of this part is Fuata seeing Rotuma for the first time.

Part three is 00:09:46 long. This part begins with a fade-in of a shot of the ferry finally arriving at Rotuma's Oinafa Wharf. Fuata and Ruby are greeted by her father's older brother who takes them to his home. As soon as they arrive, they are visited by a *fara* group, as they arrived in the middle of the *fara* season. During December and January, groups from different villages go to every house to sing and dance for the families. In return, the entertained families shower the singers with talcum powder and

perfume and give them food. The climax of part three is the *mamasa* celebrations. The *mamasa* is a traditional welcome and feast for new visitors.

Part four is 00:17:48 long. This part begins with Fuata and Ruby going to a church service, as it is Christmas day. After shots of the service is a montage of family members preparing the Christmas Day feast. A voiceover from Fuata explains that in Rotuma, Christmas presents come in the form of food, family, and religion. In part four, Fuata meets with the elders of her family who explain her genealogy, and she is taken to a grave site to see her ancestors' graves. In addition, Fuata and Ruby join *fara* singers from her family's village. The last section of part four is a farewell feast for Fuata and Ruby as they come to the end of their three-week visit to Rotuma. At 00:11:03 into part four, Fuata and Ruby leave Rotuma and head back to New Zealand. In New Zealand, Fuata visits her family in her hometown of Whakatane. She shows her father her footage of Rotuma and video messages his family sent him. Shots of Rotuma are shown while a voiceover from her father expresses the importance of knowing one's roots and identity. Fuata ends this segment by stating she has always been proud of being Rotuman, and after her visit to Rotuma, she has felt that she has earned that pride. She feels culturally enriched. At 00:16:55 of part four, the programme ends with a montage of Rotuman people, their lifestyles, and of Fuata and Ruby. This montage is accompanied by a light pop song.

2.1.3 Pasifika Documentary: *The Last Hunter*, featuring Leo Wambitman

The last programme of focus in my research is a short documentary film of West Papuan hunter Leo Wambitman. The length of this programme is 00:08:28. This programme is produced and directed by and features indigenous West Papuans.

The opening credits is a medium closeup of the profile of a man preparing long spears. He is standing in waist-high grass in a savanna plain. Guitar music is fades in as the camera follows this man walking through a lush green environment. The opening scene is a montage of extreme long shots of the man and his small pack of dogs walking through waist high grass or tracking shots following the man walking through grassy marshland. A stationary camera films a long shot of the man and his dog walking across the screen setting the scene for a fade-in of the programme's title *Pembrur Terakhir* (The Last Hunter). A crossfade from black screen to text identifies the man as Leo Wambitman who lives in Yanggandur village inside Wasur National Park in Merauke.

The text-on-black-screen fades out to an extreme long shot looking up at a canopy of trees. At this stage, the environment in which Wambitman is hunting is introduced through landscape shots of the park's ecodiversity. "Roughly 70% of the park is made up of savanna territories, grassy plains, swamp, and monsoon forests, as well as coastal and bamboo forests" (savingwetlands.org)[5]. At 00:01:04, the landscape shots are disrupted by a green metal sign stating, "Wasur National Park. It doesn't belong to me, it doesn't belong to you, it belongs to us". (English subtitle translation). This shot fades out to text explaining the background of Wasur National Park, which was opened in 1990. Background text states the park was established to promote ecotourism to the region and for the welfare of the human population.

The story of Wambitman begins at 00:01:36 in which a tracking shot follows him as he hunts for prey. Most of the shots of Wambitman are of him doing various activities such as looking for prey in the park and talking to the camera either on his hunting trips or at his home. Other activities include Wambitman in a forest swamp logging wood which he sells to earn money. Wambitman is the only person speaking in the documentary. In his comments, he is saddened by the lack of animal life and his inability to provide for his family through sustainable hunting. The reason for the loss of animal life is poaching by Indonesian soldiers.

Shots of the park, Wambitman in the park as well as him sitting on the porch of his house are used to emphasise key points in his description of his and the park's current situation. The film uses screen text to provide background information about the park's nationalisation as a reserve and of the indigenous peoples who live inside the park. For example, some of the screen texts explain that the Kanume, Marind, Marori, and Yei peoples, who live in the park, use local knowledge to live in harmony with the environment.

This programme is directed by West Papuan filmmaker Urbanus Kiaf. Kiaf is an active member of Papuan Voices which is "a video advocacy initiative working with Papuan activists to more effectively tell their stories to the world" (papuanvoices.net)[6]. This organisation has shown its films in Indonesia, Malaysia, USA, Australia, and Switzerland. In addition to Papuan Voices, a co-producer is EngageMedia.org. Engage Media is a non-profit media and technology organisation which "uses the power of video,

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[5] https://www.savingwetlands.com/wetland-restoration/the-wasur-national-park/
[6] https://papuanvoices.net/about

the Internet, and open technologies to create social and environmental change (EngageMedia.org)[7]. It is an initiative from filmmakers, journalists, information technology specialists, and social movements. They produce films and post them on their website as well as hold screenings through their international partners such as various universities, and other social, cultural, and indigenous rights groups.

This programme is not ethnotainment, but I include this programme in my study as a comparative example to the programmes I identify as ethnotainment. I am interested in how Pasifika peoples are represented in this programme in comparison to the representation and presentation of Pasifika peoples in the Parry or Fuata programmes. I am also interested in the interplay of subject-object and the fluidity of those identities. One question of interest with this programme is whether the role of Wambitman as subject is as clear-cut as assumed in this programme.

2.2 The Filmed Indigenous Pasifika Peoples

2.2.1. The Anutans of Solomon Islands

The island of Anuta was first colonised around 950 B.C. by a West Polynesian population. It is 0.4 square kilometres in size and lies in the extreme east of the Melanesian archipelago of Solomon Islands (See Figure 1). The nearest island to Anuta is an uninhabited island the Anutans called Patutaka. The closest inhabited island at 112 kilometres away is another Polynesian outlier in Solomon Islands called Tikopia.

The first recorded sighting of Anuta was in 1791 by the HMS Pandora led by Captain Edward Edwards, who was looking for HMS Bounty mutineers. The first European to set foot on Anuta was Captain Albert Markham of the HMS Rosario. Anuta was incorporated into the British Solomon Islands Protectorate in 1899[8]. The Anutan population is around 200 people divided into 19 units or *patagoni* that are "patrilateral extended families" (Feinberg, 1979, p.327).

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[7] https://engagemedia.org/about/
[8] Solomon Islands Historical Encyclopedia 1893 – 1978
   https://www.solomonencyclopaedia.net/biogs/E000010b.htm

Figure 1 Map of Central Pacific showing Anuta's relation to other island groups.
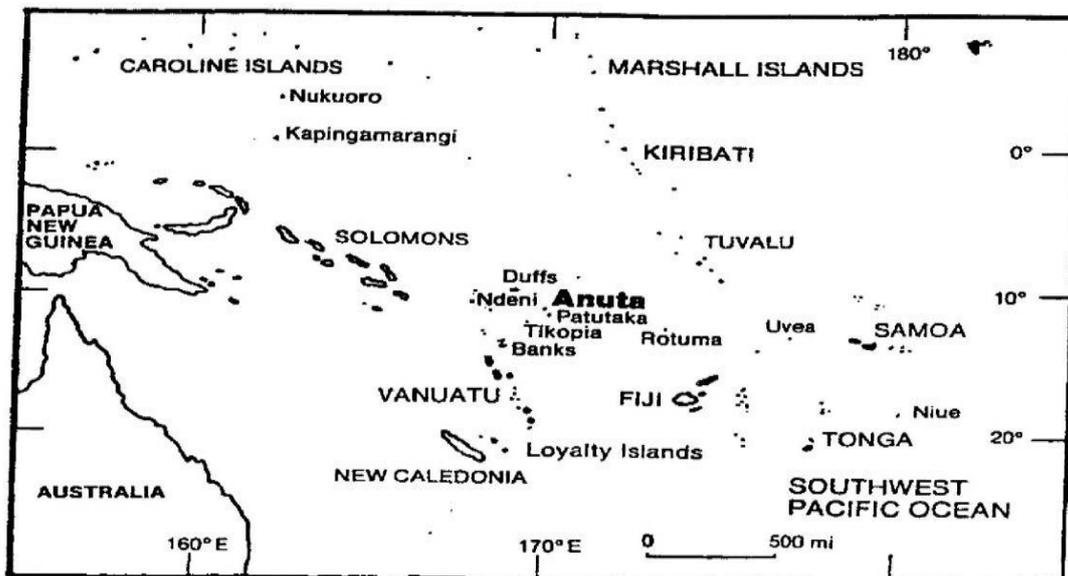
Anthropologist Richard Feinberg first went to Anuta in 1972, where he spent 14 months learning about their social organisations and kinship structures. He learnt the language, and he became interested in their sea navigation and canoe building skills. Since his first visit, Feinberg's relationship with Anuta and the Anutans spanned 25 years. Feinberg (1988) notes three levels of Anutan society. The first level is the *patagoni,* which is the immediate and extended family unit. Membership is based on genealogical and familial connections. For example, members in a *patagoni* share a common basket of food during island ceremonies and collectively own property.

The next social level is *kainanga* or clan level of which there are four ranked clans. The two highest clans have chiefs, while the two lowest do not. Feinberg (1988) explains in the highest clans, men of title and rank are the political leaders of the community, and they protect the community's welfare, including the interests of the lower ranking clans. "Members of the chiefless clans are known as *pakaaropa* 'sympathy-producing', 'pitiable', and not considered to have sufficient *manuu* 'mana'[prestige] to care for themselves" (Feinberg, 1988, para.2, loc.430 of 3768). The cosmological perspective of Anutan society is of interest as Feinberg (1982) notes that Anutan society is bipartite, from which the centric perspective is Anutan, as illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Anutan Social Structure, Relative Space and Cosmology

Anutans identify with	Versus	As opposed to
Anuta	Versus	Tikopia (neighbouring Polynesian outlier island in Solomon Islands)
Anuta + Tikopia	Versus	Tonga + Samoa + Other Polynesian Islands (Kiri Toto = Red Skins)
Anuta + Tikopia + Kiri Toto	Versus	Penri Uri (Melanesians)
Tikopia + Kiri Toto + Penri Uri	Versus	Paparangi (Westerners/Europeans)

These binaries are based on relativity and proximity. Tikopia is the closest island to Anuta; therefore, the first pair is Anuta versus Tikopia. As proximity widens, the relative space of Anuta becomes more inclusive. Inclusivity is based on ethnic and cultural groupings. These social binaries reflect their cosmological and spatial perspectives. Feinberg notes in the Anutan culture, "front is superior to back, east to west, high to low, right to left, light to dark, and seaward to inland" (Feinberg, 1982, p.3). He explains the first element of a pair is *tabu* (sacred, taboo) and masculine, while the second element is feminine, and weak (ibid).

A central value in the Anutan culture is *aropa*. *Aropa* is loosely translated as 'love', but such a translation fails to encapsulate the concept's depth of meaning. *Aropa* can refer to compassion, pity, loyalty, love, generosity, and charity. "The concept of *aropa* is inextricably bound to giving and sharing" (Feinberg, 2011, p.91). *Aropa* is salient in understanding Anutan kinship, inclusion, and cultural practice; people feel *aropa* for kin. Feinberg explains the closer the familial relationship, the stronger the expression and feeling of *aropa*. *Aropa* can also be shared with strangers as in "pity for a traveler…sympathy for someone who is far from home and separated from family and friends" (Feinberg, 2011, p.92). The implication is the degree to which *aropa* is applied is dependent on relational proximity, but in any case, noted is the generosity of Anutans.

Versions of the Anutan concept of *aropa* is found in other Polynesia cultures, for instance, *alofa* in the Samoan culture, *aroha* in the Māori culture, and *aloha* in the Hawaiian culture. My understanding of the Anutan concept is based on my understanding of *alofa* in the Samoan context. *Alofa* like *aropa* is based on giving and receiving, love and respect for kin, and generosity to strangers. *Alofa* is a guide in

knowing when a deed, word, or thought encourages peace, harmony, and balance between relationships. In Anuta, the concept of *aropa* is essential in promoting harmony and balance between human relations but also between humans and their ecological environment. Anything that does not promote these values is not *aropa*.

2.2.2 Rotuma

Rotuma is a small island; it is 12 kilometres long and 5 kilometres wide. It is so small that Rotuman-Fijian academic and writer Vilsoni Hereniko (1995) comments "that sometimes a dot cannot represent it faithfully on a map. More often than not, it is missing from a map because the cartographer is unaware the place exists. Nonetheless, it is there in the Pacific Ocean" (p.1). Rotuma lies 470 kilometres north of the Fiji Islands, and it has a population of around 2000 people divided among seven districts.

Rotuma was first inhabited by Melanesians and/or Micronesians followed by Samoan and Tongan invasions during the 17th century. Culturally and linguistically, Rotuma is distinct from Fiji (Fiji is part of Melanesia), having more in common with Polynesian cultures in the East of the Pacific (Howard & Rensel 1997, p.153). Since British Cession of Fiji in 1881 until Fijian independence in 1970, Rotuma was administered by Great Britain. Currently, Rotuma is part of the Republic of Fiji.

Rotuma's social organisation is based on a system of bilateral kinship. Ethnographic anthropologists Alan Howard and Irwin Howard (1977) explain a salient concept in the Rotuman social and cultural structure is *kainaga* or family /kin. This concept refers to "the bilateral descendants of an ancestor holding rights over a particular parcel of land. *Kainaga* are the major landholding units" (para 15) or districts. Each district can have several paramount and minor chiefly titles. The districts are sub-divided into clusters of households or *ho'aga*. Each *ho'aga* comprises of individual households or *kau noho'ag*. Essential to the *ho'aga* is that each household helps each other in times of crises or ceremonial occasions (1977). Howard and Howard note that *kainaga* are territorial and that "territorial proximity plays an extraordinary role in structuring social relations on the island" (Howard & Howard, 1977, para 15). Maintaining traditional *kainaga* or kinship relations is difficult in long-term geographical separation.

2.2.3 The Kombai of West Papua, New Guinea Island

Research on the Kombai tree-house people is scarce compared to research into the neighbouring Korowai tree-house people. An online search of the Kombai uncovers many sources claiming that the Kombai was discovered in the 1980s. The Kombai belong to the Awyu-Ndumut linguistic communities of West Papua. Research into the Awyu-Ndumut communities include the field work of linguist Lourens de Vries since the 1980s, or field research into the Kororwai by anthropologist Rupert Stasch in which he suggests cultural similarities between the Korowai and Kombai peoples.

In various travel and tourism websites such as papuatrekking.com, far-horizon.com, or papua-adventures.com, the Kombai (and the neighbouring Korowai people) are often described as living cultures that have not changed since the Stone Ages. According to Stasch (2015), the most influential media representation of the Korowai and the Kombai is a 1996 *National Geographic* photo essay called 'Irian Jaya's People of the trees'. Stasch said this photo essay influenced traveller expectations to the Kombai and Korowai lands in Irian Jaya. Since the early 2000s, Stasch (2015) notes an increase in media professionals travelling to the Kombai and Korowai lands. He counts the number of films about the Korowai and Kombai to around 50.

The last population count of the region shows around 4,000 Kombai people located in West Papua's Digul River Basin. See Figure 3 below.

de Vries did linguistic field research in the Wambon, Kombai, and Korowai areas from 1982 to 1991. de Vries (2012) states a group's clan structure and clan-based land rights are dependent on ancestral land. Small patriclans are scattered throughout clan territories. de Vries explains life on clan lands is mostly lived in small family groups. Thus, major decisions are conducted at the level of the family indicating that the Kombai place high value on family autonomy.

de Vries explains the Awyu-Ndumut area (which include Kombai clan territories) are "parallel but interconnected worlds of clan lands and settlements" (de Vries, 2012, p.6). Clan lands indicate a person's roots, identity, and belonging. For the Kombai, their clan lands are "literally and figuratively their place in life. For example, in the Kombai language, *mbürü* means both 'place' and 'clan territory' (de Vries, 2012, p.10). For instance, a person's father's clan has communal ownership of a homeland.

Figure 3 Map of West Papua and Kombai Territory

Note: Source: http://www.muturzikin.com/cartesoceanie/oceanie2.htm
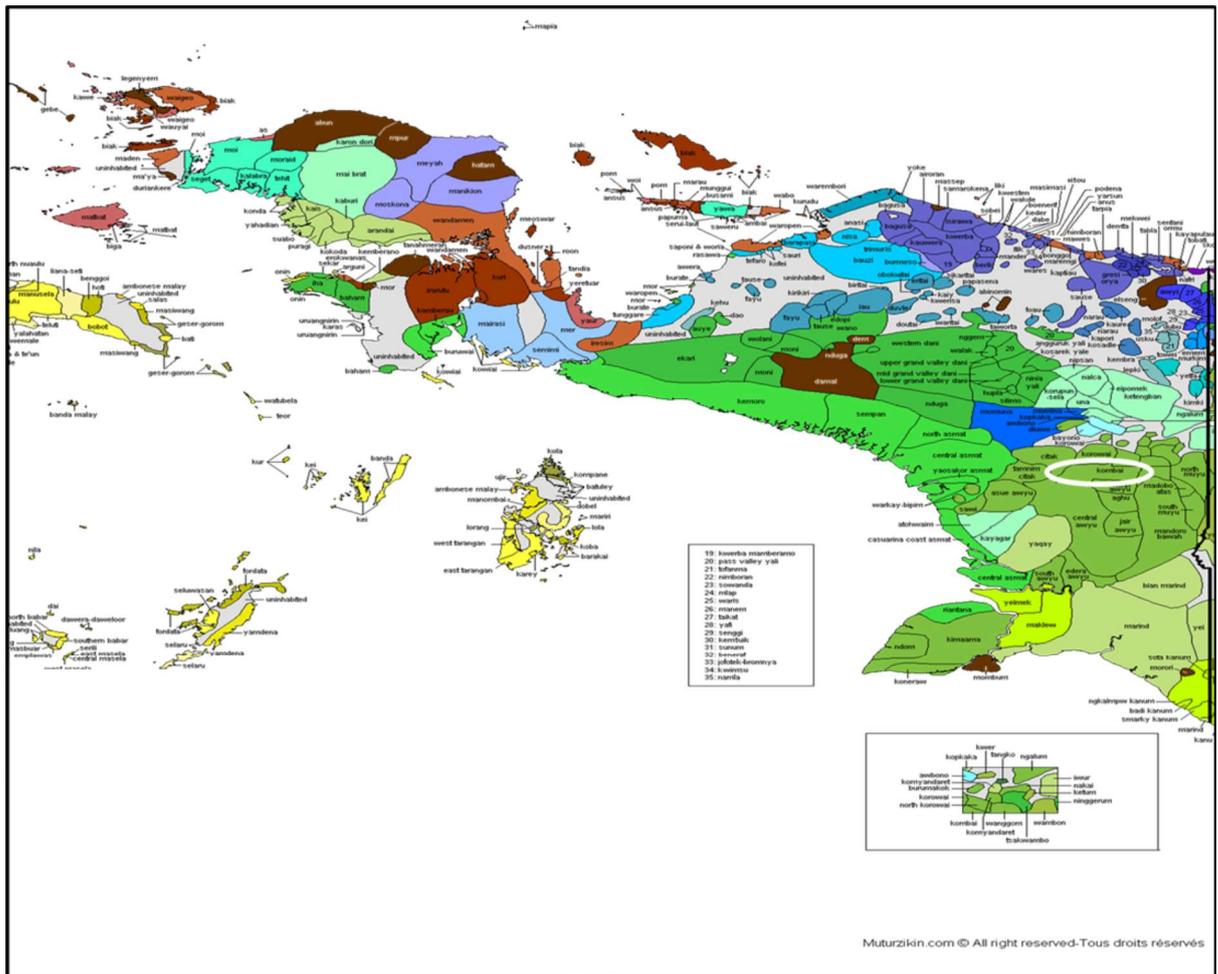
       Kombai also acknowledge a mother's own clan affiliations (de Vries, 2012). Women who marry into a Kombai clan may speak a different language. de Vries writes "these women tend to take the language of their original clan with them to the clan territory of their husbands. In addition to this are clan affiliations of the grandparents from both parents. Many Awyu-Ndumut children, such as Kombai, grow up with the mother's and father's languages" (de Vries, 2012, p. 10). Linguistic research in the Aywu-Ndumut area reveal people grow up speaking two or three languages. In addition, the focus on clan affiliations defines a person's identity. This relational or sociocentric emphasis communicates the territorial rights and obligations of the Kombai.

       de Vrie's work shows that the Kombai have oral traditions of a plant or animal as a totemic founder or father of the clan. The animal and plant totem founders are

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taboo (both forbidden and sacred), and knowledge of their totem ancestors is restricted. de Vries explains totemic clan names are hidden names only known and spoken by adult men. They know their origin stories and tell them at night, on special occasions, but never to outsiders. de Vries (2012) writes,

> To know the origin of something or someone is to know the identity and true nature of that person or things. To know the names of original beings or persons give power because in uttering those names true identities are exposed and possibly damaged or destroyed (de Vries, 2012, p.11).

The work of de Vries reveals the importance of Kombai naming in determining one's place and recognition of each other within their cosmologies. However, the process of naming can also marginalise them within the Indonesian colonial context. This is achieved through linguistic exonym. American linguist James Matisoff (1986) coined the terms autonym and exonym while researching Tibetan-Burman languages. Autonym refers to names groups give themselves, while exonyms are labels imposed on a group by outsiders. He writes "a group's autonym is often egocentric, equating the name of the people with 'mankind in general'" (Matisoff, 1986, p.5). "When a group name's itself, it is from their centric worldview in relation to the outside view. This is in opposition to *exonyms 'outsiders'* [author's own italics] names that others use for them" (Matisoff, 1986, p.5).

The Kombai use language as markers of belonging to differentiate insiders from outsiders. Group identification and inclusion are defined linguistically in terms of "we people sound" (de Vries, 2012, p.12). This is the egocentric perspective of the Kombai. However, labels such as Kombai or Kombai language are exonyms imposed by Indonesia which colonised West Papua.[9] This linguistic action marginalises the autonym action and agency of the Kombai. As Matisoff (1986) explains, "egocentric

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[9] In 1898, The Netherlands colonised Indonesia until Indonesian independence in 1949. When Indonesia became independent, West Papua did not join the country. The Netherlands recognised that West Papua was geographically, ethnically, and culturally different to Indonesia. West Papuans, like their Papua New Guinean neighbours, are Melanesians. The Netherlands aided West Papua in preparing for independence throughout the 1950s. In 1961, a congress of West Papuan clans was held in which the people declared independence. A few months later, Indonesia invaded West Papua. A conflict between the West Papuans, their ally The Netherlands, and Indonesia broke out. Unable to secure West Papua as a territory, Indonesia turned to the Soviet Union for assistance. The United States, concerned about the spread of Communism in Southeast Asia, urged the Dutch Government to hand over West Papua to Indonesia. In an agreement brokered by the United States in 1962, West Papua was handed over to the United Nations after which Indonesia would take control of West Papua one year later. West Papuans were not consulted at the time of the agreement.

[autonym] names are hardly likely to be adopted exonymically by neighbouring groups"
(Matisoff, 1986, p.5). He notes "a group's autonym is a precious possession, the
essence of its cultural identity" (Matisoff, 1986, p.6).

According to de Vries (2012), 'Kombai' is the Indonesian version of
Khombaye-lu, loosely translated as 'who we sound' or 'people's speech'. Matisoff
(1986) notes exonyms are usually pejorative, particularly if there is a perceived or
actual difference in the cultural level between the dominant and minority groups. The
exonym 'Kombai' marginalises cultural depth and cosmological identity and place. In
addition, it recontextualises, and naturalises the indigenous group within the Indonesian
colonial context. This simple change in pronunciation and spelling implies the language
of the *Khombaye-lu* as unintelligible, which relegates the culture of the indigenous
group as unintelligible and non-sensible. This also affects the *Khombaye-lu* sense of self
and place which has no part in the Indonesian colonial context.

Missionaries in West Papua also created cultural misperceptions and
prejudices. They assumed all Kombai clans spoke the same language and shared the
same culture. de Vries (2012) observes the homogenisation of Kombai clans
misrepresents the Kombai, and it simplifies their cultural diversity and complexity.
Clans may share the same language, but they will have different cultural practices based
on the development of those clans through marriage, trade, and other cross-cultural and
border exchanges. de Vries (2012) writes the idea of a single Kombai language or
culture opposes the cultural realities of New Guinea clans that are multilingual, and
where they enlarge their cultural practices through borrowing and mixing.

2.3 Yanggandur of Wasur Wetlands, West Papua

In the short documentary film, *The Last Hunter*, the protagonist Leo Wambitman
lives in Yanggandur village inside Wasur National Park in Merauke, West Papua, as
shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Map of Wasur, Merauke District
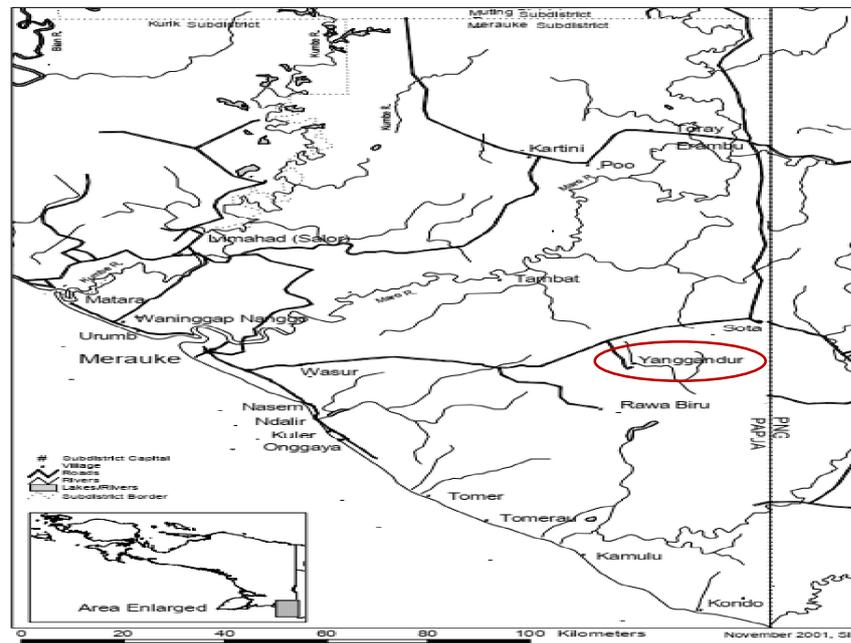
Source: *Report on the Merauke Subdistrict Survey Papua, Indonesia (2009)* by Myo-Sook Sohn, Randy Lebold, and Ron Kriens

Wambitman's village is one of 14 villages in Wasur. According to the Papuan rights group, Papua Heritage Foundation (n.d) "2500 Papuans live in 14 villages" (para 4)[10]. An environmental, linguistic, and social survey of villages in the Merauke region in 2009 indicates the population of Wambitman's village of Yanggandur to be 350 (Sohn, Lebold, & Kriens, 2009). Linguistic surveys of the Yanggandur people show that they are part of the Kanume ethnic group with two languages: *Ngkâlmpw Kanum* and *Smärky Kanum*.

The indigenous groups in the Wasur wetlands are traditional and customary landowners, but the Indonesian government is the legal owner. Traditional ownership and customary use of Wasur resources is acknowledged and permitted by the Indonesian government, if they do not interfere with national conservation aims (Sohn et al, 2009).

Sohn, Lebold, & Kriens (2009) explain the indigenous groups in Wasur depend on the national park as the main source of livelihood through traditional hunting, fishing, and agriculture. The Papua Heritage Foundation notes that in general, the natural

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[10] West Papua Heritage Foundation https://papuaerfgoed.org/en/Deforestation_threatens_Papua_Culture

environment is a vital part of Papuan community. "A Papuan community consists of live individuals as well as the spirits of their forefathers and aspects of nature itself" (papuaheritage.org, n.d). Papuan communities and families have their own pieces of land within the forest from which they become self-sufficient. As such, the communities and families cannot be separated from their forest lands because of physical and spiritual ties (ibid). Nevertheless, these indigenous cultures are linguistically and culturally threatened to the point where they are classified as endangered cultures.

RAMSAR is the short name for The Convention on Wetlands which came into effect in 1975. The convention is an inter-government framework to protect and conserve global wetlands and resources. Around 90% of United Nation member states are signatories to the convention. According to a 2005 RAMSAR report of Wasur, written by Indonesia's Director of Conservation Banjar Yulianto Laban, the cultural endangerment of indigenous groups, such as the Yanggandur, is caused mainly by the transmigration of people from different parts of Indonesia to the nearest and fast-growing town of Merauke bordering the Wasur Wetlands. Laban (2005) elaborates population pressures create competition for natural resources spurring illegal logging, land grabbing for subsistence farming, and illegal transmigration and foreign ethnic settlements in Wasur. In addition, poaching and the illegal exportation of live animals threaten the biodiversity of Wasur, as well as the cultural practices of the Wasur indigenous groups. Hunting is one of the affected cultural practices (Laban, 2005). The Papua Heritage Foundation illustrates these concerns by quoting a Kanume leader who emphasises the scarcity of wildlife in Wasur. He explains Papuans in Wasur hunted wildlife either for food or to sell to purchase needed supplies. Instead, many of the Kanume are forced to sell low value items such as fruit or wood for a fraction of what they received in the past. The watchdog organisation argues that "the modern economic system has lowered Papuan lifestyle" (papuaheritage.org, n.d.). An example of this is seen in how this affects language which is central to Papua identity.

Sohn, Lebold, & Kriens (2009) state the transmigration of people from other parts of Indonesia into Papua changes the demographics in the Merauke district to where there are more Indonesian speakers than indigenous. Linguistic endangerment is caused by intermarriage of indigenous peoples to transmigrants who speak Indonesian. Also, the education indigenous children receive in schools is taught in the Indonesian language. Furthermore, urbanisation of young indigenous peoples to larger town centres is an

additional issue threatening indigenous languages. According to ethnologue.com[11], a language site dedicated to documenting languages globally, *Smärky Kanum*, one of the languages spoken in Yanggadur, is listed as endangered as children no longer speak the language. Despite these serious social threats, Sohn, et al, (2009) predict the longevity of indigenous languages and indigenous cultures. While cultural traditions such as hunting are threatened by a cash crop economy, some cultural traditions remain intact. Examples are significant festivals such as pig feasts, weaving, and dancing (Sohn, et al, 2009, p.6). In addition, those interviewed in Sohn, Lebold, and Krien's survey were proud of their languages as they represented their cultures and identities. Sohn, et al (2009) report many of the interviewees believed that "if their mother tongue disappears, their ethnic group will disappear" (Sohn, et al, 2009, p.18). Thus, they were motivated in keeping their languages alive.

2.4 British Presenter, Bruce Parry – Explorer/Adventurer

Bruce Parry is a former officer in the British Royal Marines. He is widely known for his *Tribe* documentary series. His *Tribe* series are described by British media as an "anthropological series…in which he lives with different tribes, embedding himself in each one's society" (Hardy, R. 2007, para 3). Parry is described as a TV anthropologist (Jardine, C. 2007, para 1), explorer, adventurer, documentary maker, or "something of a national treasure" (Wollaston, S. 2007). Parry refers to himself as a documentary-maker and explorer. In each programme series, Parry lives with indigenous communities for four weeks to experience their cultures to become "one of the tribe".

Parry immerses himself into indigenous communities without learning the basics of their languages. In an interview with the *Daily Telegraph*, Parry says he never attempts to learn the language as "it gets in the way of eye contact and human understanding. The quickest way to bond is to offer to carry something, to eat their food, drink their [sometimes polluted] water" (Jardin, C. 2007. para 8). Therefore, for the large part of his stay, Parry is unable to talk to his indigenous hosts. His linguistic disadvantage raises questions about his immersion and assimilation. Speaking to the

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[11] https://www.ethnologue.com/size-and-vitality/kxq

British *Daily Telegraph*, Parry admits to sitting in a dwelling for almost a month with substantial time on his hands. He uses the time to "stare at the stars, thinking about the world and himself" (Jardin, C. 2007. para 9). Parry is also quoted as saying that being unable to speak with his hosts is boring. Contradicting earlier comments about not attempting to learn his host's language, he admits the language barrier limits his interaction with his host families, which means he is often excluded or on his own. He notes that such situations are:

> Really, really dull, sitting on my own, with this wonderful family doing their thing around me. As soon as the fire goes down, I can't even do sign language, so I'm sitting there staring into the dark, knowing I'm going to have to lie down on a bloody wooden floor and try to go to sleep. I earn my money in those moments (Parry quoted by Wollaston, 2007, para 24).

In the filming of the series, Parry explains the crew comprises of a director-cum-camera operator, assistant producer, a fixer, a translator and sometimes a cook. After filming his arrival to his host family, the crew establish their camp outside the village. For the first few days of his stay, Parry stays with the crew until the community's leaders decide on whether he can stay with them. Once permission is given, Parry moves into the village, and he stays with a host family. Parry elaborates that he stays with the indigenous community full time for the first week. After that he will often go and meet with the crew to share a meal with them, but he never lives with them (Wollaston, 2007).

The *Tribe* series is co-produced by BBC Wales, BBC, and the Discovery Channel (for distribution to the United States and on Discovery's cable channel network).

2.5 Ngaire Fuata: New Zealander with Dutch and Rotuman heritage.

Ngaire Fuata was born in and lived in England for the first seven years of her life. Her mother Marion is from the Netherlands, and her father Espasi Fuata is a Rotuman immigrant first to New Zealand, then to the United Kingdom. At the age of eight, Fuata and her family left England and immigrated to New Zealand. Fuata grew up in Whakatane in the east coast of the North Island. During the late 1980s, she moved to New Zealand's largest city of Auckland where, during the 1990s, she made a name for

herself as a pop singer. She has a 20-year career in television production and as a presenter for Māori and Pasifika programmes broadcast by Television New Zealand.

In her programme *Selat se Rotuma*, Fuata says "with my brown skin and curly hair, I always felt like a Māori, only I wasn't" (Fuata, 00:01:10). While aware of her European cultural roots, Fuata grew up with no knowledge of her father's Rotuman culture. Her father emigrated from Rotuma to New Zealand during the 1950s. He became a teacher and moved to England where he met his wife Dutch wife Marion. While in England, Fuata's father used to tell people he was from Rotuma, and the question he would always hear was 'where is Rotuma?'. People knew he came from New Zealand, so they assumed he was Māori. Fuata's father never corrected them, as he had "given up explaining where Rotuma was" (Espasi, 00:03:22). Fuata's mother Marion also thought he was Māori, and when they started having children, Fuata's father confessed he was Rotuman. This is the cultural backdrop informing Fuata's narrative in her programme *Selat Se Rotuma.*

In this chapter, I have introduced the indigenous people, their cultures, and environments. I have also presented short biographies of the presenters. Following is a discussion of the method I use to analyse the focus programmes of this project.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

I want to understand the dynamics between the filmed subjects and objects in the focus programmes of my project. My aim is to identify strategies the filmed indigenous groups use to subvert the presenters' first-person role, as played out through the presenters' subjectivity of outsider-insider in the programmes. In this chapter, I pull together the theoretical and ideological strands framing my research aims. A metaphorical illustration is the Samoan handwoven fine mat called *'ie toga,* made from strips of pandanus leaves. Fine weaving an *'ie toga* is intricate, and the push-pull effect of weaving its strands create geometric points of intersection and separation. As this metaphor suggests, I weave an *'ie toga* of key theoretical and ideological concepts. I discuss and examine the media genres of documentary and reality television to establish my idea of ethnotainment. Arising from this discussion, which I explore, are the issues of authenticity and perceived reality through the phenomenology of the camera. Ethnographic media of the Pacific is presented as well as the Pacific colonial and post-colonial contexts. This discussion leads into an introduction of the concept of edgewalking.

3.2 The Documentary

What is a documentary? Answering this question may seem straightforward but grasping the nature of a documentary is difficult as it is a chameleon. From the mid-1800s, early moving-image productions were actualities or short films recording people going about their daily lives. In 1895, the Lumiére brothers showed their motion picture *L'arrivée d'un train á La Ciotat* in Paris. Barsam (1973/1992) writes the audience was awed by the film, not because they were watching moving images, but because the film creators captured the spontaneity or reality of life. According to Barsam, cinematic films in the mid-19th to early 20th centuries were driven by consumer demand for realism. For example, in 1889, William Friese-Greene produced motion pictures of affluent Londoners walking in Hyde Park. In 1885, Thomas Edison and W.K.L. Dickson conducted film interviews with American celebrities, as well as filming slice-of-life moments of people doing everyday activities. These early filmmakers set the foundation for new ideas and new formulations of moving images. They experimented with filming actuality to develop

avant-garde films, newsreel programmes, and early documentary films such as Flaherty's 1922 production *Nanook of the North*.

Scottish film maker John Grierson is credited as the founder of the British documentary movement which he influenced for 40 years. Grierson first coined the term documentary in his 1932 essay *The First Principles of Documentary*. Grierson (1932/1966) argues a documentary observes and selects moments from life through filming a living scene and person. The use of actual people, actual events, and scenes makes the documentary the best format to present an interpretation of the world. Actuality provides rich, abundant material to work with and to best communicate the complexities of life. A documentary's content is raw material, and therefore carries an authoritative sense of authenticity. Later, Grierson went on to encapsulate his defining principles by saying a documentary was "the creative treatment of actuality" (Grierson, 1933, p.8). Actuality is edited and shaped, and the documentary is the final organised product dealing with the complexities of observing reality (Grierson, 1946). Observance in a documentary occurs on two levels. The first is the documentary viewer who observes the presented actuality. The second is the filmmaker who observes the moment by filming it. Observance creates an intimate relationship between observers and the moment of actuality; thus, a documentary's purpose is to provide socio-political communication to educate the world (Grierson, 1946).

Reality is the foundation of the documentary, and therefore, inherent in the documentary is authority. This idea is not new. A pioneer in the documentary genre during the 1920s is Soviet filmmaker Dziga Vertov who developed the method and theory of *kino-glaz* or film eye. The camera is personified because of its ability to see what the human eye can and cannot see. Vertov explains, "We cannot improve the making of our eyes, but we can endlessly perfect the camera" (1924/1984, p.15)[12]. The camera offered technical opportunities and possibilities to objectively record the world as it is. Heftberger explains, "[in] Vertov's reflections, he wished to free the camera and make it subordinate to the human organ of sight. In his concept, the camera is personified" (2018, p.66). The basis of *kino-glaz* is that the camera enables the creation of a fresh perception of the world. "Thus, I decipher in a new way the world unknown to you" (Vertov, 1923/1984, p.18). Before Grierson's coinage of the term documentary, Vertov developed film

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[12] Vertov's writings were originally published in different years, but they are gathered in an anthology published in 1984.

montage as a new format to present reality. In the concept of film montage, moving images of reality became a space for experimentation to find and develop new techniques and uses of film. This, in turn, led to the development of new storytelling techniques, new theories, and new definitions as to what is or is not actuality. Filmmakers such as Vertov and the filmic forms they developed were, and still are, constantly reinvented.

Grierson's concept of documentary is what Nichols describes as an example of the discourse of sobriety — discourse that shapes the world. Documentaries have the power to make things happen as they "are the vehicles of domination and conscience, power and knowledge, desire and will" (Nichols, 1991, pp.3-4). Yet despite his belief in a documentary's purpose, Grierson was dissatisfied with his original use of the term documentary, referring to it as a "clumsy description" (Grierson, 1932/1966 p.145). This clumsiness is explained by Wright (1951) as the dichotomous nature of documentary. Elaborating on this further, Wright explains the documentary is a new approach to both publicly informing and enlightening the audience. On the one hand it is an art-form that creatively interprets actuality. On the other, it is the director's paramount need to enlighten his/her patron.

The points raised by Grierson and Wright emphasise a documentary's purpose, but they do not define documentary as a genre. Ellis states the documentary genre is a "slippery genre to define as classifications can be out of date before the printer's ink has dried" (Ellis, 2005, p.342). One reason is the malleability of the documentary's content: reality. According to German writer Bertolt Brecht (1938/1977) reality never remains the same; it is always changing. Anything that represents reality should also change to keep up. However, the chosen format must be one that is easily consumed by the masses (Brecht 1938/1977). Reality had to be represented in a language that "speaks to its audience [and] can be readily understood" (Kilborn & Izod, 1997, p.4). In other words, reality had to be popular (Brecht 1938/1977). This introduces another function of documentary: entertainment. An initial interpretation is that people do not want to be reminded of their everyday lives 'in the raw'. Daily life had to be lifted from the ordinary to the extraordinary, implying a degree of artifice. Entertainment in the Brechtian sense does not necessarily mean amusement. Entertainment can be interpreted as a reaction resulting from a mental and emotional connection to what is being watched. Rosenthal and Corner (2005), and Spence and Navarro (2011) explain documentaries are complex narratives that not only inform, but also provoke, shock, and disturb. Therefore,

documentary is not just a visual form. It is more than a genre. It is an act of transformation. British documentary film maker, Paul Rotha states:

> Documentary defines not subject or style, but approach. It denies neither trained actors nor the advantage of staging. It justifies the use of every known technical artifice to gain its effect on the spectator…Documentary approach to cinema differs from that of story-film not in its disregard for craftsmanship, but in the purpose to which that craftsmanship is put (cited in Spottiswoode, 1950/1973, p.284).

Staging, the use of actors, or any other type of artifice are seen as acceptable as the story line or content takes second place to the intention of filming a documentary. Barsam (1973/1992) points out even the Luminére brothers staged some scenes in their motion picture. So, the documentary is less about portraying reality and more about how a documentary maker interacts with reality. For instance, as stated above, Barsam claims those who watched the Luminére brothers' film were not so much awed by watching a moving image or its content; they were intrigued about how it captured the spontaneity of real life. The focus was on craftsmanship and how that craftsmanship fomented new perspectives about reality and one's relation to reality (Barsam, 1973/1992).

Spence and Navarro (2011) express stories or slices of reality are never intact in documentaries; they are always transformed. Documentaries may claim authority and authenticity, but this does not necessarily mean truth. Spence and Navarro state, "[documentaries] are…representations. The prefix "re" in the word representation implies an absence, presenting anew that which is no longer present…" (Spence & Navarro, 2011, p.14). They later assert that transforming reality implies different ways of presenting that reality. Documentary filmmaking and the documentary genre are in a constant state of evolution. Having a camera-on-the-spot-to-catch-actuality-as-it-happens forces experimentation in filmmaking. The filmed actuality then, to a degree, determines the form of the documentary. This is the slippery nature of documentary.

Since the early actuality films of the mid-1800s, documentary has claimed the domain of non-fiction production; consequently, it is an alternative to fictional film that acts or simulates reality. Documentaries have been perceived as exploring and highlighting issues in a serious and responsible manner, and audiences appeared to accept their authenticity. There is a level of trust from viewers in that what they are watching is something that teaches them something about the world and that what they are taught is true. Spence and Navarro (2011) write documentaries "are *what they are* [authors own

italics] because they make particular claims about the sociohistorical world" (Spence & Navarro, 2011, p.13). While this may be the case, Kilborn and Izrod (1997) note from the 1960s onwards, the relationship between viewer and documentaries changed to a postmodernist condition. Traditional perceptions and standards surrounding the documentary disappeared, and new ones were established. A reason is the information rich environment of the contemporary world foments competition among various media outputs for viewer attention, as the viewer has a wider choice of consumption (Kilborn & Izrod, 1997, p.10). In addition, the rise of inexpensive and accessible digital image-making technology increases knowledge on how moving images are produced. The consequence is rising scepticism about the documentary's traditional claim of authenticity. Kilborn and Izrod write:

> audiences nowadays will be more included than formerly to engage with programmes in a playful and sometimes detached manner, delighting in the experience of *watching* [author's own italics] rather than being too concerned with 'what it all means' (Kilborn & Izrod, 1997, p.10).

The documentary genre cannot claim to present reality in its purest form. Reality is manipulated by the processes of selection and association to give it a particular orientation. Nichols (1991) states a viewer's level of acceptance of realism is based on the level of importance placed on the documentary as a text, or on the documentary's implicit claim of authenticity. Nichols' point is that the acceptance level of realism determines the level of hesitancy towards a documentary's orientation. A viewer's acceptance of realism is dependent on whether the viewer can recognise reality from fiction. But this may not always be the case. Renowned documentary maker Marcel Orphüls once stated he did not trust documentaries or their claims to truth. He said, "the fact is I don't trust the little bastards" (as cited in Eitzen,1995).

Discussions in defining documentary focus on what it should do, but they still do not define what it is. Nichols fills in the gaps by trying to understand documentary by what it is not. Nichols states documentary

> …occupies no fixed territory. It mobilizes no finite inventory of techniques, addresses no set number of issues, and adopts no completely known taxonomy of forms, styles, or modes (Nichols, 1991, p.12).

The comments from Orphüls and Nichols reveal that the documentary form is too fluid to pin down, as "it is a site of contestation and change" (Nichols, 1991, p.12). So, it is of little wonder that Nichols later explains while it is possible to achieve a capsule definition which is universally applicable, it will still say very little. A definition "will conceal as much as it will reveal" (Nichols, 2010, p.6). A definition will only emphasise and include aspects while downplay or exclude others. The documentary is too much of a chameleon as it is individually defined by individual filmmakers who project a specific perception or ideology in their individual selection and interpretation of reality.

However, in the ongoing discussion of defining documentary, Nichols suggests a basic framework. The first is that documentaries "are about reality; they're about something that actually happened" (Nichols, 2010, p.7). Documentary films are based in the historical and real world. They are not allegorical; they describe and capture. They do not present events, peoples, or images to tell a story as fictional genres do. Documentaries show the world as it is. Nichols warns a documentary that misrepresents facts, distorts, alters, or fabricates reality "jeopardizes its own status as a documentary" (Nichols, 2010, p.8). The second is documentaries are "about real people who do not play or perform roles" (Nichols, 2010, p.9). Real people present themselves as they are and how they undergo change during an actual event. Lastly, "a documentary tells a story, the story is a plausible representation of what happened" (Nichols, 2010, p.11). This is in comparison to fiction genres which interpret what happened. Nichols emphasises the boundary between fictions based on or tell a real story and non-fiction documentaries presenting real or actual events "rests on the degree to which the story fundamentally corresponds to actual situations, events and people" (Nichols, 2010, p.12).

Defining documentary is difficult because of its malleability. One reason, according to Spence and Navarro (2011) is that the impetus in presenting actuality indirectly defines the documentary form. Austin and de Jong (2008) agree that maybe the case, but the rapid development of technology and delivery systems are now creating hybrid forms and cross-genre borrowing in the documentary genre, making a documentary's objective of presenting actuality difficult to recognise. They write,

> Prevalent across the genre of documentary and closely related genres are genre borrowing, genre hybridity, and content blurring fact and fiction. Examples are mockumentaries and reality television programmes in which the formats range from entertainment to imitative documentary formats to convey serious topics (Austin & de Jong, 2008, p.2).

The mix-and-match trend in documentary making infer the death knoll for the traditional documentary and the birth of a post-documentary documentary era, encouraging and catering for new forms of programmes dealing with actuality based on cross or hybrid genres.

3.2.1 The Post-Documentary Documentary Era.

John Corner (2002) is the first to coin the term post-documentary in his examination of: media globalisation, the rapid development of digital communication technologies, and the convergence of media and communication technologies. Jackson (2012) explains a post-documentary era has arisen from the need to develop new ways of engaging and interacting with audiences because of the constant development of new technologies and new media platforms forcing the need for new production and distribution models. Jackson (2012) writes the "[d]ocumentary is no longer confined to the screens of cinema and television but can increasingly be found on our desktops, our mobile devices, and in our public places…" (para. 5). So, in this context, it seems appropriate to bring in Eitzen's (1995) suggestion of rather than ask 'what is documentary?', the question should be 'when is a documentary?'.

Traditional viewer reaction towards a documentary is based on the documentary's ability to present actuality as it is. However, in a time of media convergence and rapid technological change and development, Eitzen argues viewer reaction to a documentary is based on the viewer's own perception of reality. A documentary "is whatever people commonly mean by the term" (Eitzen, 1995, p.83). Definitions of documentary, therefore, lie not in the hands of the documentary maker but in the hands of the viewers. This means no capsule definition can ever be adequate in defining a documentary. Eitzen's comments during the mid-1990s foreshadowed what Corner in 2002 describes as a post-documentary culture. Corner (2002) argues post-documentary is where many traditional elements of documentary are radically altered due to the move towards diversion. Such a move reworks the traditional perception of documentary. For instance, the expositional or analytical goals of documentary are replaced with the goal of entertainment or amusement. Documentaries no longer enlighten or educate. They now offer "high-intensity incident (the reconstructed accident), anecdotal knowledge (gossipy first-person accounts), and for snoopy sociability" (Corner, 2002, p.260). Yet, Spence and Navarro (2011) insist on

pointing out that traditional distinguishing characteristics of documentary are still necessary to make the documentary recognisable. Nonetheless, according to Corner's post-documentary context, this point cannot be relied upon as being taken for granted.

In a post-documentary context, documentaries offer a relaxed diversion from reality. The main activity of a viewer is voyeuristic. A documentary's distinguishing features of authority and authenticity are no longer as evident as they used to be. The drive for diversion in global media production has increased cross-genre borrowing in which entertainment programmes have the look and feel of a documentary as they can easily imitate the taken-for-granted-features of authenticity and actuality. However, borrowing can work the other way, as documentaries have the look and feel of popular non-documentary formats. Cross-genre swapping is weakening the status of the documentary genre. In addition, naturalism and reality prized in documentary is slowly eroded by "performative, playful element[s]" (Corner, 2002, p.283) normally used in fiction genres to enhance narrative. For example, rather than have a person present themselves as they are, there appears to be a form of dissemblance as the subject 'performs' him/herself in, for instance, docu-soap dramas.

Being post-documentary means the term documentary is better used as an adjective rather than as a noun to cater for emerging forms of reality television lying in the margins of fiction and non-fiction. David Hogarth develops Corner's concept by examining the "transnational political economy of documentary and its impact on production, viewers and documentary discourses" (Hogarth, 2006, p.ix). Amid new types of cultural mediation and technology, Corner focuses his interest on the viewer, in particular changes in how a viewer makes meaning of and perceives the world. Hogarth's interest lies in the representation of locations, peoples, and issues in projects created solely for exportation. He examines the potential revelations of the global economy by export-orientated documentaries.

Hogarth adopts an extremely broad definition of documentary, making the genre even more slippery than before. As Hogarth writes, "I reject fixed, exclusive definitions of the genre that have guided so many documentary studies to date…with no apologies" (2006, p.ix-x). Hogarth (2006) explains the documentary is increasingly moving towards a space with fewer geographic and cultural boundaries. Chalaby (2005) observes the current situation is the de-territorialisation of media which was traditionally tied to nations and regions. The result is the dissipation of the natural relationship of culture to geographical

and social territories; this includes the de-territorialisation of cultural artefacts and cultural production caused by the globalisation of television through international television channels (Chalaby, 2005, pp.1-13). The disembodiment and disconnection of culture from territory and place complicate and weaken relationships between people, place, and environment that, in turn, impact everyday experiences of cultures, ways of making sense of the world, and perceptions of reality. In this context, the features of a documentary, such as content and patterns of production, have become generic for multiple and simultaneous marketing in various regions and for different communication technology platforms.

Hogarth (2006) claims globalisation has eroded the traditional format and perception of the documentary genre. He explains the first noted erosion is the replacement of local documentary traditions with placeless production. Documentaries are produced in multiple locations and by more than one producer for more than one market. This leads to a loss in local control over the final product. The other noted erosion Hogarth identifies is the erosion of local flavour with homogenisation. He notes moves towards homogenisation eliminates specificity to facilitate easy sales in a global media market. Global flows limit local documentary styles. Hogarth (2006) states the locations of a documentary may change, but the story line remains the same. Even the self-representation of non-actors, a feature prized in documentary, has become generic. Critics call this process McDocumentarisation. The emergence of a worldwide meta-market has resulted in a transnational documentary format characterised by a high degree of cultural uniformity and predictability. Nevertheless, the transnational format can also illustrate and deal with the swift fluidity of a mediascape resulting from global flows of media production. The transnational documentary format not only demonstrates cultural losses, but it can also reveal space for new forms of documentary styles created by documentarians grounded in knowledge of cultural and production practices beyond their own borders (Hogarth, 2006). On this basis, Hogarth argues the transnational documentary format should be considered a new genre.

Corner's post-documentary culture can be interpreted as signifying the end of the documentary genre. But Corner (2006) refutes this. He claims the current condition of the media industry means rethinking documentary projects within this new industry. Documentaries as expressions of sobriety (to use Nichols' term) present reality to educate (as proposed by Grierson), but they should be reconfigured and expanded to include the

lighter and less sober aim of diversion from reality. This places emphasis on what viewers want as opposed to documentary filmmakers assuming what viewers need. However, Knudsen (2008) points out the documentary can still help the viewer relate and make sense of the world, as they have always done. He proposes a shift of focus from the representation of the real to a transcendental perspective.

Knudsen (2008) explains the "traditional dogma of reality" (p.111) in documentary is a dogma reliant on the binary of cause and effect. This dogma limits the scope of exploring people's relationships to their environments. He argues the focus on actuality does not reveal peoples' full experiences of life: experiences that involve the intangible and transcendental, for instance a person's soul, the spiritual (in all meanings), and dreams. The documentary should include the transcendental realities of people as well as their physical realities (Knudsen, 2008). For Chanan (2008), the documentary has the potential to document the invisible. He points out there are always things that remain out of view because the camera has only one focus. While the camera films one aspect, it does not film others. Chanan explains being invisible in a documentary includes people and issues that are overlooked such as off-camera events, off-camera relationships and events not easily captured on film. He claims documentaries can move beyond the representation of the way things appear and become metaphors for what is going on behind and beyond the image and which the camera is unable to record (Chanan, 2008).

Knudsen and Chanan's ideas question the filming of documentaries and the push-pull storytelling technique. Their focus on transcendental and invisible realities are unexplored areas, potentially leading to the creation of new forms of documentaries. Post-documentary documentaries, such as the transnational documentary format, stretch and challenge the traditional Grierson principles of documentary. They redefine the nature of subject and object and challenge the boundaries of in-and-out of frame. As productions created in a boundary-less mediascape, the post-documentary documentary is unfettered from traditional practices of filming, staid definitions of in-and-out of frame, peripheral sounds and background as context, and the traditional binary roles of subject and object.

Now that an overview of the documentary genre has been presented, following is an overview of ethnographic documentary in the Pacific.

3.2.2. Ethnographic Documentary of the Pacific.

For those who do not live in the Pacific region, knowledge of the Pacific and its peoples is gained mostly through moving images of the Pacific. In surveying the history of moving images in the Pacific, Mawyer (1997, 1998), and Landman and Ballard (2010) explain typical themes and cinematic images of Pasifika peoples are of ethnographical examination, adventure, fantasy, and utopia. These themes feed into an already large corpus of colonial images of Pasifika peoples, and they range from the romantic South Seas with beautiful statuesque noble savages to cannibal savages living in dark, impenetrable, and dangerous landscapes. According to Shohat and Stam (1994), moving image production "combined narrative and spectacle to tell the story of colonialism from the colonizer's perspective" (Shohat and Stam, 1994, p.109). The stories of History's winners were told. In addition, the imperial and colonial enterprise were portrayed as a philanthropic mission to bring the ignorant native out of his/her dark primitive world and into the modern world. The other aspect is that moving image production reinforce negative stereotypes of indigenous peoples to rationalise the human cost of imperialism (Shohat & Stam, 1994).

The earliest films of the Pacific are from 1898. These are of Hawai'i produced by employees of the Thomas Edison company and of the Torres Strait Islands filmed by anthropologist Alfred Haddon. Douglas (2000) states early films of the Pacific documented real life on the islands and, therefore, pioneered ethnographic non-fiction filmmaking in the region. Film making at the turn and early part of the 20th century were travelogues. As an example, Australian photographer and film-maker Frank Hurley produced a film called *Pearls and Savages* (1921) in Papua. Hurley incorporated photographed scenes of village life in his film, and he hand-tinted every frame.

A non-fiction film that introduced the concept of and discussions of documentary is Australian film-maker Robert Flaherty's *Moana* (1925) which portrays an idyllic representation of Samoan village life. According to Douglas, "one of *Moana's* more oblique contributions was that it introduced the term documentary into the cinematic lexicon, when Grierson described it in a review" (Douglas, 2000, p.541). Flaherty's film ushered in a trend of non-fiction films of the region, namely the South Seas film genre. Mawyer (1997) notes early non-fiction film productions such as *Moana* "possessed a 'documentary' quality of depicting the lifeways of an already much-romanticized people

for American and European audiences" (p.24.). These films also employed fictional narrative conventions from literature to explore and emphasise the themes of romance, authority, cultural traditions, clashes, religion, and cultural taboos (Mawyer, 1997, p.24).

The 1940s to the 1960s is the age of the war film genre which aided in establishing documentary film in the Pacific. Douglas (2000) explains the technical development of 16mm camera equipment and 16mm film facilitated combat film footage. Conflict in the Pacific during WWII was the prevalent theme in actuality footage from American, Japanese, Australian and New Zealand filmmakers. One example is *Kokoda Front Line* (1942) by Australian filmmaker Damien Parer. In this film, actuality or documentary production of the Pacific War consists in restructuring newsreel footage with "different commentaries and sound-effects…longer narratives of the war or in re-assessing the war" (Douglas, 2000, p.541).

The 1970s is the age of ethnographic documentary of the Pacific led by Australian filmmaker Denis O'Rourke, a name that "must figure strongly in any discussion of non-fiction film in the islands" (Douglas 2000, p.542). O'Rourke worked in Papua New Guinea filming documentaries such as *Yumi Yet* (1976) on Papua New Guinea's independence and *Cannibal Tours* (1988) on European tourist interaction with people in Papua New Guinea's Sepik region. Rourke's filming style echoes the traditional cinema *vérité style* used in early documentaries in Europe. Rourke used the documentary's subject matter to examine broad socio-cultural issues and changes through modernity. This narrative objective is common among non-fiction films and documentaries of the Pacific produced by Australians during the 1970s and early 1980s. Papua New Guinea was a favourite location, and filmmakers wanted to document the cultural clash between Papua New Guinean and European cultures caused by explorers, tourism, or even filmmakers. Douglas (2000) notes much of the work of early filmmaking in the Pacific blurred the genre boundaries of ethnography, documentary, film, fiction, and narrative. The idea was to present actuality but in a manner that entertained. Pioneer filmmakers such as O'Rourke referred to their works as hybrid productions such as documentary fictions or documentary dramas. Their works raise issues regarding the role of the camera, filmmaker, and filmed people as subjects and objects. But the insistence of pioneer Pacific filmmakers in using the term documentary attests to the importance of authenticity.

Regardless as to whether Pacific moving image production is fiction or non-fiction, a major element is authenticity. Notwithstanding, the ways in which authenticity is

interpreted, represented, and perceived reveal several aspects. The main producer of moving images in the Pacific is Hollywood. Landman and Ballard (2010) explain that Hollywood's representation and evidence of authenticity of the Pacific is usually limited to filming real coconut trees on a beach or lush exotic landscapes. Other representations of authenticity are filming ethnographic details such as Pasifika peoples' village lives, or cultural events such as Pasifika men and women performing traditional dances. Hollywood's production of the Pacific maintains, perpetuates, reinforces, and reiterates stereotypes of the Pacific as an aid to imaginary nation building of the United States. Fresno-Calleja (2012) says Hollywood production accesses Pacific images from different periods and from different imperial and historical contexts for transformation into easily accessible formats. Understanding how Hollywood "appropriates ethnographic conventions to legitimate mythical or fantastic visions" (Mawyer, 1997, p.2) of the Pacific is salient in understanding the development of moving-image production from the Pacific.

Australia and New Zealand are the secondary producers of moving images in the Pacific. Production from these former colonial centres focus on the social margins of their societies to explore issues of identity, diaspora, migration, and hybridity (Landman and Ballard, 2010). Australian and New Zealand film and programme makers apply to national and corporate agencies to finance film production and global distribution. If commercially successful, their productions become archetype genres emerging from the Pacific. This also includes films and other moving-image productions by indigenous filmmakers such as the New Zealand-Māori. While relatively small in number and recent, productions by indigenous filmmakers present an alternative view of the Pacific, but only a handful of films by indigenous filmmakers achieve international success. Examples are New Zealand-Māori Lee Tamahori's *Once Were Warriors* (1994), New Zealand-Māori Niki Caron's *The Whale Rider* (2002), Australian Philip Noyce's Aboriginal film, *Rabbit Proof Fence* (2002) starring Aborigine child actors Everlyn Sampi and Tianna Sansbury, and Samoan Tusi Tamasese's (2012) *The Orator (O Le Tulafale)*.

To the rest of the world, commercially successful moving image productions become genre archetypes of indigenous film and television production. First, they exemplify a particular indigenous Pasifika voice, and then, they become a synecdoche for all Pasifika voices. For example, New Zealand-Māori filmmaker Taika Waititi is an archetype of an indigenous filmmaker with New Zealand success with films such as *Boy* (2010), and *The Hunt for the Wilderpeople* (2016) as well as Hollywood blockbuster

success with films such as *Thor: Ragnarok* (2017). Waititi is the first indigenous person to direct a Marvel superhero and film. *Thor* was shot in Australia, and he made it a priority to hire Australian Aborigines and New Zealand crew members[13]. Later, he went on to direct a screen adaptation called *Jojo Rabbit* (2019) in which he won an Oscar. In his acceptance speech, Waititi said

> I dedicate this to all indigenous kids around the world who want to do art, dance, and write stories. We are the original storytellers, and we can make it here as well (2020)[14].

Waititi and his New Zealand-Māori peers are sources of inspiration. But they are also a genre archetype of Pasifika indigeneity, particularly at an international level. He works to promote indigenous voices in film. However, he speaks from the cultural frame of New Zealand-Māori and from a particular commercial context: New Zealand as a major moving image producer in the region. Genre archetypes of indigenous representation has the potential to restrict and obscure other forms of indigenous films by unknown Pasifika media producers in other lesser-known parts of the region.

Indigenous Pasifika moving image production is active. Their productions may achieve pan-Pacific commercial success, and they may participate and succeed in various film festivals within and outside the Pacific. Some may win regional and international independent film awards. However, they may not achieve the same international blockbuster commercial success of that experienced by their counterparts from the former colonial centres of New Zealand and Australia. One reason is that film, television, and documentary producers in countries such as Papua New Guinea or the island states in Micronesia do not have access to the same level of finance and distribution resources as their New Zealand and Australian counterparts. Yet, moving image creators from other parts of the Pacific have the freedom to experiment with film and television genres to decolonise them and later indigenise them to tell their own stories in their own way. For example, the film *Vai* (2019) [15] directed by nine Pasifika female directors from different parts of the Pacific, or the Solomon Islands docu-drama film *Juvenile* (2020) produced by

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[13] https://www.buzzfeed.com/allanclarke/thor-ragnarok-director-hires-aboriginal-people
[14] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFGkExLDrEc
[15] *Vai* is an example of collaborative film making. Vai is a collection of eight shorts spanning the Pacific, tied together by a common thread of *mana wahine* (strength, power, and honour of women). This film is directed by nine Pasifika women from different Pasifika nations from Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. The protagonists in each story are called *Vai* (which means water).

young aspiring actors and directors from the Dreamcast Theatre in the Solomon Islands capital of Honiara, in partnership with Save the Children and the OMS Film Group[16]. This docu-drama about two different types of justice systems dealing with young juveniles: the community-based Restorative Justice and Reconciliation System[17], or the traditional Penal Justice System.

From the 1970s to 1990s, the New Zealand Māori sovereignty movement and independence of various Pacific states inspired a generation of post-colonial film and television programme makers. One such filmmaker is New Zealand-Māori Barry Barclay who coined the term fourth cinema to refer to post-colonial production by indigenous peoples. Up until the 1970s, New Zealand's mediascape was dominated by New Zealand-*Pakeha* (European) cultural production. However, in the mid-1970s, New Zealand-Māori filmmakers challenged this dominance and produced ground-breaking documentaries. One such example is a six-part documentary series called *Tangata Whenua[18],* produced by Māori filmmaker Barry Barclay in 1974. *Tangata Whenua* combined New Zealand history and Māori oral history as well as achieve a milestone for indigenous programme making due to its screening on primetime on Sunday evenings. Also in the same year, filmmaker Geoff Murphy directed what was at the time a rare independently produced drama called *Uenuku[19]* performed entirely in the Māori language for television – making it a first in New Zealand's television history.

Māori television entertainment programmes and documentaries were establishing themselves in the New Zealand mediascape during the 1970s and 1980s; however, in 1987, the large Pasifika community in New Zealand were, for the first time, able to watch news about themselves in New Zealand and about communities in island nation states through a current affairs programme called *Tagata Pasifika[20].* In the late 1980s, Pasifika peoples made inroads into mainstream television to tell their stories as immigrants in New Zealand and as Pacific Islanders in a region reeling from post-colonialism. One such

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[16] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S7Cy1V_fbfQ

[17] Restorative justice is community and victim centred. It is a justice philosophy emphasising offender accountability and responsibility through restitution negotiated by all affected actors (community, victim's family, offender's family etc). With this option, the formal criminal justice process is avoided. Offenders are asked to recognise their wrongdoing, apologise, and repair the damage according to community-based recommendations.

[18] *Tangata Whenua* translated as People of the Land, referring to the indigenous Maori as the first discoverers and settlers of New Zealand/*Aotearoa* (Land of the Long White Cloud)

[19] *Uenuku* means rainbow.

[20] *Tagata Pasifika* translated as People of the Pacific.

example is a 1998 tongue-in-cheek documentary called *Velvet Dreams* produced by New Zealand-Samoan filmmaker Sima Urale. This documentary blends the documentary and detective television genres. It tells the story of an unseen narrator searching for a velvet painting of a Polynesian princess with whom he has fallen in love. Along the way he meets artists, fans, and critics of velvet art as well as meet Charlie McPhee, the Gauguin-like figure responsible for many velvet pictures of Polynesian women. This documentary explores the identity of modern Pasifika women and the colonial stereotypes of their sexuality that still haunt them. Other Pasifika programmes and films focus on subverting stereotypes of Pacific Islanders by drawing upon 'Brown humour' which a type of self-deprecating humour examining Pasifika people's perceptions of their own and other Pasifika cultures as well as how they are perceived by the dominant Eurocentric other. Brown humour is also a way of examining identity such as New Zealand-Pasifika. Examples are New Zealand-Pasifika comedies *Sione's Wedding* (2006) and *Three Wise Cousins* (2016).

Emerging from New Zealand-Pasifika television production is a genre I refer to as sons-and-daughters-for-the-return-home. These are travel documentaries of which the theme is cultural identity. In New Zealand media, programmes of prominent New Zealand-Pasifika people or Pasifika immigrants travelling to their cultural homelands are popular. Examples include the documentary *Our Small World* (2000) narrated by Tokelauan-born Ioana Puka on a return trip to his homeland. In this documentary, a portrait of life on a small island in Tokelau is given, and the conflict of traditional values and life with modernity is explored. Another example is a comedy-reality-documentary called *Lost Sons* (2004) about two New Zealand born-Tokelauan brothers: television presenter Jason Fa'afoi and member of parliament Kris Fa'afoi. The Fa'afoi brothers go on a seven-day trip with their mother and sister to the mother's homeland of Tokelau. These brothers confess to not speaking the language, not liking coconuts, and unable to eat the Polynesian staple foods of chop suey or taro. They describe themselves as being more 'Kiwi' (New Zealander) than Tokelauan. Yet, their seven-day trip is life-changing, and at the end, they confess to becoming a little more Tokelauan and a little more knowledgeable and authoritative about their culture. A more extreme Polynesian journey is that of New Zealand-Samoan comedian and writer Oscar Kightley, and Māori television and radio host Nathan Rarere. Their programme *Made in Taiwan (2006)* is a comedy-travelogue in which they journey around the Pacific and parts of Asia to find the origins of Polynesian people

through their mitochondrial DNA. These programmes blend reality television and documentary elements to produce a television programme format palatable to New Zealand and Pasifika audiences in various parts of the Pacific. In addition, these programmes are presented by well-known television or community Pasifika personalities living in New Zealand.

In 2011, Australian-Solomon Islands filmmaker Amie Batabilibasi and Samoan Lisa Pa'apa'a produced a collection of eight short films created by Australian-based Pasifika peoples in Melbourne called *Pacific Stories*. These films focus on issues, such as identity and culture, faced by the Pasifika diaspora living in urban Australia. This collection of short films is unique in that the participants wrote, starred in, and directed each short film. The participants took part in filmmaking and script writing workshops so that they could create their own films and stories. The series was broadcast on National Indigenous Television which part of the Australian SBS network. Funded by Multicultural Arts Victoria and the Australian Council for the Arts, *Pacific Stories* is indicative of the type of collaborative film production in other parts of the Pacific.

In essence, the bulk of Pasifika programming comes out of New Zealand and through participation in film festivals they receive transnational recognition.

3.3 Reality Television

The real is produced from miniaturized cells, matrices, and memory banks, models of control – and it can be reproduced an indefinite number of times from these … In fact, it is no longer really the real, because no imaginary envelops it anymore. It is hyperreal…

Simulacra and Simulation - Jean Baudrillard (1994)

The quotation from Baudrillard encapsulates emerging issues from the explosion of reality television programmes on our television channels since the turn of the 21st century. Such questions are: how much of what is shown as reality television is real? How much of the reality depicted on reality television is a simulated reality, namely a hyperreality?

Ouellette (2014) describes the term 'reality television' as fluid and ambiguous. At the simplest level, reality television consisting of programmes with a prominent level of unscripted content featuring real or actual people as opposed to actors can be defined as reality (Ouellette, 2014). The ambiguity of reality television lies in its hybridity of genres

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because of its need to represent all aspects of our everyday experiences. Such a need demands adaptability and mutability to capture the spontaneity of ordinary lives of everyday people every day. But there is also a sense of artifice as raw experiences must be structured to meet the demands of a television viewing audience used to story lines, plots, themes, and character types.

Reality television programmes borrow a 'little bit' of everything associated with fiction television. For instance, while reality television programmes do not include professional actors, real or actual people engage in a level of performativity in which they perform themselves. Reality television programmes also borrow or adapt elements such as scripting or voiceovers from non-fiction television. In addition, reality television programmes borrow from other reality television programmes. This incessant borrowing leads to the creation of new television genres. Examples include makeover programmes, game shows, and docu-soaps. To refer to the quote from Baudrillard above, these genres are self-reproducing in that they become copies of each other. This circumlocutive act is self-signifying in which their representations of reality are transformed into hyperrealities.

The emphasis of reality television is on intense emotion, exaggeration, and sensationalism. This emphasis stems from reality television's historical roots in the penny press of the 1830s, the dime novels of the 1870s, and yellow journalism of the early 1900s. Reality television has always been part of the television genre, but it did not come into its own until the turn of the 21st century (Ouellette, 2014). Ouellette and Murray (2009) regard reality television as "unabashedly commercial genres united…by the fusion of popular entertainment with a self-conscious claim to the discourse of the real" (Ouellette & Murray, 2009, p.3). Discourse of the real does not necessarily mean reality. It is about the projection of a perception of reality as it is perceivably experienced in various cultural and social contexts.

Reality television reflects the *zeitgeist* of our times because of its ability to capture the moment. Ouellette (2014) explains to do this, reality television becomes a form of hybrid entertainment blending elements from journalism, documentaries employing observational participation, video diaries involving fictional elements such as narratives and plots, and the merger of reality with non-fiction television genres. She states the boom of reality television is partially based on the ease in which formats could be duplicated by major and cable networks for mass viewing. Ouellette adds reality television productions are quickly produced, and they have greater levels of creative

flexibility compared to other established forms or genres of television programmes. Reality television production companies are not reliant on professional talent, writers, and other professionally trained and unionised personnel. Instead, they use freelancers and free talent, namely the ordinary people of the reality television programme. Rapid technological developments, soaring production costs, digital convergence and audience fragmentation caused by media globalisation make reality television the perfect form of media production and broadcasting. In addition, reality television integrates branding, global franchising, and interactive marketing.

Part of any discussion of reality television and its increasing popularity since the turn of 21st century is to understand its history. Programme predecessors to current reality television programmes were labelled as actuality programmes. Examples include the long-running programme *Candid Camera* in the United States. Created by Alan Funt, *Candid Camera* first aired in 1948. In this programme, a hidden camera films unsuspecting people who find themselves in confusing, embarrassing, or ridiculous situations. The programme's popularity lies in the unsolicited and unscripted reactions of people from all walks of life. The natural spontaneous reactions of real people add authenticity to the reality of the event, even if the event is artificially produced.

The term 'reality television' came into being in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Dovey (2002) notes the term was originally used to categorise a range of magazine-format programmes based on crime, accident, and health stories. According to Feasey (2008), such programmes include *Unsolved Mysteries, Rescue 911,* and *Cops*. During the 1990s in the United Kingdom, reality television included shows such as *Police Camera Action, Blues and Twos,* and *Emergency 999.* However, in the mid-1990s, chat shows, talent shows, and docu-soaps entered the reality television category. These programmes borrowed elements from factual documentaries such as voiceover techniques as well as elements from fiction soap operas or television drama (Feasey, 2008).

At the turn of the 21st century, attention fixated on reality game shows such as *Survivor* which first aired in 2000. In this programme, a group of people in an isolated hostile environment compete to stay on the show for as long as they can. Each week, during a tribal council, members cast votes to eliminate a fellow member. According to Yahr, Moore, and Chow (2015), *Survivor* became an extreme global hit that "ushered in the era of reality television" (para 2). At the time of their article's publication in 2015, Yahr et al identified over 300 reality shows since the launch of *Survivor.* All 300-plus

reality television shows are broadcast internationally in their original format or as local variations. Skeggs (2009) comments the sheer number and variety of reality television programmes indicate not only diversity but also the involvement of factors such as marketing, journalism, production, and academic discourse. Skeggs observes that the all-inclusive nature of reality television makes it difficult to categorise reality television as a single genre. Rather, reality television is multi-generic, multi-replicative, and involves multi-partners and factors. Within the multiplicity and fluidity of reality television, basic common elements are prevalent: the emphasis on ordinary people and non-fiction events (Skeggs, 2009). In essence, reality television turns ordinary daily living into a spectacularly extraordinary event. Reality television, its historical and economic development, and constant metamorphosis into new hybrid forms arise from a bank of images, and as an image-making device, it reproduces itself based on tried and tested formats to suit new viewer contexts.

Reality television becomes a spectacle which in turn becomes a location reflecting conflicts, hierarchies, resistance, marginalisation, domination, understandings, misunderstandings, social relations, and connections found in society. Thus, reality television as a media spectacle become embodiments of "society's basic values and serve to enculturate individuals into its way of life" (Kellner, 2005 p.25). The implication points back to the quotation from Baudrillard at the start of this section. Through the act of watching representations of reality in reality television, viewers, as members of society, locate themselves within these media spectacles, and as such identify with what they watch, particularly as the viewing content is packaged as real or authentic. However, such representations are detached from the actual reality they depict, and a result is that reality becomes a copy of its media representation. Consequently, people learn about themselves and their societies through reality television, as opposed to learning through lived life experiences. Therefore, people live in the hyperrealities of reality television.

Reality television, despite its claims to real life and authenticity, present ideals, and images that for many do not exist in the real world, in other words a non-life. This non-life is what people respond to, aspire to, or escape from. Reality television is a constructive hypothesis of a particular worldview representing a moment in time. These are given generic constructions, but it is through genericness that the viewer finds specific satisfaction suited to his/her sense of self. There is elasticity between genericity and specificity, open and closed representation, as well as between perceived needs in reality

and having needs met through the image as spectacle. Reality television does not reflect a worldview, but it presents a worldview to which viewers conform.

As mentioned above, Yahr et al (2015) identify over 300 reality programmes. These programmes involve debasement and stigmatisation of programme participants and the need to overcome problems through extreme measures. There are conflicts through competition. The fittest, the most talented, or the most beautiful win while the losers are labelled as not making the grade. Even for those who are perceived losers, they receive makeovers such as cosmetic surgery, weight loss programmes, and home makeovers. Reality television presents a worldview into which individual viewers project themselves, and they become part of that spectacularised reality.

In their study of viewer perceptions of reality television programmes, Rose, and Wood (2005) explain reality television viewers often ask wonder-type questions such as they wonder why particular actors spoke or dressed a certain way. Viewers also form hypotheses based on imagining themselves in the place of a reality programme participant. Rose and Wood discovered reality television viewers deconstruct programmes; thereby, inferring engagement and interactivity as opposed to passivity and reception. This depends on the viewers' abilities to reconcile paradoxes between their own life situations and the projections of real life in reality television programmes. Rose and Wood observe these paradoxes were of "identification (beautiful people vs. people like me), situation (common goals vs. uncommon surroundings), and production (unscripted vs. necessary manipulation)" (Rose & Wood, 2005, p.294).

As part of the viewer deconstruction process, viewers negotiate these paradoxes as "resonant and engaging, rather than as bewildering or confusing" (Rose & Wood, 2005, p.294). Using Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality as a base, Rose and Wood claim viewers appear to see positive aspects in the contrived authenticity of reality television creating a sense of hyper-authenticity. They define hyper-authenticity as the viewers' reflexive consumption of a specific and unique blend of fantasy with the real. They add, "reality shows may serve as utopian places where the viewer can engage in creative play space" (Rose & Wood, 2005, p.295). Their concept of creative play space extends beyond a reality television programme to the viewer's imagination as another locative spectacle created by the spectacle of reality television. Reality television becomes "a testing board [for a viewer's and societies'] self-identities and social identities" (Rose and Wood, 2005, p.295).

The effects of reality television and its morphism are fuelled by "our ever-mutating experience of the private and the public" (Dovey, 2000, p.1). Dovey elaborates reality television's focus is the first-person experience; moreover, the reflexive nature of factual reality programmes creates new forms of the documentary film tradition. Documentary-makers no longer stay behind the camera; they include themselves or the 'I' in their own documentary's narrative. However, the first-person point-of-view is unreliable, and it requires a level of trust from the viewer. The viewer must trust that the first-person perception is authentic, is real. Furthermore, the first-person experience is dualistic. First, reality television programmes focus on the first-person experience of participants. Secondly, reality television's voyeuristic nature implies the viewer's first-person experience in watching the participants' first-hand experience. Therefore, an inference is that the programme roles of subject and object along with performer and viewer are ambiguous because of the hybridity of fiction and non-fiction elements.

3.3.1 Primitivism Reality Television and Ethnotainment

The denotative meaning of tribe is a community in which members claim the same ancestral descent. The connotative meaning of tribe is loaded depending on its context and usage. One common application is to signify primitive, native, uncivilised, and cultural otherness. Fluehr-Lobban, Lobban, and Zangari (1976) explain the etymology of the word tribe could be traced back to Roman colonial expansion in which the root word for tribe, *tribus,* referred to "conquered peoples away from centres of "civilization" at the peripheries of the empire" (Fluehr-Lobban, et al, 1976, p.160).

The phrase 'one of the tribe' is a prevailing motto for Bruce Parry's television series *Tribe*. It reinforces the etymology of *tribus* through built-in dichotomies of tribe and non-tribe, centre-periphery, dominant-subordinate, modern-primitive, or insider-outsider. The stark binaries become blurred when someone from a dominant culture wants to be one of the minorities, namely one of the tribe. This desire repositions the culturally dominant centre as peripheral and the peripheral minor culture as the new dominant centre. Nevertheless, this repositioning is denotative and nominative. The underlying effect is that the dominant centre strengthens its position by increasing its cultural, ideological, and power space inside the minor culture. This conjures an image of cultural cannibalism as the minor culture is slowly engulfed and replaced from the inside by the dominant culture.

Thereupon, the image of the cultural other is controlled and kept relevant if it serves the purpose of the dominant culture. The desire to be 'one of the tribe' entrenches orientalism which Said (1978/2003) defines as the study of the oriental derived from Western colonisation of non-Western or 'orient' lands and peoples. In this multimedia age, study of the oriental has become media entertainment.

Ball & Nozawa (2016) note the convergence of reality television with early travel and tourism narratives. Burton (2013) defines travel narrative as a genre permitting "an admixture of personal experience and cultural observation, historical storytelling, and political call to arms" (p.1). He explains early travel narratives reported discoveries and explorations, and they documented exotic cultures, languages, and environments. Burton continues historically travel narratives were ethnographic studies in which the writers exercised scientific objectivity in the purpose of documentation. These narratives were written by diplomats, explorers, and adventurers, and their first-hand accounts were regarded as truthful and as such became potent information sources from which Europeans learned about the world beyond their own experiences. Accounts deemed implausible were dismissed. Burton writes early travel narratives,

> often played a formative role in imperial policy... but in general, Europeans wrote for other Europeans in a colonial discourse that was grounded in premises that writers and their audiences shared and seldom fundamentally questioned (Burton, 2013, p.3).

The 20th century saw a decline in traditional travel narratives partially through the rise of the travel and tourism industries, and the rapid development of multimedia technologies. More people were travelling, and often, and through technology, images of other cultures, places, and people became readily available. To accommodate these changes, travel narratives became autobiographical in which observation was subjective (Burton, 2013).

In the primitivism reality television context, products of the convergence noted by Ball and Nozawa (2016) are what I refer to as ethnotainment. Dovey (2002) comments that the prevalence of the 'I' narrative in new documentary formats emphasises first-hand or eye-witness accounts in which the subject observes through immersion and participation. Ethnotainment demonstrates this. As 'I' accounts, the subject observes tribes through immersion and participation, suggesting a pseudo form of ethnography resonating with early travel narratives. These 'I' accounts are, by virtue of the first-person narrative,

autobiographical and subjective, mirroring current trends in contemporary travel narratives. In ethnotainment programmes, the presenter documents and reflects on his own process of going tribal. This makes the process of tribality engaging and entertaining. To reiterate Rose and Wood (2005), entertainment is wonder, awe, or even incredibility in the subject's supposedly 'credible' first-hand experience.

Reality television programmes of expert-extreme survivalists in primitive, hostile terrain are examples of the convergence observed by Ball and Nozawa (2016). Popular personalities in this form of ethnotainment are Britons Ray Mears, Bear Grylls, Bruce Parry, and Ed Stafford; Canadian Les Stroud; and Native American Indian Hazel Auden. Another form of ethnotainment is reality television programmes of explorer-adventurers immersing themselves in indigenous cultures. These explorer-adventurers include Bruce Parry, Mark Anstice, Oliver Steads, Hazel Auden, Les Stroud, and the so-called booze traveller, American actor Jack Maxwell who immerses himself in national drinking cultures and related activities. This form of ethnotainment also includes the cultural immersion of ordinary people from Western cultures in tribal communities. One example is the BBC reality television programme *Tribal Wives* (2008-). In this programme, British wives' journey to exotic and faraway lands to live with indigenous communities.

A variation of the cultural-immersion-plot deals with the perceived 'super-humanness' of indigenous peoples developed by their living in hostile environments. Examples are the extreme endurance of the Raramuri people in Mexico, famous for running ultra-marathon distances daily, or the Mongolian horseman on the Steppes of Mongolia. In such programmes, presenters are pushed to the physical and mental limits, as indigenous peoples teach them skills to survive and complete an extreme test of endurance set by the host group. An example is Hazel Auden's programme series *Primal Survivor* (2016-) distributed by National Geographic. Of recent is the emergence of primitivism cooking shows in which celebrity chefs risk life and limb to gather exotic foods, learn exotic cooking techniques, and test their new culinary skills by cooking a meal for indigenous host groups. Examples are Briton Gordon Ramsey and Australian-based Scotsman Jock Zonafrillo.

Kuppens and Mast (2012) suggest the reason for the popularity of primitivism reality television lies in culture shock which intensifies the exoticism of the cultural Other. A definition of culture shock is confusion, uncertainty and sometimes anxiety that people may experience when exposed to an alien culture or environment with minimal

preparation (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary). Culture shock works in parallel with survival. In ethnotainment programmes, the presenters are dislocated from their daily cultural bearings. Yet, at the same time, they have a lifeline in the forms of the camera crew and camera which remind them of their cultural subjectivities. The presenters' culture shock is having to survive being primitive. A symptom of their culture shock is nostalgia as they remember what they did and had in their own home environments; in this sense, nostalgia is linked to a sense of loss. As the presenters become assimilated into indigenous cultures, their culture shock diminishes and is replaced with reflection and reassessment of their life values and priorities. But culture shock goes the other way. The filmed indigenous communities are close knit, and the arrival of a group of strangers disrupts their daily lives and routines. Kuppens and Mast (2012) add the more exotic the filmed groups, the greater and more intense the culture shock experienced by the visitors [and hosts]. Culture shock makes for entertaining television, but it may not be enough to sustain the popularity of ethnotainment programmes.

Focusing on primitivist tourism[21], Stasch (2016) recognises what he calls dramas of otherness. Dramas of otherness offer interesting applications for ethnotainment programmes as the primitive-cultural tourist and the ethnotainment programme presenter share commonalities. Both immerse themselves in the cultures they visit, and both have so-called 'authentic' cultural and tribal experiences. Basically, the television presenter is the media version of a cultural tourist. According to Stasch (2016), dramas of otherness is heightened attention paid to *differences* between contact parties. The main difference is the materialism of one party and the lack of material goods of the other. Heightened attention is a form of transcendence in which each party has a semi-divine wish to be the other. This sense of otherness is bilateral as each sees one another as the other because each has what the other wants. Stasch (2016) recognised three modes in the dramas of otherness: 1) exoticising stereotypy, 2) transcendental presence and agitation of normativity, and 3) transcendental presence and working socially on the otherness of others.

Exoticising stereotypy deals with elements that make so-called first contact encounters attractive and moving. These encounters are perceived as sacred, transcendent, and once-of-a-lifetime. Through these encounters, indigenous peoples are labelled

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[21] Primitivist tourism: tourists travel to remote indigenous communities to experience tribal and primitive cultures and ways of living.

transcendent because they are pure and untouched from modernity (Stasch, 2016). The perception of transcendence is premised on indigenous peoples following traditional customs and living a way of life unchanged for millennia. They also have a direct and unbroken link to their cultures in the 'original form'. In primitivism reality television, the narrative of ethnotainment programmes evinces the mode of exoticising stereotypy. Part of the programme's narrative is the presenter stepping into and experiencing an untouched world. In this experience, the presenter brings with him historical mimetic capital of primitivism and tribalism (Stasch, 2016). Coming from the modern progressive world, the presenter accesses this mimetic capital to recognise primitive elements signifying the cultural purity of his destination environment and host culture. This recognition places indigenous 'tribal' peoples on a pedestal because of their perceived spiritual virtue and harmony with nature (Stasch, 2016).

The second mode of transcendental presence and agitation of normativity is based on the indigenous community being isolated or having very recent and limited contact with civilisation. In ethnotainment programmes, this mode is an enduring theme. In developing this theme, the programmes' narratives punctuate the presenters' home cultures as modern civilisation. Civilisation is a symbol of progress, but it also symbolises "the condition of living by consumption of mass commodities" (Stasch, 2016, p.13). In this ideological context, the term uncontacted is not so much a description of the indigenous; it is more a critical description of the visiting programme presenters. "Uncontacted" is a way of saying "not my life system of capitalism and commodity markets" (ibid). Indigenous communities become vehicles to think about consumer capitalism in the modern world. The 'primitive' is idealised as they live well with nothing. They are surrounded by things they need as opposed to things they want.

The last mode in Stasch's dramas of otherness is transcendental presence and working socially on the otherness of others. This deals with the normative expectations of the other. Part of Stasch's (2016) explication of his concept of the dramas of otherness is a discussion of the Korowai people. Stasch notes the Korowai have expectations and judgments of tourists to their region. In their worldview, an outsider's foreignness is illustrated through appearance, language, mannerisms, dress, and so on. Like the Korowai, the filmed indigenous groups perceive the foreignness of an outsider by the things he/she has. For example, in his programme of the Kombai, Parry comments on how his host family comment on the amount of unnecessary clothing he has.

In ethnotainment programmes, indigenous communities are idealised as living an untouched culture, through their isolation from the modern world. However, this isolation does not mean ignorance. For instance, in Parry's programme of the Anutans, one of the children in Parry's host family is named after the Australian actor Mel Gibson. As another example, to earn cash, the Anutan fish sharks for their fins which they sell to Asian ships sailing in their waters. Explaining this last mode of dramas of otherness further, Stasch (2016) states indigenous peoples' stereotype of outsiders is that they have things. In Fuata's programme of her trip to Rotuma, apart from the camera and sound equipment, Fuata brought with her large containers of food, such as corned beef, and other goods she purchased in either New Zealand or Fiji for her hosts. These are briefly filmed as her family and family friends unloaded her luggage upon arrival to Rotuma. In Polynesian cultures, such as Rotuman, giving goods to a host family is part of a cultural exchange of gifts and hospitality.

In some contexts, the filmed indigenous groups, according to Stasch, tolerate an outsider's perception of them as primitive because they want the material goods that outsiders bring with them. When Parry arrives on Anuta, he gifts them a short-wave radio, and other goods. As another example, before Parry could meet his Kombai host family, he sent them a pig, which another Kombai clan delivered. Stasch (2016) surmises that the transcendental 'purity' of indigenous peoples become commodified, indicating knowledge the indigenous communities have of the modern world, thereby questioning their cultural isolation.

Primitivism reality television garners popularity in emphasising the modes of the dramas of otherness as well as tensions in the negotiation and interpretation of otherness and exoticism. In ethnotainment programmes, otherness/primitivism/tribal are treated with awe; however, that sense of awe has a double edge. On one hand, tribalism cannot be too tribal as it could alienate the viewer. If tribalism is too primitive, that sense of awe becomes transformed to a sense of the grotesque. On the other hand, tribalism cannot be too familiar as claims of first contact lose credibility. The three modes in Stasch's dramas of otherness maintain and cultivate tribalism to a level of palatable exoticism.

3.4 Authenticity of Reality in Ethnotainment

What is real? How do you define 'real'? If you're talking about what you can feel, what can you smell, what can you taste and see, then 'real' is simply electrical signals interpreted by your brain.

Morpheus, *The Matrix* (1999)

Nothing is original. Steal from anywhere that resonates with inspiration or fuels your imagination...If you do this, your work (and theft) will be authentic. Authenticity is invaluable; originality is non-existent. And don't bother concealing your thievery – celebrate it if you feel like it… It's not where you take things from – it's where you take them to.

American director Jim Jarmusch (2004)[22]

The Matrix (1999) is a science fiction film dealing with perceptions of reality and existence[23]. Jim Jarmusch is an American director, composer, script writer, actor, and producer[24]. The quotations above introduce issues regarding reality and authenticity in moving images, and in the context of my research, the perception of authenticity and reality in the reality television genre. The quotation from *The Matrix* echoes a Baudrillardian ideology in which reality is based on a simulation of reality, namely there is no real. In his work *Simulation and Simulacra* (1994/1981), Baudrillard explains we are living in a world where reality is "the generation of models of a real origin or reality: a hyperreal" (Baurdrillard, 1994/1981, pp.1-2). Baudrillard claims a postmodern society can no longer differentiate between the simulation of reality and reality itself. The consequence is a hyperreality in which the simulation is more real than reality and where reality imitates its simulations. Hyperreality is the disconnection and loss of the real world

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[22] *MovieMaker Magazine* #53 - Winter, January 22, 2004

[23] *The Matrix* is an artificially created metaphysical and virtual world in which humans live. Artificial intelligence machines created a virtual reality or the matrix to hide the quotidian reality of humans. Humans are the machines energy sources, and they are farmed and incubated their whole lives in cocoons. In these cocoons, humans are plugged into the matrix where they dream their lives created by the machines. They believe their lives are 'real'. Morpheus is a rebel leader who searches for and unplugs humans to free their minds. Those who are freed realise that nothing is real, only the truth is real.

[24] Jarmusch's most notable film is *Stranger Than Paradise*, an absurdist-deadpan comedy with a minimalist plot. Made from leftover film stock and shot in black and white, the film uses uninterrupted film shots and fade-in-and-out of black screen as editing techniques. Jarmusch is described as seeing the United States through the eyes of outsiders: immigrants and tourists whose perspectives grant a new window onto America (Lim. 2011. https://w ww.latimes.com/entertainment/la-xpm-2011-aug-07-la-ca-second-look-20110807-story.html)

no longer experienced. Believed experiences of reality are nothing more than technological and electronic process that shape coded images before they are perceived. In the film *The Matrix,* the lack of experience of physical external and quotidian reality means an imaginary internal perception of that reality. Dovey (2000) explains identities are projected and formed in the outside world while electronic media is a window through which the outside is projected in our private world. He writes "the materials which are projected into our interior spaces have lost their claim as signs of the real, since realism itself depended upon maintaining the distance between the inner and outer worlds. This distance has collapsed leaving mere simulation" (Dovey, 2000, p.88).

Dovey's description of the Baudrillardian position echo elements of Appadurai's (1996) discussion of image and ideological flows to and from various scapes/spaces which are multiple, boundaryless and timeless; they are global and transnational, but these scapes are also private and internal. The trade of generic television formats aid in the dislocation between the external world and the internal imaginative world. Through transnational media flows, and as consumers of media flows, imaginary connections to locations and peoples (both fictional and non-fictional) are formed, especially if visiting, experiencing, and knowing the locations, lives, and people shown on television are unlikely. Therefore, media consumers accept that what is shown on television is real. The global or transnational media creates simulation as proposed by Baudrillard.

An objective of ethnotainment programmes is to understand the realities of indigenous peoples by being with them to live as they live. The only way in developing this understanding is to become tribal. This is more than just imitating or pretending; it is an act of becoming resulting in a state of being. This process is visible in ethnotainment programmes through the push-pull effect of simulation and dissimulation or, other words, absence, and presence (Baudrillard 1994/1981). Through this push-pull effect, a continuous self-reproduction of simulation is created and maintained rendering the simulation as reality, namely a simulacrum. In these programmes, the presenters simulate tribality through experiencing acts of tribalism which in themselves are poor versions of actual rites. Therefore, the presenters' experiences are based on a copy of a copy leading to a transformation in which the presenters becoming tribal eventuates to a point in which they are tribal, namely a simulacrum of indigeneity.

The perception of reality in reality television can assert belief in the authenticity of that reality. The quotation from Jamusch above aligns authenticity with borrowing to

inspire creativity and a creative product. Authenticity, according to Jamusch, is an unabashed open act of stealing ideas to produce something imaginative and credible. Salient is his idea that "nothing is original". Stories are intertextual in that when one story is heard another story is echoed and recognised. Jamusch adds that authenticity fuels the viewer's imagination by taking him/her on an imaginary trip. It is imaginary transcendence derived from simulations of actual reality in the real world. Jamusch's linking authenticity with imaginary transcendence is based on the correlation of what a person says and feels. According to Cobbs (2014) correlation is "correspondence between a person's moral core and his or her speech acts" (Cobbs, 2014, p.2). As an illustration, Fuata in her programme of her trip to Rotuma says she is touched by seeing her grandmother's grave. This is an emotional speech act of which the expectation is a strong correlation between what she says and what she feels. The balance between showing enough emotion to showing too much emotion must be maintained. The correlation between Fuata's words of feelings and her state of being creates an imaginary relationship between Fuata and the viewer. The viewer conceptually and imaginatively understands and sympathises with her; thereby sustaining authenticity of her emotional experience. If Fuata shows too much emotion, then the risk is that the viewer is alienated as it smacks of falseness.

Unfamiliar surroundings, cultures, and peoples are plot features of ethnotainment programmes. In some cases, the filmed surroundings and cultures can be extreme in their unfamiliarity rendering them as too extreme to be believed. Therefore, essential is the use of techniques to develop these programmes' authenticity. One technique is the use of actual or real people. They are non-professional and untrained 'actors'; therefore, their performances should convey naturalness and spontaneity in reacting to events and in their interactions with people around them. Hill (2005) states, "the more ordinary people are perceived to perform in front of television cameras, the less real the programme appears to be." (Hill, 2005, p.449). Another technique is to balance documentary and entertainment elements. Maintaining this balance are the modes of filming such as camera angles, framing, and sound. Another way of cultivating the balance between documentary and entertainment is through the pseudo-ethnographic aspect of observing and commenting on indigenous cultures. This is achieved by the presenters actively participating in those cultures, in other words, participant observation. The element of entertainment is shown by the presenters' process of living tribal. If the ethnotainment programme is too

entertaining, the lower the acceptance of that programme's projected authenticity. Documentary elements must be recognisable.

Newman & Smith (2016) present a typology of authenticity. The first is iconic authenticity. This deals with whether something/someone fits into an observer's expectation of how that object or person should appear or act. The second is whether something is true to its associated type or category. The third type is moral, namely judgement over whether "decisions behind the enactment and operation of an entity reflect sincere choices (i.e., choices true to oneself) rather than socially scripted responses" (Newman, & Smith, 2016, p.611). Newman and Smith also identify an interesting perspective of authenticity: existential. They describe this as achievement of "a certain personal and inter-subjective state of being" (Newman & Smith, 2016, p.612). The dominant type of authenticity in ethnotainment is existential, but other forms of authenticity can be present, such as iconic as in whether the indigenous people fulfil the expectations of tribalism, or type authenticity as in whether the indigenous people are true to the category of primitivism. Nominal authenticity is evident in the presenter's statement of his/her role as the programme subject through his/her own statements of his/her expertise and experience. These forms of authenticity are important in balancing documentary and entertainment elements and making them seamless in their interaction with each other. In addition, authenticity maintains the mirage of reality of actuality in these programmes.

As a final point, authenticity works in tandem with the marketplace. The level of appreciating something as authentic depends on the marketability of the perception of that object's authenticity. The paradox, according to Cobbs (2014), is that,

> to create an aura of authenticity … an object or a text must *seem* [author's own italic emphasis] not only irreproducible, original, but also uncorrupted by Western capitalism, even though these very objects rely on the marketplace for dissemination (Cobbs, 2014, p.6).

The unexplored, the uncontacted, uncharted, and unknown are elements which make ethnotainment programmes appealing. The prefix 'un' is a selling and marketing ploy. This simple prefix creates a simulation of purity and authenticity confirmed by the romantic images of the primitive man in his natural state as well as the Conradian[25] dark

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[25] Joseph Conrad *Heart of Darkness (*1899)

patches on maps of islands such as New Guinea. This simulation disintegrates the boundary between the external real world and imagined reality, creating space for a makeshift perception of authenticity which is framed as incorrupt, and available for use as a commodity for television production, distribution, programming, and sponsorship deals.

3.5 Performativity & Theatricality of Cross-cultural Events

They hang, a pig's tooth necklace around my neck and tie a cord around my head, the simple adornments of a Kombai man. But then something much worse...And, with the polite reserve of an Englishman abroad, I don't quite know how to refuse without causing offence...I realise I'd found my limits in living like a Kombai.

Bruce Parry, 'The Kombai' Episode in *Tribes*

The quotation above is a voiceover from *Tribe* presenter Bruce Parry. The voiceover describes his preparation for the Kombai initiation right of manhood: genital inversion. His dressing as Kombai is symbolic for the physical transformation that follows. Parry does not want to go through the physical process, but is unable to say no because of, as he explains, his "polite reserve of an Englishman abroad" (Parry, 2005, 00:50.06 - 00:50-08). In the end, Parry chooses not to complete the process. Parry's statement reveals an ideological and mental shift superseding the climax of the programme's plot.

For four weeks, Parry immersed himself in the Kombai culture to understand the people and their way of life to fulfil his desire to be one of the tribe. This desire is a process of becoming or arriving to something. In this process, he navigates his English cultural values within the Kombai culture. During his four-week cultural immersion, Parry is in a liminal state in which he is neither English nor Kombai, but a little of both – a cultural position of hybridity. The Kombai rite of passage is a confirmation of arriving at an ideological point where Parry could state that he *is* one of the tribe. However, Parry abandons the physical transformation which symbolically is an abandonment of the last part of his process of becoming Kombai. Parry rejected his process of becoming. As a symbolic gesture, the Kombai left him physically unchanged, and they cover him with leaves confirming the performativity of his four-week immersion with them. The inauthenticity of Parry's performativity of the act of becoming Kombai is visible in his finding his limits.

This example is an entry point to discuss the concept of performativity by American philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler, along with discussions of performance genealogy theorised by New Zealand scholar in theatre and performance studies, Christopher Balme.

Judith Butler discusses the construction of self and questions assumptions of the naturalness and essentialism of gendered behaviours. Butler's theoretical framework focuses on gender construction through the female body as a contested location. Her discussion of performativity has relevance to my research as like the female body, the indigenous body is a site of contestation, ambiguity and identity construction, and performativity.

Butler (1993, 1998) argues our reality is created through performative speech acts telling us what to do, how to become, and eventually be. Performative speech acts are "understood as those speech acts that bring into being that which they name" (Butler, 1994, p.33). Performativity is the enactment of a speech act and as such "has the capacity to produce what it names" (ibid) of which "this production actually always happens through a certain kind of repetition and recitation" (ibid). Therefore, the speech act and its performativity or enactment becomes the norm. For example, the declaration "it's a girl" (Butler, 1993, p.176) is a performative speech act which names. Naming is transitive as it is the performativity or "process by which a certain "girling" is compelled" (Butler, 1993, p.177). Speech acts are forms of power in which,

> the formation of a corporeally enacted femininity [is one] that never fully approximates the norm. This is a "girl," however, who is compelled to "cite" the norm in order to qualify and remain a viable subject. Femininity is thus not the product of a choice, but the forcible citation of a norm (Butler, 1993, p. 177).

According to Butler, performative speech acts are conventions representing ideologies of our social world. These acts are citable, and through citation, certain values and forms of reality are enacted. A performative speech act is enacted by the body; thus, the body is the act. Through enactment or performativity, conventions (for example, marriage), and ideologies (such as marriage as a hegemonic and heterosexual norm) become naturalised and then become actual or real. Speech acts and their performativity confirm normative heterosexuality, which in turn define and subjugate gender identity.

Performative speech acts change one's existence and one's bodily self. In the context of my study, ethnotainment programmes contain performative speech acts of

tribalism. The bodies of the programme presenters become transformative locations, as they perform or enact the act of becoming tribal to eventually be tribal. Acts of tribalism are loaded with Euro-centric perceptions of the social conventions and ideologies of a tribal worldview. For example, Parry fails to take the physical enactment or performativity of the act to "be one of the Kombai tribe", as the conventions behind the transformative act of Kombai manhood contradict the social conventions and values of his being an English man. In Parry's English worldview, genital inversion is a sign of emasculation contrasting the Kombai's perspective of the physical process as a sign of masculinity. This contrast is made visible in closeup shots of Parry addressing the camera and musing about the differences between the English and Kombai cultures. In this moment, Parry steps out of the performativity of becoming Kombai and into the performativity of the speech act 'I am English". Alternative speech acts of subjectivity are out of view because of the use of the closeup shot which limits their discursive space in the discourse of Parry's musings.

Butler writes, "One is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, one does one's body" (1998, p.521). A consequence of performative speech acts is the impact they have on the creation of one's subjectivity. Butler (1998) argues a person believes that his/her subjectivity is independent and self-willed, but this belief is a construction borne out of the enactment or performativity of social conventions. A person's sense of identity and subjectivity is what Butler refers to as ¨corporeal style¨ (1998, p.521) which is ideological, as it does not contain any essential truths. A person's corporeal style is loaded with a history existing beyond the person's enactment of social conventions in speech acts. Butler emphasises that the performativity of a speech act in a present moment is a speech act which has always been enacted. An example are speech acts normalising heterosexual gender, such as marriage. Performative speech acts become actualised and reproduced as reality which is accepted as the social norm.

Butler's point above of the body as a location of enactment or performativity alludes to the famous adage of French writer and existential philosopher, Simone de Beauvoir: "One is not born, but becomes a woman" (de Beauvoir, 1949/1953, p.273). In this adage, 'woman' is socially constructed by acting hegemonic conventions of 'woman' in everyday lives. When a female enacts 'woman'; she becomes 'woman'. The speech act of 'woman' and its performativity are seen in dress, actions, speech and so on: all social conventions. This can also be applied to 'tribal' in which the act of tribal is socially constructed and the enactment of tribal is the performativity of hegemonic Euro-centric

conventions that define tribal. This sustains binaries upholding a hegemonic, vertical power structure. Butler exhorts the need to advocate for the rights of those outside the normative conventions and rules. One way is to create alternative scripts of alternative speech acts. Social conventions in speech acts are historically entrench through repetition leading to false essentialism and subjectivity; yet they can be subverted and challenged through alternative performativities of alternative speech acts.

Christopher Balme's discussion of performance genealogy in cross-cultural encounters between Pasifika and Western cultures in the Pacific region echoes some of Butler's points in his work *Pacific Performances Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the South Seas* (2007). In tracing the historical genealogy of cross-cultural events from early colonial contact to cultural events in contemporary tourist centres in Hawaii or New Zealand, Balme argues cross-cultural encounters are theatrical in which the performances of these encounters and the theatricality of the performance have a genealogy. These are:

> the historical transmission and dissemination of cultural practices through collective representations' which form a network of interlocking discourses and practices that establish continuities over long periods of time (Balme, 2007, p.1).

Balme's point is like Butler's discussion of performativity, namely the enactment of social conventions inferred in speech acts results in historical repetitions of those conventions. These conventions are created over a long historical trajectory. Balme (2007) notes that Pacific cross-cultural encounters are "*citational* (author's italics) practices in the sense that performers and spectators draw on common, but not necessarily congruent repertoires of knowledge" (p.2). Butler made the same point of citational practices in her discussion of performative speech acts, gender identity and subjectivity. Balme emphasises that cross-cultural events in the Pacific are theatrical as the meeting cultures perform roles that develop dialogic tensions between the search for and experience of primitive authenticity.

Theatricality is defined by a particular worldview; it is a mode of perception. Balme (2007) elaborates that the mode of perception is intertextual as it uses and weaves together elements from different genres and forms of representation. In addition, apart from being a mode of perception, theatricality can also be defined as a mode of behaviour and belonging or reflecting a particular moment in time. Gestures, clothing, or other items reflecting every day experiences become theatrical signs in the negotiation of meeting

cultures which try to make sense of each other. Balme states the "power to transform and redefine signs [is] integral to theatre" (Balme, 2007, p.5). As participants in cross-cultural encounters move from one culture to another, they become locations of divergent meanings, including misunderstanding and conflict. The transformative power of cross-cultural contact is to become the other, as part of the negotiation process of understanding. The mode of perception opens space for modes of behaviour which is the imitative process in the performativity of experiencing a culture. Imitation, therefore, is more than aping each other's performances.

The concept of imitation is where Butler and Balme differ. In Butler's ideological framework, the performativity or enactment of speech acts must be transformative. Performativity is the process of 'becoming' in the development of a person's subjectivity and identity. A person enacts a speech act which is a process of becoming that act to eventually being that act. Imitation, on the other hand, is nothing more than a state of pretending. In contrast, Balme regards imitation as a state of becoming. The transformative ability of imitation depends on the level of conviction in and of the imitation in theatrical situations and the modes inherent in those situations. For instance, the imitation of the cultural other is seen in cross-cultural encounters as theatrical situations. Theatrical situations are defined as being "citable, repeatable, and …mediated" (Balme, 2007, p.5). They are intertextual and have a genealogy. This emphasises the authority of historical cross-cultural encounters, which in turn become templates for present encounters. The genealogy of historical encounters is a long running template.

Balme begins his genealogical overview with early expeditions to the Pacific by navigators and explorers Louis de Bougainville and Captain James Cook to modern cultural performances at, for example, Hawai'i's Polynesian Cultural Centre. Because of the history of colonisation in the Pacific, the imitation and theatricality of cross-cultural encounters is the citational imitation and theatricality of colonial discourse. Five hundred years of the performativity of colonisation and primitivism/nativism have reduced many Pacific cultures to stereotypical synecdoche. As Balme notes,

> performance gradually becomes almost synonymous with an indigenous people, where a particular dance or ritual comes to have the metonymic gesture of standing in for the whole of these respective cultures (2007, p.97).

Imitation and theatricality of cross-cultural events are events of negotiation involving both meeting parties, indicating agency of the perceived cultural other. The two-way relationship is asymmetrical, but Balme notes the subtle ways in which Pasifika peoples as cultural others can subvert perceptions of tourists as the culturally dominant – without tourists realising it. Balme notes two methods of subversion: mimicking the tourist as a form of mockery and distorting the cultural tourist's own perception of cultural visitors in general.

In his discussions of Pasifika performers in tourism cultural centres, Balme notes that the performers mimic the cultural tourists' perceptions of themselves against Pasifika people's perceptions of cultural visitors. Pasifika performers in cross-cultural contact parody the cultural other and his/her attempts at being Pasifika. An example is for Hawaiian performers to encourage spectators to try and dance the Hawaiian hula, which only emphasises their Western-ness as culturally inept. Meanwhile, the performers are imitating the spectators trying to perform like them. Of note is that that the Hawaiian hula seen in tourism centres is not the tradition *kapahula* form. It is a bastardised Western variation. This subverts the cultural tourists' aim to experience authentic Hawaiian culture. Balme calls this the "double-voiced trickster discourse" (2007, p.83). Parody from Pasifika people performing the cultural other in cross-cultural contact demonstrate self-awareness of Euro-American projections and perceptions. This indicates a different and alternative historical genealogy with a long trajectory, namely the indigenous people's own cross-contact experience with outsiders.

3.6 The Phenomenology of the Camera

Film theorist Edward Branigan in his book *Projecting a Camera* (2006) asked two questions: what is a camera? and when is a camera? These questions pull the theory of film and camera into the philosophy of phenomenology in which the camera is something to be experienced, and something which experiences. Phenomenology is about conscious experiences stemming from perception, imagination, emotion, and bodily awareness from the first-person point-of-view. The experiential "I" is conscious experience, evoking phenomenological and ontological senses of "I" as being experienced and experiencing. Basically, conscious experience is being aware of the experience while living through or performing it. German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1907/1999) writes, "every intellectual experience, indeed every experience whatsoever, can be made into an object of

pure seeing and apprehension while it is occurring…It is given as an existing entity as a "this-here" (Husserl, 1907/1999, p.24). Elaborating on this point, conscious experience "compares, distinguishes, connects, places in relation, can be dissected and can separate off moments through the pure act of seeing" (Husserl, 1907/1999, p.43).

      The phenomenological sense of experience of the "pure act of seeing" (ibid) encourages discussions of film or moving images as experiences of the camera and experiences through the camera. The camera becomes an active eye (Sobchack, 1992). French philosopher Merleau-Ponty (1964) notes the camera acts as a link to bring about "the union of mind and body, mind and world, and the expression of one in the other" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p.58). Moving images enable the subject 'I' to consciously experience this union through the gaze as well as perform this experience through the interaction of the gaze. Gaze is facilitated through and with the camera which also gazes.

      To gaze is to either see-as or see-in. Hopkins (2008) explains to see-in is an observatory or outside gaze in which there is medium-level conscious awareness of the physical materials that create and present an image. The viewer is aware of an object's image as an aesthetic representation. R. Allen (1993,1997) takes this one step further, echoing the Husserlian concept of pure-seeing and the Wittengstein sense of projected illusion in which the gaze can also see-as. R. Allen explains to see-as is conscious awareness of certain aspects of an image which imaginatively and mentally change that image, even though the image in the physical and quotidian world remains unchanged. His idea is about perception. For instance, R. Allen explores the ways in which spectators watch film. Spectators can watch a film and be consciously aware that actors perform a character (i.e to see-in a film). However, a shift can occur in which a spectator no longer sees the actor and instead imaginatively sees the character; the actor is no longer present as medium awareness of watching a film is subordinated. This is to see-as.

      To see-as emphasises the concept of subjectivity bias in the gaze. In seeing-as when gazing upon an image, a spectator will only focus on a point of interest and that image transforms to the spectator's perception of that image. The image adopts a new representation according to that spectator's subjective focus. The spectator is aware of the subordinated aspects as he/she has experienced them before choosing a particular perception. R. Allen (1993) equates this to being drawn into and part of the image. He writes to see-as is to watch an image as a "fully realized, though fictional, world that has all the presentness of immediacy of our own (1993, p.40). Husserl (1907/1999) describes

this as being "this-here". According to R. Allen, if a person chooses to see-in, that person rejects seeing-as and vice versa.

Therefore, it is in this context that I return to the questions posed by Branigan about the camera above. His questions infer the camera as an experience to be experienced and the camera which experiences. To illustrate this, Branigan (2006) catalogues several understandings of the concept of the camera reflecting a phenomenology of the camera in moving images.

Branigan begins with the most tangible and basic understanding: the camera as a literal box projecting images - a "machine at work" (Branigan, 2006, p.72). This understanding infers the camera as a source of illusory perception, as it captures a three-dimensional world which is then projected two dimensionally. That two-dimensional image is mentally constructed and imagined by the spectator as being three dimensional. The relationship between the camera as "machine at work" and the imagination holds the spectator captive as images become illusory sensations. The second concept of camera is sensation. The camera is the location for images and situations which are unfamiliar to the viewer; therefore, the viewer experiences defamiliarisation. "The spectator becomes a site for shock effects: discontinuity, provocation, disorientation" (Branigan, 2006, p.75). Through the camera, the world is unfamiliar, strange, new, as well as better. The camera is a site of education and social awareness.

The third concept is the camera as "the bearer of tokens from the world" (Branigan, 2006, p.76). The focus is on the notion of the camera having a natural connection to the world. The camera assumes human perception. Camera movement such as panning and tracking assume the movements humans do to see, to go, and to be. Thus, the camera becomes a spectator taking the place of absent spectators (Branigan, 2006). The camera stimulates and guides the spectator's attention by assuming the role of spectator. A further concept of camera is its role as a discloser of human consciousness. This echoes R. Allen's idea of seeing- as. This goes beyond the idea of imitating the "spectator's basic ways of looking and perceiving" (Branigan 2006, p.80). The camera is subjective as it records and elicits feelings, thoughts, and the inner mental self which the spectator experiences.

Recent concepts of the camera include it being the connector of communication. The camera is the means through which the viewer can be in touch with implied authors, commentators, characters, and observers. The camera can also be a location of a social

collective and become the means through which information sources and voices are viewed and vetted. Drawing upon psychoanalysis, an interpretation of the camera emphasises the consciousness of desire: the desire to tell a story and the desire to receive the telling of the story. Branigan (2006) explains that this desire is manifested through the camera which permits the experience of telling, namely, to experience the story and to have a telling experience.

Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929) illustrates some of the understandings of the camera described by Branigan. Vertov's film is a fusion between the human eye and the camera eye. Delgado (2009) explains this fusion "highlighted the ability of the camera to change the constitution of reality by modifying the way in which it is framed and the angles from which it is seen" (Delgado, 2009, p.9). The camera changes perception of the world by revealing what the human eye fails to notice. The camera as a psychological and physiological construct blurs the narrative binary distinction between subject and object as both become one and the same. This also affects point-of-view and perception. For instance, perceiving the camera as a spectator of reality or perceiving the camera as a site and embodiment of human consciousness is to walk the border between subject and object. The consequence is that a new subject is created, namely a hybrid of subject and object. Another interpretation is to walk the border between the subject and object and thus, assume one or the other according to the narrative context. Through this interpretation, subjectivity remains constant. An example of this is found in the ethnotainment programme of the Anutan episode, in which a scene of underwater long takes of Parry and the Anutans deep sea fishing blurs the roles of subject and object to which the subjective I/eye can adopt either role.

Through this discussion, the camera is more than just filming equipment. The camera is experience, whether that experience is the experience of being filmed and looked at, the experience of filming and looking, the experience of watching through the eye of the camera, or the camera itself watching, gazing. As form of experience, the camera creates the illusion of seeing-as or the phenomenology of seeing-in. The 'camera' as I/eye and the adoption of a particular understanding of the camera affect the representation and presentation of people being filmed.

3.7 The Narrative Context

3.7.1 Colonialism

Colonialism is the forced take over and control of peoples' lands and cultures. This process was not identical in various parts of the world but despite that the result was always the same; "it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history" (Loomba, 2015, p.20). Colonialists mined their acquired lands for resources, goods, and wealth, and by doing so dragged the latter into a global trade of human resources in the form of slavery and indentured labour. In addition, raw materials were exported to imperial centres, and they were also traded among other colonised lands. European colonialism evoked a range of forms of domination and social invasion into colonised communities to access resources necessary to expediate European capitalism and industry. Loomba writes, "colonialism was the midwife that assisted at the birth of European capitalism" (2015, p.20).

Figure 1 is a contemporary map of the Pacific. This map is the result of Portuguese, Spanish, German, French, British, and American exploration of the region since the 1500s. As British, European, and American explorers charted the Pacific, they politically and imaginatively claimed it.

Figure 5 Map of Pacific and its cultural divisions
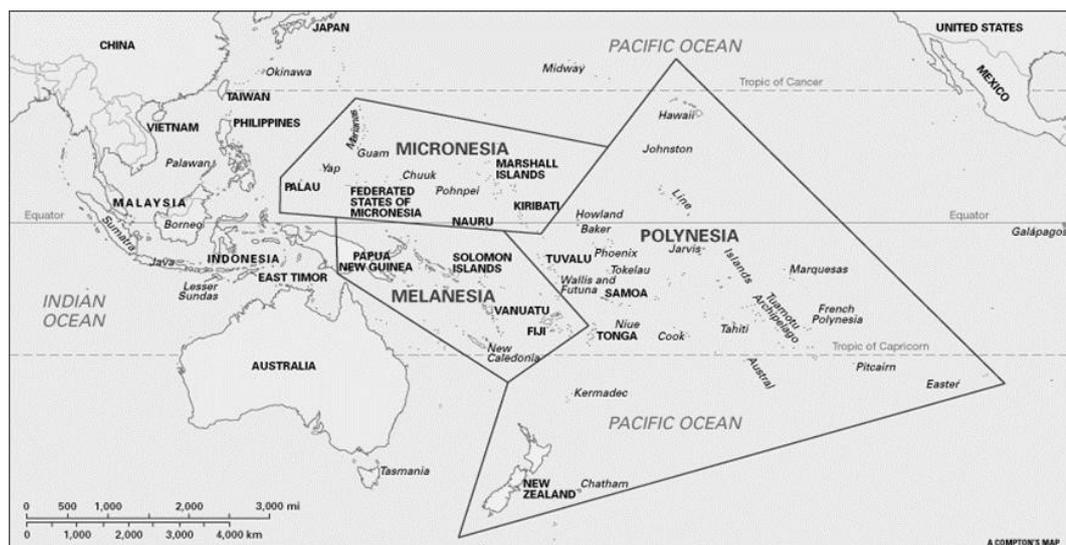
Australian historical anthropologist, Margaret Jolly (2007) explains early attempts by Western explorers in charting the Pacific region resulted in the development of "racial and cultural typologies that…formed imagined boundaries in the typification of "like peoples" (p.516). These typologies were based on the presumption of European racial superiority, forming an integral part of the narratives of the Pacific region. For instance, in 1832, French explorer Durmont d'Urville geographically and culturally divided and categorised the Pacific and its people into Polynesia (many islands), Melanesia (the Black islands), and Micronesia (small islands). These categories have become ingrained into the contemporary map of the region and how Pasifika peoples define themselves.

Narratives of the Pacific and its people by early explorers created "fictional worlds of Oceania staked out imaginatively in varied shades of attractiveness and repulsiveness" (Va'ai, 2005, p.4). European imagination of the Pacific was inflamed with tales of "warlike Fijians and Māori, primitive Papuans and Melanesians…and the sexually uninhibited [Polynesians]" (Leerson, 2007, p. 219). The Pacific islands became a "tropical otherworld" (ibid) that lay at the other side of the world and as such became "the ultimate locus of exoticism in the European imagination" (ibid). For instance, published accounts of French exploration in the Pacific are often noted for theatricality, romanticism, and aesthetic descriptions often interpreted as exotic and erotic. However, other tropes were established by French explorers influenced by the French Revolution. These explorers focused on documenting and measuring the superiority of civilization that later influenced physical anthropology based on race during the 19th century, thereby creating the trope of racial and intellectual superiority.

An influential narrative is John Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyage undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*, (hereafter shortened to *Voyage)*. Published in 1773, *Voyage* is a three-volume compilation of the journal entries of the British navigators: Commodore John Byron, Captain Philip Carteret, Captain Samuel Wallis, and Captain James Cook. *Voyage* was "arguably the most influential book on Pacific exploration ever to be published" (Balme, 2007, p.8). Balme (2007) explains the contents of *Voyage* provided a wealth of mimetic capital for "artists, satirists, novelists, playwrights, and scenographers" (p.8) who presented stereotypes of Pasifika peoples as noble but exotic and erotic savages. Balme

writes the exotic and sensual details of Pasifika peoples, in particular Tahitians, in the publications provided abundant matter for entertainment.

Captain Cook's own journals of his accounts were so popular that some versions were reprinted or abridged as pocket editions. Cook's fame led him to be regarded in Europe as an "Enlightenment hero" (Healy,1997, pp.17 & 47). In his examination of Cook's writings and images, Healy explains that Cook's accounts were recast as "humanitarian acts of civilization rather than acts of military conquest" (1997, p.18). So-called "humanitarian acts of civilisation" drew upon language of the Enlightenment which was used to drive the exploration and colonisation of the Pacific from Iberian, British, Dutch, and French Empires. Humanitarian acts included the spread of Christianity to enlighten the primitives, and the inquisitive drive of scientific advancement and knowledge of humanity. Gascoigne (2000) notes Enlightenment values such as humanitarianism camouflaged the underlying premise of racial superiority, and it became the justification to take possession of lands. Values of the Enlightenment in European empire building became "credentials by keeping to a minimum the number of native peoples killed as a consequence of European intrusion" (Gascoigne, 2000, p.235).

3.7.2 Perfect-Present 'Post'-Colonialism

I begin this section by recounting a news story I covered in 2000, while working as a Pacific Regional journalist. In Hawai'i, a fourth-generation Caucasian farmer called Harold Rice sued the state of Hawai'i for rejecting his application to vote for board members of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs[26] because he was not Hawaiian. The Governor of the state of Hawai'i at the time was Ben Cayetano. Rice argued he could trace his ancestry on Hawai'i as far back as the late 1800s, and as a 'Hawaiian' and an American citizen in an American state, he should be allowed to vote. He argued voting restrictions based on race violated the 14th and 15th Amendments[27] of the United States Constitution. Hawai'i was annexed to the United States after its monarch was overthrown by American businessmen and the military in 1898 in which lands were taken without Hawaiian consent.

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[26] The Office of Hawaiian Affairs a state executive body in the Hawaii state government. The OHA is responsible for handling federal funds to help Native Hawaiians and communities.

[27] 14th Amendment defines citizenship, while the 15th Amendment states citizens should not be denied the right to vote based on race, colour, or servitude.

This event illustrates a position described in a poem called *Post Colonial Fictions (In memory of the Post-Colonial Fictions Conference, Perth, 1992*) by Australian Aborigine activist and writer Roberta Sykes. In the first stanza of her poem, she writes,

Post colonial -fiction?
" Post-colonial" IS fiction.
Have I missed something?
…Have they gone?

Fiction!!!

The Rice vs. Cayetano case and Sykes' poem question the concept of post-colonialism as being past or beyond colonialism. The subtitle of Sykes' poem references a conference on post-colonialism where she asked delegates during her keynote speech, "What? Postcolonialism? Have They Left?". Sykes plays on the word fiction in which the word can refer to a literary genre (as intended at the conference), or it can mean imaginary or feigned, as exemplified by the Rice vs. Cayetano case where the claim of indigeneity by Hawaiians is fiction under the wider framework of American citizenship.

Sykes' poem raises questions regarding the state of post-colonialism, the start of the post-colonial era, when colonialism ended, and who discusses post-colonialism. The stance in Sykes' poem is colonialism is ongoing. Post-colonialism as a current social, cultural, or ideological state is feigned: fiction. The question Sykes asks contextualises post-colonialism as an academic endeavour which does not translate to the everyday lives of, in a normative sense, post-colonised indigenous people who are still marginalised physically, socially, economically, culturally, and imaginatively, as evidence by the Rice vs. Cayetano case.

My argument is that events like the Rice vs. Cayetano case, or expressions of disdain as communicated by Sykes are what I assert as *present-perfect 'post'- colonialism* in which peoples live in a *'post'-colonial, colonised state*.

Present-perfect describes colonialism as a phenomenon and action begun in the past and extending into the present. The construction *'post'-colonialism* is an abbreviation of several meanings of the term *post* that shapes and describes the layers of colonialism. *'Post'-colonialism* recognises post-colonial as a nominal state of 'after' colonialism, usually in the political meaning of self-governance. Nonetheless, *'post'* has several meanings and applications, hence my use of the single quotation marks. The hyphen links these meanings to colonialism and, depending on the context and usage, the application

and exchange of the various meanings of *'post'* recall multiple perspectives of colonisation. A *'post'-colonial, colonised state* is an ongoing form of colonisation with a particular interpretation and intention informed by a specific meaning of the term *post*.

My idea of *present-perfect, 'post'-colonialism* is inspired by Jorge Klor de Alva (1995). He explains the term 'post' means more than just 'after'. He writes, "the "post" of the would be ...postcolonial is a misnomer ...because the postcolonial condition strictly speaking has yet to occur among those who became colonial subjects of the empire and, later, of the nation state" (Klor de Alva, 1995, p.244). As mentioned above, the term *'post'* has several meanings. These meanings are: 1) a fixed object in an upright position as a support for something, 2) a marker for an object, 3) a position in an organisation, and 4) a particular occupation within an organisation. Therefore, as a phenomenon, post-colonialism is a support for colonialism, it signifies and marks colonialism, is positioned within colonialism, and through its position, post-colonialism has a specific role serving colonialism.

Discourse to challenge, deconstruct, and subvert the coloniser-colonised or colonial—post-colonial binaries becomes a "philosophical concept and futuristic promise: the other never "arrives", he or she is always "á venir" (Lionnet, & Shih. 2005, p.3). Speaking within the context of the Hawaiian Sovereignty and Indigenous Movement, and American colonialism, Hawaiian writer, and academic Haunani Kay-Trask states that there is no former colonial relationship, only an ongoing colonial relationship. Indigenous people have talked and still talk about the trauma of colonialism; therefore, post-coloniality is an imaginary constraint under which indigenous people continue to labour. New Zealand Māori academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes:

> The 'talk' about the colonial past is embedded in our political
> discourses, our humour, poetry, music, storytelling and other common
> sense ways of passing on both a narrative of history and an attitude about
> history (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p.21).

Tuhiwai Smith's point echoes Klor de Alva in that post-colonialism is located inside, as opposed to after, colonialism. Therefore, the possibility of arriving at a stage of discussing post-colonialism without the lens of having been colonised is questionable. This leads to the question Spivak asks when she writes "Can the subaltern speak?" (1988, 2005). Just as Sykes and Kay-Trask bemoan the inability to answer yes in being beyond and after colonialism, Spivak's answer to her own question is also no. Spivak defines subaltern

as people "removed from all lines of social mobility". (Spivak, 2005, 475). She continues:

> Subalternity is a position without identity. It is somewhat like the strict understanding of class. Class is not a cultural origin; it is a sense of economic collectivity, of social relations of formation as the basis of action... Race' is not originary; it assumes racism. Subalternity is where social lines of mobility, being elsewhere, do not permit the formation of a recognisable basis of action (Spivak, 2005, p.476).

Subalterns are those living in the margins and are removed from resources to help them access power structures to empower them and to improve their social, economic, and political positions. Like class, subaltern is a socio-economic construct. Spivak's negative answer to her own question is not about whether they can speak; the issue is whether the subaltern will be heard. She points out that speaking means both speaking and listening. To speak implies successful delivery of a message in that it is heard, and the message, when listened to, is recognised (Spivak 1998). Recognition in listening opens possibilities for the responsibility of acting upon what is heard. In addition, to speak requires space and opportunity.

According to Spivak (1998), the subaltern's muteness is a form of systematic silencing of the subaltern from representing and speaking for themselves. They are hindered by the powerful elite within the global structures of power, for instance, academia, economics, or politics. She also notes that the powerful elite can even include elite subalterns who feel that they must speak on behalf of all subalterns. Thus, the subaltern cannot be heard as others speak for them, which distorts the subaltern's voice into an unrecognisable message (Spivak, 1998). Therefore, the subaltern is still trapped within the intellectual and ideological discourse frame of colonisation i.e., 'post' as position within a system, organisation, or ideology. The subaltern is in a *'post'-colonial, colonised state*.

Klor de Alva explains that the idea of 'post' in post-colonial as being one phenomenon after another is too restrictive, and it only perpetuates and strengthens the historical, linear process of colonialism. According to Klor de Alva,

> "post" means more than merely one thing after another. The dismissal of the modernist view of history as a linear (teleological) process, the undermining of the foundational assumptions of linear historical narratives, and the rejection of essentialized identities for corporate units lead to a

multiplicity of often conflicting and frequently parallel narratives (Klor de Alva, 1995, p. 245).

Of necessity is stepping away from dichotomous perspectives, such as centre-margin, prevalent in post-colonial discourse. These are embedded or essentialised ideological expectations of being in and theorising about post-colonialism. Rejection of trajectories endorsing grand colonial narratives is achieved by disjuncture created through multiple narratives. Stepping out of staid perspectives, creating one's own space, and using one's own language to speak about post-colonialism from one's own position requires decolonising the mind and stopping the *present-perfect* forms of *'post'-colonialism*.

Tuhiwai Smith (2012) acknowledges and concedes to the dominance of colonial narrative in the discourse of the *'post'-colonial colonialised* when she writes that the post-colonial has become adept at speaking about colonialism as it has become a part of cultural memory, language, and self. However, discourse spaces of the subaltern can be transversal and lateral spaces across the margins to encourage a subaltern voice of shared experiences. Lionnet and Shih (2005) explain in transversal movements of culture, shared experience includes "minor-to-minor networks that circumvent the major altogether" (p.8). In such spaces, the subaltern can divorce itself from the colonial/post-colonial binary, in other words "remov[ing] postcolonialism from a dependence on an antecedent colonial condition" (Klor de Alva 1995, p.245). Tuhiwai Smith (2012) calls this divorce decolonisation which is to acknowledge the colonial narrative by changing the perspective and the way in which such narrative is discussed. Examples of this are "new literacies...nonstandard languages, tonalities and rhythms" (Lionnet and Shih, 2005, p.8).

To be post-colonial in the sense of after and subsequent is to decolonise the mind. This does not mean ignoring colonialism. Decolonising the mind infers rewriting colonialism and changing it so that it is unrecognisable to the 'colonisers'. In Spivak's discussing of the subaltern, changing the message is to silence the colonisers as they are no longer listened to. When this happens, the *'post'-colonised colonial* becomes decolonised from that state and therefore, can begin to speak. In the context of my project, one way of achieving this is to draw upon Pasifika mimetic capital. The emphasis is the first-person plurality of possession: 'our' as emphasised by Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) above. The 'our' are Pasifika concerns and worldviews. Albert Wendt (1999) discusses how these worldviews can work with colonial discourse to create a whole narrative of Pasifika peoples. Colonialism in Pasifika history lasted 500-years, which is only a fraction of

Pasifika histories and stories spanning nearly 60,000 years (including the histories of the hundreds of Australian Aborigine cultures). Wendt discusses the traditional full body Samoan *tatau*/tattoo called the *pe'a* for men to emphasise this point. He refers to the *pe'a* as a complex representation of many voices, many influences, and many generations which a young man accepts and wears. The patterns of the *pe'a* intersect, separate, clash or complement to create an image that is complete. The *pe'a* is an illustration of how various narratives can stand alongside each other, each contributing to a new perspective, a new interpretation, namely a new way of wearing different narrative *tatau*. Colonialism is like a tattoo s it is permanently inked into Pacific History (the canon history of the Pacific). However, Pasifika History (from the perspective of Pasifika peoples) re-inks it into a traditional *tatau*.

3.7.3 Decolonising Power of Pasifika Mimetic Capital: Pasifika Ecoliteracy

Albert Wendt in his metaphor of the Samoan *tatau* illustrates the importance of multiple narratives threads. It is a way through which the '*post'-colonial colonial* can decolonise his/her mind and step out of the *present-perfect 'post'- colonial* frame. This is partially achieved by the mimetic capital of Pasifika peoples. I broadly label Pasifika mimetic capital as Pasifika ecoliteracy.

In the context of my research, I use *eco* to refer to the various forms of indigenous texts. These are physical environments and locations manifesting indigenous cosmologies. These include oceans, lakes, forests, mountains, volcanoes, and other sacred spaces such as traditional buildings, and canoes. They can also include the body, as well as cultural and ceremonial artifacts laden with their own histories and meanings. These locations link the material and spiritual worlds. *Eco* is exemplified below in a brief discussion of the Australian Aboriginal Dreamtime.

Literacy refers to the ability to read and write in a language. But my use of *literacy* goes beyond this understanding as demonstrated in one form of Pasifika mimetic capital, Samoan storytelling or *fāgogo.* Kolone-Collins (2010) writes, "fāgogo…creates the inter-relationship for exploring…pedagogical ideas in Samoan language and culture" (Kolone-Collins, 2010, p.16). She notes that these ideas are "deep-seated philosophical religious, cultural and social beliefs about the nature of reality and unknown, being and non-being, and the relationship between all things" (Kolone-Collins, 2010, p. 17). Consequently, Pasifika mimetic capital are metaphors, proverbs, and complex wordplay

(for example through oratory) and body-speak (for instance through all forms of male and female dance forms). These are forms of spiritual, emotional, and mental nurturance. Pasifika mimetic capital requires a high-level of literacy taught through repetition, contextualisation, interpretation, and application. Thus, Pasifika ecoliteracy fosters *to'amalie* or reaching a point of knowing which is an active, living, and lifelong process. To use Butler's concept, Pasifika ecoliteracy is a speech act which is performative or enacted.

Mimetic capital are cultural representations "'banked,' as it were, in books, archives, collections, cultural storehouses, until such time as representations are called upon to generate new representations" (Greenblatt, 1991, p.6). Implied is the history of people starting with the written word: books. The type of accumulated capital is the type assessed as having enough value to be added in collections, to be recorded in a book, and preserved in archives.

This is an example of what Australian historian and ethnographer, Greg Dening notes as a history of 'history' which eventually becomes History. He writes this process

> focuses on the development of national identities and bureaucratic mass societies and the institutionalisation of politics, religion, and the economy in the civilisation process…It has been the myth…that the past is discovered objectively and factually by our being accurate about it. One symptom of that belief is the statement that 'primitive' societies have no history (Dening, 1996, p.40).

Books, archives, collections, and cultural storehouses are imposing institutions of power and permanence of that power. They sanctify a particular worldview, in other words History. Indigenous knowledge and artefacts when recontextualised and institutionalised in foreign cultures lose their meaning, along with ascribed cultural nuances. They have crossed cultural boundaries and "are reconstituted in meaning by the cultures that receive them" (Dening, 1996, p.43). Indigenous knowledge and artefacts are labelled, categorised, and explained by the receiving cultures: all objective methods to ensure their 'survival' or preservation. Such methodologies destroy indigenous knowledge and artefacts by removing original cultural meaning that gave them purpose and existence.

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) explains that monolithic capital, such as books, orientate the indigenous worldview into the worldview of the colonialist. The Indigenous become attuned and numbed to colonial representation of themselves. This filters down to and affects the way the Indigenous write about themselves. Tuhiwai Smith states, "We begin

to write about ourselves as indigenous peoples as if we really were 'out there', the 'Other', with all the baggage that this entails" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.37). The acculturation of the mind hinders the imagination which impairs the ability to engage with colonialism within indigenous frameworks.

The traditional concept of mimetic capital (as defined by Greenblatt) subordinates the rich tapestry of Pasifika ecoliteracy. A result is that Pasifika ecoliteracy become collections of exotic curiosities juxtaposed against the grand narratives of empire or nation building. However, Pasifika ecoliteracy is resilient, and as Tuhiwai Smith (2012) emphasises they are our histories, stories, humour, poetry, and music. Oral stories, dances, chants, proverbs, formal and complex greetings, and rites of passage are some of the many forms of Pasifika ecoliteracy, supplementing and contesting forms of written literature.

Pasifika ecoliteracy are Pasifika Histories (with a capital H). Instead of static monolithic institutions, the ways in which indigenous peoples store their mimetic capital are holistic and living. Pasifika ecoliteracy are stored in memory, *tatau* (tattoos), artefacts used in formal ceremonies, the naming of flora and fauna, and genealogies linked to ancestral lands. These are familial, political, and ecological environments which are ever changing. Pasifika ecoliteracy promote what psychological anthropologist Jeannette Mageo (2001) explains as intragroup memory containing multiple and intertextual narratives and histories. Such memories are "highly nuance[d], rich in detail, charged with affects, these are histories in which subalterns speak and which are likely to feature beseeching silences" (p.12).

Pasifika ecoliteracy are "extraordinarily complex in their sign-bearing characteristics" (Dening, 1996, p.42). An example is a complex understanding of the concept of time. For instance, in Australian Aboriginal cultures, Dreamtime or The Dreaming is salient to identity, creation of peoples, cultures, and land. Dreamtime is eternal by nature, and it is "the sacred knowledge, wisdom, and moral truth permeating the entire beingness of Aboriginal life" (Hume, 2004, p.237). Australian anthropologist Lynne Hume in her explanation of this complex ideology writes:

> the concept of The Dreaming refers to a founding drama, a period during which a formless land was given form… that is nevertheless eternal and atemporal. It is a spiritual reality... Although creative events occurred, it is nevertheless timeless. It has been referred to as "everywhen" to denote this timelessness (Hume, 2004, p.238).

Hume explains the basic principle is that all life originates from the spiritual realm and such life is evidenced and experienced in the real world. Rites of passage and ritual acts are methods of accessing this life force and the spiritual realm, through which Aborigines connect and understand their everyday world in relation to their humanness, cosmos, their environment, and every living creature in that environment. The Aboriginal ideology of The Dreaming exemplifies the permeance and power of Pasifika ecoliteracy as well as reveal complex and progressive philosophical ideologies of identity, becoming, time, and perspectives of history, and ecology.

As illustrated in the example of the Dreaming, Pasifika mimetic capital attests to the epic histories of its people. Epeli Hau'ofa in his essay 'Our sea of islands' first published in 1993 writes:

> If we look at the myths, legends, and oral traditions, indeed the cosmologies of the peoples of Oceania, it becomes evident that …[t]heir universe comprised not only land surfaces but the surrounding ocean as far as they could traverse and exploit it, the underworld with its fire-controlling and earth-shaking denizens, and the heavens above with their hierarchies of powerful gods and named stars and constellations that people could count on to guide their ways across the seas…They thought big and recounted their deeds in epic proportions (Hau'ofa, 1993/2008, p.31).

In this essay, Hau'ofa (1993/2008) explains the mindset associated with the phrases 'islands in the sea' and a 'sea of islands'. The first phrase focuses on the smallness of land masses in the world's largest ocean. It is a mindset emphasising isolation, stagnation, and under-development. Such a belief leaves the Pacific open for cultural and environmental exploitation disguised as saving the cultures and knowledges of the Pacific, as the people are unable to do this themselves. For example, "researchers enter [ing Pacific] communities armed with goodwill in their front pockets and patents in their back pockets" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 24-25). In my research project, examples are ethnotainment programmes with the aims of documenting endangered cultures and traditions. However, Hau'ofa reminds Pasifika peoples that they belong to a sea of islands in which the Pacific Ocean connects and links islands, families, peoples, and cultures. The Pacific is an expansive continent. Hau'ofa's comments emphasise Pasifika ecoliteracy as a holistic worldview encompassing metaphysical and physical environments. To emphasise this worldview, Hau'ofa ends his essay with the defiant and definitive statement: "We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth" (1993/2008, p.39).

The value of Pasifika ecoliteracy is explained by Kolone-Collins (2010) where she notes that the giver and receiver of Pasifika mimetic capital experience *tapu'e lagona ma le mafaufau* (the rewarding of an enriched imagined and spiritual world). For instance, in the Samoan culture, such a world is a metaphysical space or cosmology in which Samoans are taught values, relationships, histories, codes of behaviour, and cultural structures underlying *Fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan culture). The decolonising potential of Pacific ecoliteracy opens space to experience *loto malie* (harmony) in this spiritual and physical world leading to the understanding that he/she is Pasifika.

The Aboriginal Dreaming and *fāgogo* are examples of the many forms of ecoliteracy throughout the Pacific. Hawaiian poet and academic Haunani Kay-Trask (1999) notes the variety and richness of such literacy strengthens, "emotional ties to one another and our ties to the land, the centuries-old ways of caring for the *'aina* (land), the *kai* (sea)… and the *mana* (spiritual power) that is generated by human beings in love with, and dependent upon the natural world" (Kay-Trask, 1999, p.19). Therefore, the Pacific, according to a Pasifika worldview, is a world of imagining. It is a timeless, boundary-less text which Pasifika people simultaneously read and inscribe their stories and histories. The ecoliteracy of Pasifika peoples is constantly evolving as new influences take hold in the Pacific region, creating new layers of narratives. One of the narratives, of course, is colonialism. Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes indigenous peoples have become adept at speaking about imperialism and colonialism. These phenomena are part of the language of Pasifika peoples and embedded in their mimetic capital.

Archeologically, early Pacific migration and settlement in regions of the Pacific range from 5,000 to 2,000 years. In Australia, early indigenous settlement is as far back as 60,000 years. Yet the period that continues to impact Pasifika peoples the most is 500 years of Euro-American colonialism. This began with the Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan, who discovered the world's largest ocean while trying to circumnavigate the world, in the 16th century. Magellan called this ocean, the Pacific, making it the moment of the beginning of the canon of Pacific History. Everything before this is prehistoric, in other words: before History.

The 500 years of written and illustrated representations of imperialism and colonialism is the most prolific, self-producing, and influential mimetic capital, pushing Pasifika mimetic capital into the shadows of memory loss. The aggressive dominance of imperialism and colonialism flattens the Pasifika worldview by labelling it at worst

primitive and native, or euphemistically exotic. In ethnotainment programmes, a presenter lives in four-weeks a culture eon old, and the culture is edited to a 45-minute programme. This programme will only show the presenter's best cultural and entertaining experiences. The filming and editing processes work in the same ways as the banking of mimetic capital, as described by Greenblatt. Most of the material chosen in these programmes are moments in which the presenter may at first fail, but eventually prevails and conquers. Filmed Pasifika peoples become bystanders in narratives in which they are both instrumental and supplemental. The history in their mimetic capital is presented as primitive and native curiosities. The television screen has become the modern-day museum and the presenter the curator. The programme presenters make analytical comparisons with their home cultures, and Pasifika cultures fall short. Pasifika representative symbols are reduced from grand narratives as described by Hau'ofa to "*petite histoires*" [Greenblatt's own emphasis] (Greenblatt, 1991, p.2). However, Pasifika ecoliteracy challenges the linear and dominant trajectories of history in the Pacific through its resilience. It acts as a reminder that Pacific History (canon Western history with a capital H) is only a fraction of Pasifika History (also with a capital H).

To illustrate this point, an enduring symbol in the New Zealand Māori culture is the *koru*, the unfurled fern. The *koru* is a circular seedling which slowly unfolds as it matures into a fern leaf. The *koru* symbolises new life. Each time a layer of the *koru* is unfurled, a new life is given room to develop, creating space for another new life. Developing this symbolism to discuss Pasifika literature, New Zealand post-colonial scholar, Michelle Keown (2005) writes "the spiral [is] an index to Polynesian cosmogony...which interweave multiple narrative threads to create a polyphonic whole" (Keown, 2005, p.194). The *koru* emphasises the inclusivity of Pasifika ecoliteracy which includes the history of colonialism in the region. However, the unfurling of an imaginary *koru* should not be dominated by colonial mimetic capital. Instead, it should be used to bring forth new voices and new forms of expression - a new life, a new beginning.

In my television programmes of focus, the indigenous groups read their environments as narrative texts. For the Kombai, the forest is an expansive literary text in which they read, for instance, the borders separating clan territories, stories behind those borders, and creation stories. Plants and animals have taboo names that cannot be spoken because of the potency of the stories behind such names, even ceremonial clothing contain their own histories. For the Anutans, the sea is their text in which they read to know when

and where to fish as well as to remember stories of success and tragedies caused by certain ocean conditions. And for the colonised West Papuans, their colonised lands tell stories of nostalgia. In summary, Pasifika ecoliteracy is decentring as it is expansive and holistic. It is regenerative and living. Each time a form of Pasifika ecoliteracy is told, it is transformed and adapted through the storyteller's own interpretation and influences.

3.8. Walking the Edges of Self.

Phenomena like colonisation draw a line between cultures deciding inclusiveness and exclusiveness and the values determining these aspects. Huddard (2006) notes that according to Bhabha, colonialism, for instance, established a discourse of cultural exclusion based on purity, and historical lineage. Mageo (2001) says such a discourse is maintained through intergroup memory "form[ing] histories that canonize a single descent line or a definite version...these are the grand chronicles recounted by authorities and all who aspire to authority" (Mageo, 2001, p.12). Intergroup memory bases itself on factual authenticity, and therefore emphasises the status quo and essentialism of cultures and identities.

The idea of designated and fixed cultures coupled with the sense of being settled, namely 'to be', establishes binary hierarchies in which cultures are compared against each other, and one is perceived as lacking, i.e., 'the other'. The Other is bereft of establishing discourse space, space of potential power, or space for self-definition as its position is already decided. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha (1994) develops the concept of "liminal" negotiation of cultural identity across differences of race, class, gender, and cultural traditions. He writes the

> the emergence of the interstices--the overlap and displacement of domains of difference— [is where] ...strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual, and even incommensurable (Bhabha, 1994, p.2).

Bhabha stresses that cultural identities are not pre-given irreducible or scripted traits defining ethnicity. For instance, the identity labels of coloniser and colonised are constructed. They are defined separately, but they define each other in terms of what they are not. Liminality is the space in-between identities, such as coloniser and colonised.

Bhabha suggests in the space of liminality, cultural exchange is the recognition of cultural difference resulting in the negotiation of new cultural meanings and identities. The result is hybridity which becomes an antidote to essentialism. Space in-between identities disrupts hegemonic narratives and structures; it is a space from which other narratives and positions of identity emerge. It is an open-ended space of flux, fluidity, and dialogue. Rather than see demarcation, such as boundaries between cultures as points of separation, boundaries are in themselves spaces which link. They become cultural no-man's lands in which identities are neither -nor but are hybrid, inclusive, and in a sense of 'becoming' which is a position of creating meaning rather than be created by meaning.

Placed within the Pacific context, the liminal or third space is a location in which Pasifika narratives disrupt and work alongside colonial narratives to create new discourses. The third space is a creative location for Pasifika cultural production dealing with hegemonic colonial narratives that continue to dominate cultures and identities. This third space is 'interruptive, interrogative, and enunciative' (Bhabha 1994). According to Bhabha, liminality is an ambivalent site where cultural meaning and representation have no 'primordial unity or fixity' (Bhabha 1994). Bhabha's concept of liminal space and hybridity are staples of post-colonial theory. Nonetheless, Pasifika scholar Samoan Albert Wendt (1999) has sharply criticised Bhabha's concepts for containing the bad taste of racism and colonialism. He prefers the terms "*blend* and *new development*" (p.411).

According to Wendt, hybridity infers being half-of-this and half-of-that which is, as previously discussed above, no culture nor identity. Either one half is inferior and in need of support from the other half or that one half shows what the other is not. An issue with Bhabha's liminality is that identity and cultural expression are still found in marginalised places. The space in-between is a margin. An argument is that rather than disrupt cultural hegemonies, hybridity is another form of being marginal. As Melanie Anae implies in her poem discussed earlier, to be hybrid or hyphenated is to admit being neither-nor, as in the case of the hybrid or liminal term New Zealand-born Samoan. Hybridity is an identity emphasising binarism as one cultural identity must come before the other, indicating power, superiority, or centrality. One becomes the norm by which the other is both defined and separated (by a hyphen).

Rather than discuss liminality or hybridity, Nakata (2007) suggests the term cultural interface. Cultural interface is a "contested space between two knowledge

systems... things are not clearly black or white, Indigenous or Western" (2007, p.9). Nakata's idea of contested spaces contains

> histories, politics, economics, multiple and interconnected discourses, social practices, and knowledge technologies which condition how we all come to look at the world, how we come to know and understand our changing realties in the everyday, and how and what knowledge we operationalise in our lives... Much of what we bring to this is tacit and unspoken language. (Nakata, 2007, p.9)

As mentioned by Wendt, Bhabha's theory of liminality and hybridity bases itself in the discourse of race and ethnicity within the umbrella of colonialism. Nakata's concept of contested spaces focusses on "much of what we bring". The emphasis is on knowledge systems. It eliminates a third or hybrid cultural position born out of binarism. Nakata's concept acknowledges the multiplicities and complexities within a person's own subjectivity derived from numerous knowledge and cultural sources. The multiplicity of a person's subjectivity echoes what Mageo (2001) notion of intragroup memory. Intragroup memory focuses on common connections as opposed to cultural subjectivities based on differences. Nakata's concept of contested spaces and Mageo discussion of intragroup memory promotes cultural self-questioning, evaluation, and retrospection of "all human experience" (Mageo, 2001, p.14). Contested spaces are spaces in which multiple knowledge systems, values, traditions, histories, and experiences are located. Unlike the spaces of liminality and the hybrid identity, a person's subjectivity is not bound by binarism of which a hybrid identity confirms binary power structures. In Nakata's idea of contested spaces, the sense of knowing and of being is dependent on " story-telling, memory making in narrative, art and performance: in cultural and social practices, of relating to kin" (Nakata, 2007, p.10). A person locates him/herself in the middle of such knowledge systems and chooses from among them to make sense of the world around him/her at a particular moment in time and space. The idea of contested spaces is a far cry from Bhabha's liminality in which hybrid identities are found within the threshold margins between binary cultures. Contested spaces places a person in the centre of surrounding and multiple discourses, narratives, and knowledges.

In connection with Nakata's concept of contested spaces is edgewalking. Edgewalking acknowledges the complexity of multiple cultural and social selves by walking on the boundaries or edges of various social and cultural contexts without sacrificing one's subjectivity or sense of knowing. A difference between Nakata's concept

and edgewalking is that edgewalking rejects the idea of cultural or identity spaces as spaces of contestation. Pacific studies scholar Teresia Teaiwa (from Banaba Island) (2001) writes ""on the Edge" describes the place, the position I believe some of us feel we must, prefer, or fear to occupy" (p.343).

Edgewalkers are people who belong to or identify with two or more ethnic, cultural, or spiritual contexts. These are people who reject hybridity, multiculturalism, and the melting pot concept claiming they emphasise difference. Walking the edges of cultural and social contexts is to embrace identity and cultural complexity while still engage in mainstream society. According to Krebs (1999), edgewalkers resist cultural shifts and maintain continuity of persona when walking the edges between cultures. This point is like the idea of contested spaces in that a person has a sense of knowing based on experience, knowledge, histories, or the tacit unspoken languages – knowledges that help us make sense of our world and of ourselves. But it differs in perspective in that these knowledges are not contested spaces but are spaces of imaginary and subjective opportunities. Edgewalking contrasts the concept of border walking. New Zealand academic in education for Pacific students, Martyn Reynolds (2019) writes borders are fixed. They imply crossing, namely leaving one space and arriving at another. Borders include and exclude. Edgewalking rejects this concept preferring to be on the edge rather than in them or walking across them of which both infer a sacrifice of self.

Post-colonial discussions regarding the hybrid New Zealand-Pasifika identity in the liminal spaces of culture obscures the probability that New Zealanders with Pasifika heritage could be edgewalking or redefining the staid hyphen label as an edgewalking concept. To deal with new definitions and meanings of the term New Zealand-Pasifika/Samoan/ etc, Statistics New Zealand reviewed, in 2001, the way it recorded ethnicity in its population and social statistics. Gray note that among the New Zealand-born Pasifika

> ethnic identities are typically flexible and overlapping. Because of the complexities of their lives and the importance of kinship and other networks, people may choose one identity in one situation and different one in another" (Gray, 2001, p.3).

New attitudes regarding identity supersede the hybrid identity formed in-between the designated cultural identities of New Zealand and Pasifika. The flexibility of identity noted by Gray concurs with increasing mobility of Pacific migrants of which the

consequences are children born and raised away from traditional homelands, intermarriage between difference ethnic groups, and increasing employment and educational opportunities. Hau'ofa notes (1997/2008) that these are indicators of an expanded Oceania as a world of "social networks that crisscross the ocean all the way from Australia and New Zealand in the southwest to the Unites States and Canada in the northeast" (p. 41). Therefore, a person is exposed to multiple meanings from and between different worlds and spaces (Barcham, Scheyvens. & Overton, 2009) placing a person's subjectivity at the centre of differing knowledges, values, technologies, and cultures which he/she can choose from to help make sense of daily contexts (Nakata, 2007). As a result, "cultural identity is not exotic ethnographic samples; it is not about race, but relatedness" (Arini (1999, p.3) as cited in Gray, 2001). The implication is hybrid identities as neither-nor or as half-this-and-half-that denies other cultural factors which shape identity. Gray writes,

> little has been written about the way in which people view the relative strength of their identity with different ethnicities, although it is recognised that the importance placed on ethnicity compared with another may depend on the circumstances (Gray, 2001, p.8)

A person acknowledges the complexities which inform identity and sense of self. Such complexities cannot be glossed over with the catch all hybrid-hyphenated label. Cultural and ethnic multiplicity in one's subjectivity is an advantage enabling the preservation of that subjectivity as well as the socio-cultural influences which shape that subjectivity. It is the subjective 'I' in which 'I' is New Zealand, Samoan, and so on. To call upon one ethnic identity as part of a person's identity does not mean subordinating others but rather to see them as knowledge and resources which are not applicable for a particular context.

Tupuola (2004) in her study of the identity formation of second and third generation New Zealanders with Pacific backgrounds found that many of the young people she interviewed were edgewalkers. One of her interviewees said, 'it's cool to be PI [Pacific Islander] now, so that's why I say I have a PI identity' (Tupuola, 2004, p. 93). When she asked what do these interviewees do when being a PI is not cool, "their replies...Kiwi, [or] New Zealander (Tupuola, 2004, p.94). Tupuola noted that many young people did not want to be called New Zealand-Pasifika as it essentialised and homogenised youth of Pacific ancestry in New Zealand. The implication of Tupuola's work indicates disparity in Bhabha's concept of hybridity of which the gain is essentialism

and homogenisation. Reynolds (2019) writes that a hybrid identity does not account for intracultural relations among ethnic groups. Krebs (1999) notes this when she states, "people with mixed backgrounds...who do not abandon one cultural strain or another, accomplish on an individual basis [the ability to deal] effectively with differences" (Krebs, 1999, p.10)

In a hybrid identity, the hyphen is a nominative attempt to link and acknowledge cultural heritages. But the hyphen also divides two cultures. For instance, term 'Samoa' is a compound word of which *Sa* = sacred, *moa* = centre. It is a way of living, thinking, and being. To be Samoan is to be of and belong to Samoa. Yet in such a context – I use myself as an example – my New Zealand born-Samoan hybridity reveals I was raised *Fa'a Palagi* (the way of the white man – not Samoan). Within the New Zealand social and cultural contexts, my hybridity exposes me as not being inherently 'Kiwi' (New Zealander), despite being born and raised in New Zealand. Because of my hybrid/hyphenated identity, I am in the margins of both these cultural contexts. The hybrid/third space is a space of marginality of a neither/nor cultural identity. This contrasts with the formation of a new cultural identity as idealised by Bhabha. Krebs (1999) notes an unanticipated cost is that hybridity requires being like everyone else which in term makes it difficult to survive.

The interviews of young New Zealanders with Samoan heritage in Tupuola's (2004) study indicate the interviewees' strategic control over their identity and cultural construction. They choose from their multiple cultures necessary knowledge and experiences that give them advantages in different social contexts. The young people Tupuola interviewed demonstrate that rather than being fragmented, these young edgewalkers acknowledged the different layers of self that are inseparable. Each layer is always present, even though one may be more dominant in a given situation.

A criticism of edgewalking is the relativity and contextuality of identity construction. This foments further criticism of the lack of cultural roots and values that would normally anchor a person's sense of self. Reynolds (2019) argues that young edgewalkers demonstrate basic cultural principles to navigate and choose from their plural cultural identities. Edgewalking by young Pasifika people is conducted within the framework of different Pasifika understandings of relational space which in Samoan is *Vā*. *Vā* "is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships and the context change" (Wendt, 1999, p.402).

Former prime minister of Samoa and paramount chief Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi (2011) explains that identity and subjectivity was not a self-contained unit but more akin to *Fa'asinomaga*, a direct or right path. *Fa'asinomaga* can be interpreted as cultural edgewalking by young Pasifika peoples. Their cultural multiplicity is an inheritance which they can claim as their own. They place themselves in the centre of their own ideological sense of being. As they walk the boundaries, they can "apportion by cutting or breaking something into specific parts" (Tupua Tamasese, 2011, p.7) their various histories, knowledges, influences, and so on to navigate their everyday lives (as Nakata suggests). Identities as *Fa'asinomaga* is walking on boundaries, not being in them as in-between spaces, as proposed by Bhabha. They control how they define themselves as opposed to having hybrid cultures born out of dichotomous structures of hegemony.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, the theoretical and ideological concepts shaping my research project were presented. I laid out the media context to situate ethnotainment. The macro frame of the documentary, post documentary and reality television led into discussions of Pacific ethno-documentary and primitivist television. Concepts such as reality and authenticity introduced the concepts of performativity and theatricality of cross-cultural encounters. These are salient aspects of ethnotainment, particularly as they impact roles of the narrative subject-object in this project's chosen programmes.

The over-reaching impact of colonialism was given to contextualise my position on post-colonialism which I call *present-perfect 'post' colonialism.* Influenced by Klor de Alva and Roberta Sykes as well as Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, I reject the common stance of post being after colonialism, and instead assume that post-colonialism is a nominal and superficial state to disguise and placate ongoing colonialism prompting the need to decolonise the mind. This is achieved by turning to Pasifika mimetic capital or Pasifika ecoliteracy which realigns colonial discourse within the perspective of the Pasifika. As part of that discussion, I looked at the post-colonial theory of liminality and hybridity. Like Pasifika writer and academic Albert Wendt, I criticise liminality and hybridity as promoting a sense of half belonging to no culture. Instead, the concept of edgewalking was discussed as a viable framework in which to deal with the complexities of multiple contexts and cultures forming one's subjectivity.

The following chapter presents the tools I use to analyse the chosen ethnotainment programmes.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

To analyse this project's focus programmes, I adapt a linguistic model used for multimodal and discourse analysis called *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Theory*, hereafter abbreviated as *Film Event Analysis Method*. My abbreviation summarises what I do, namely analyse film events building the narrative plots of the focus programmes.

In these programmes, the indigenous groups are filmed objects. They do not hold the camera, do not film themselves, and are not included in the decision-making processes and politics of editing. Despite this, I argue that the filmed groups are active in creating or taking advantage of opportunities to subvert the presenter's aim to be 'one of ...'. The result is the blurring of the narrative roles subject and object. These opportunities are marginal; nonetheless, they are important in demonstrating that the filmed indigenous groups are not passive in the presenters' (re)presentations of their cultures or of them.

My decision to analyse heavily edited programmes raises issues such as requiring access to raw footage of the programmes to see what has been included or excluded, and/or interviewing the producers and presenters to understand their narrative purposes. These issues assume I have limited myself in my choice of data. While I acknowledge these issues, my research objective does not involve examining the decision-making processes in the production of these programmes. My interest is in the content of what is broadcast, and the layers of narrative and meaning in that content. I view the programmes as discourse texts through which meaning is communicated through the interplay of narrative elements. These programmes deal with the 'I' perspective (Dovey, 2000); however, the first-person cannot be trusted, as viewing events from one perspective obscures other perspectives.

To reiterate Chanan (2008) discussed in chapter three, making the invisible visible and the unseen seen should be part of film or television analysis. I am interested in identifying how that happens. In the programmes' contents, I want to uncover the dynamics and interactions between the camera, the presenters, and the filmed indigenous groups in what I have watched. Given my claim, I examine the filmed moments of reactions the filmed indigenous groups have of the presenters and of their

narrative aim of 'being one of ...'. I locate those reactions within the indigenous groups' cultural cosmologies to determine the depth at which the presenters are admitted into their world and whether the reactions are subversive and if so, how are they subversive.

I look towards theoretical frameworks and tools in disciplinary areas such as cultural, Pacific, and media studies. One example is Stuart Hall's encoding and decoding model. Hall's 1973 essay 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse' is a significant move away from traditional media models, such as selection perception theories or affect research. I find his model interesting in what it achieved at the time, for example, showing the "inter-connection between societal structures and the processes and formal or symbolic structures" (Hall, 1973, p. 2). This presents a shift from an economically deterministic model towards a non-reductionist perspective of social practices through his emerging ideologies of reception and articulation. Hall (1986) states articulation reveals how ideology gives people the impetus to understand their historical situation without reducing that understanding to socio-economic or class positions and locations. I take from this the possibility of showing connections between theoretical positions and paradigms in structural functionalism, such as semiotics and pragmatics, and ideologies arising out of, for instance post-colonial or gender theories. I understand Hall's discussion of adaptation as also permitting my use of the ecoliteracy of indigenous peoples and their cultural worldviews.

While Hall's significant shift in media discourse analysis is important, Hall's decoding and encoding model has a different objective and focus, and therefore, too limited for my purpose. Cultural ideologies dealing with power structures and representation in media, such as articulation or reception, focus on the interplay between transnational media, as the producers of a hegemonic message, and the audience who receive and interpret that message. I do not focus on this relationship. My focus is between the filmed subject and objects in my chosen programmes and their interaction with the camera.

In the most viable field of theory suited to my research, namely post-colonialism, staid ideologies such as liminality or hybridity are also limited in my research aims. The transnational and Pasifika ethnotainment programmes I discuss are hybrid products of non-fiction and reality television. Ethnotainment is formed in the in-between discourse spaces of designated television genres. However, in Pasifika post-

colonialism, discourse of post-colonial identities of Pasifika peoples is also discussed within liminal ideological and discourse spaces. As the chosen ethnotainment programmes feature post-colonial and colonial peoples, the presenters and these programmes can share the same liminal space as post-colonial productions that aim to decolonise, reclaim, and rewrite their histories, and identities.

I draw upon gender theory, in particular Butler's theory of performativity, as well as from anthropology such as Stasch's Drama of Otherness framework. From performance studies, I use Balme's concept of genealogy of performativity of cultural contact. These concepts aid in discussions of the interactions between the presenter and indigenous groups and the fluidity of narrative roles of subject and object. From media studies, I employ Branigan's concept of the phenomenology of the camera. These conceptual and theoretical ideologies are couched within anthropological studies of the filmed indigenous groups as entry points into their forms of ecoliteracy and cosmologies/worldviews. To conduct the content analysis of the focus programmes, I required a robust analytical model to deal with my choice of analysing heavily edited programmes. So, I turn to linguistics, in particular the field of dynamic semantics and pragmatics. As mentioned at the start of this section, I use and adapt a content analysis method called *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory,* developed by pragmatic linguist and semiotician Janine Wildfeuer, who specialises in multimodal discourse analysis.

4.1.1 Participant observation

Parry and Fuata immerse themselves and participate in cultures of which they make observatory comments about the cultures, cultural events, and their own reactions and impressions. Because of this, I often use the term participant observation in the programmes' analyses. This sub-section is a brief description of participant observation.

In their programmes, Parry and Fuata because of their cultural immersion, inadvertently use the qualitative data collection method of participant observation. Participant observation is discovering, through immersion, "what people do, what people know, and the things people make and use" (Spradley, 1980, p.5).

Participant observation is about learning the explicit part of culture, namely the parts of culture which is easily seen and can be described. It is also about learning the tacit aspects of culture, the parts of a culture which are outside awareness or

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consciousness. These are the unspoken but understood aspects of culture, such as unwritten protocols (de Walt, K. & de Walt, B. 2011). Participant observation is implicitly framed by the field of ethnography which "is the work of describing cultures. The central aim ... is to understand another way of life from the native point of view" (Spradley,1980, p.3). The term understanding infers learning from people as opposed to studying people. For instance, before meeting his indigenous hosts, Parry utters phrases such as 'I want to understand...' or 'I want to know'. Statements such as these typify three tenets of participant observation, "what people do, what people know, and the things people make and use" (Spradley, 1980, p5).

Parry and Fuata in their programmes, therefore, build their subjectivities in trying to understand and learn these three tenets which put another way are behaviour, knowledge, and artefacts. Participant observation is the direct experience of activities. This first-hand experience is to develop the feel of an event from which perceptions are formed from being on the inside.

4.2 Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory Aka Film Event Analysis

According to Janine Wildfeuer, Segmented *Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory* (hereafter abbreviated as *Film Event Analysis*) is a

> framework for the systematic examination of film interpretation from a linguistic perspective. It aims at a detailed description of how coherence and structure as textual qualities of film guide the recipients' meaning-making process during reception and evoke interpretative inferences [for] narrative comprehension. (Wildfeuer, 2014, p.1)

Wildfeuer points out several aspects explaining my purpose for using and adapting her model. But her comment also indicates points of divergence from the original intention of her model and my use of it. The objective of Wildfeuer's model is to map and capture the meaning-making processes a spectator infers when watching moving images. In Wildfeuer's model, a programme or film can be divided into bite-sized film events (in her terminology segmented events), such as an influential scene or shot. These events can be strung together by inferred relationships that build coherence of a film. These inferred relationships are rhetorical relations, and they represent meanings that unfold in a film while being watched. From these rhetorical relations,

representations of the structure of the film's meaning can be given. This representation is called a *segmented film discourse representation structure*. Wildfeuer's model identifies the options of possible rhetorical relations inferring possible meanings, but through the logic of abduction, the best option is chosen. Therefore, her model focuses on moving images as a text and looks at plausible interpretations of that text and how those interpretations can be made.

Wildfeuer's model imitates the meaning-making processes of a film spectator, but it does not necessitate surveying the spectators themselves. Her reason is the inference process demonstrates the interaction of a variety of knowledge sources or domains. She claims (2014) these, "different knowledge sources are involved in reasoning about the best description of [a film's] logical form [or segmented representation]" (p.186). These knowledge sources are general world knowledge, two types of specific knowledge: domain or expert knowledge and film/narrative knowledge, and the last domain of knowledge of discourse context knowledge.

General world knowledge is "the biggest category within the various knowledge sources" (Wildfeuer, 2014, p.187). Bordwell defines this as prior knowledge and experience develop through interaction with the everyday world, other artforms, and other films. Bordwell (1985) writes, "on the basis of these schemata, we make assumptions, erect expectations, and confirm or disconfirm hypotheses" (Bordwell, 1985, p. 33). For example, an image of The Eiffel Tower assumes general knowledge of the image's setting as Paris, France. General world knowledge is in essence common knowledge.

Domain or specific expert knowledge is "a definitely more specific and thus not an entirely assumable knowledge source" (Wildfeuer, 2014, p.187). This is specific knowledge recognising representative details that may not be commonly or generally known. For example, a person watching a film adaptation of a literary text may be familiar with details of that adapted text. A person could have read the text before watching the film adaptation, and so recall certain details from the literary text that are emphasised, downplayed, or absent in the film. This is comparison to someone who watches the film adaptation without having read the literary text. The second form of specific knowledge is film and narrative knowledge. Narrative knowledge focuses on a story's architecture. This form of knowledge moves away from understanding film as a sequence of events (plot) and how those events are connected (story). Narrative

knowledge is to make sense of the structures and methods used to present a story. Bordwell (1985) notes this domain of knowledge, is the "construction of a more or less intelligible story" (Bordwell, 1985, p. 33). This construction is based on prototype schemata (Bordwell, 1985), which Wildfeuer (2014) refers to as representation codes. Prototype schemas are templates aiding in the understanding the narrative of a story. They are "set[s] of events occurring in defined settings and unified by principles of temporality and causation" (Bordwell, 1985, p.34). Examples of prototype schemata are events occurring in an identifiable location, events following a chronological order and linear causality, characters representing a particular eco-socio class following the expected norm of that class, or films following particular genre expectations. Complementing narrative knowledge is film knowledge. Wildfeuer explains this form of knowledge as

> the general composition of films as the interplay of visual and auditory resources as well as about filmic specificities such as, for example, different montage techniques (cross-cutting or split screens), camera movements and effects, etc. Information about directors and actors as well as genre knowledge (Wildfeuer, 2014, p.188)

The final form of domain or knowledge source is discourse context knowledge (Wildfeuer, 2014). Context is generally perceived as circumstances that shape an event, action, or discourse. Discourse context is always changing and evolving as the discourse itself progresses and evolves. For instance, in a conversation between two people, new information is added to that conversation, requiring interpretation of that new information as well as understanding how that information is linked to or related to what was previously said. These are achieved by inferring rhetorical relations between new and old information to indicate changes in the discourse context. In moving images, this form of knowledge affects the narrative architecture and adherence to prototype schemata.

I adapt Wildfeuer's model to discuss the interaction between the camera, the presenter, and the indigenous groups. As a reminder, Wildfeuer's discourse analysis model is called *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory*. I abbreviate this to *Film Event Analysis*. I deconstruct key plot events by examining the interactions between the camera, presenter, and the indigenous communities. Deconstruction maps how the participants rhetorically react and relate to each other as

well as make visible rhetorical relationships between plot events in a programme. Deconstruction can also highlight points of narrative ambiguity and ambivalence. The deconstructed film event is then reconstructed according to identified rhetorical relations to map these ambiguous or ambivalent moments. The reconstructed narrative is discussed within the context of the original and main narrative to identify points of convergence, parallelism, or separation – points of subversion.

The programmes' content analyses through the *Film Event Analysis Model* are located within the structural-functionalist paradigm. But, as an edgewalker-researcher, I carry the analyses along the borders of research paradigms towards the frameworks of Pasifika and Post-colonial studies. The analyses are discussed within the worldview of the Pasifika contexts of the filmed groups. As mentioned above, I draw upon the fields of cultural studies, anthropology, and Pacific studies to bring in the ecoliteracy and cosmologies of the filmed groups.

4.2.1 The terminology of the Film Event Analysis Method

In this section, I present the terminology of the *Film Event Analysis Method*. As I am adapting the original model of *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory* (Wildfeuer, 2014), I also adapt the terminology of that model to suit my purposes.

4.2.1.1 The 'Bite-Sized' Film Events: Plot Event, Sub-event, & the Film Shot.

In the *Film Event Analysis Method*, film events are segmented as units of analysis. A film event is a 'bite-sized' narrative event in a film having a recognisable beginning and end. These bite-sized film events range in size, comprise of film shots, and they develop filmic themes or subjects. In my analysis, I use four types of bite-sized film events.

The first and largest film event is the plot event. A plot event introduces a theme, for example arrival, and first contact. Because of this, a plot event contextualises contents developing its theme. I label a plot event according to the following schema: *Plot Event (the number of the plot event): Theme*. For example, in Parry's Anutan programme episode, the first major plot event or theme is Parry's arrival to Anuta. Following the schema, this event is labelled *Plot Event 1: Arrival to Anuta*.

A major plot event can be internally developed by related minor themes, which also form bite-sized events with beginnings and endings. I identify these as Sub-events. Sub-events are labelled according to the following schema, *Sub-event 1,2, etc: Minor Theme*. As an example, *Plot Event 1: Arrival to Anuta* is developed by three sub-events: first sighting of Anuta, first meeting with the Anutans, and greeting individual Anutans on the island. In following the schema for a sub-event, these sub-events are named and numbered, according to their order within the plot event as: *Sub-Event1: First Sighting*, *Sub-Event2: Contact*, and *Sub-Event3: Greeting*. The plot event is the context for its internal sub-events. Figure 6 below illustrates the dependency or contextual relationship between the plot event and internal sub-events.

Figure 6 Plot Event & Sub-Event Dependency
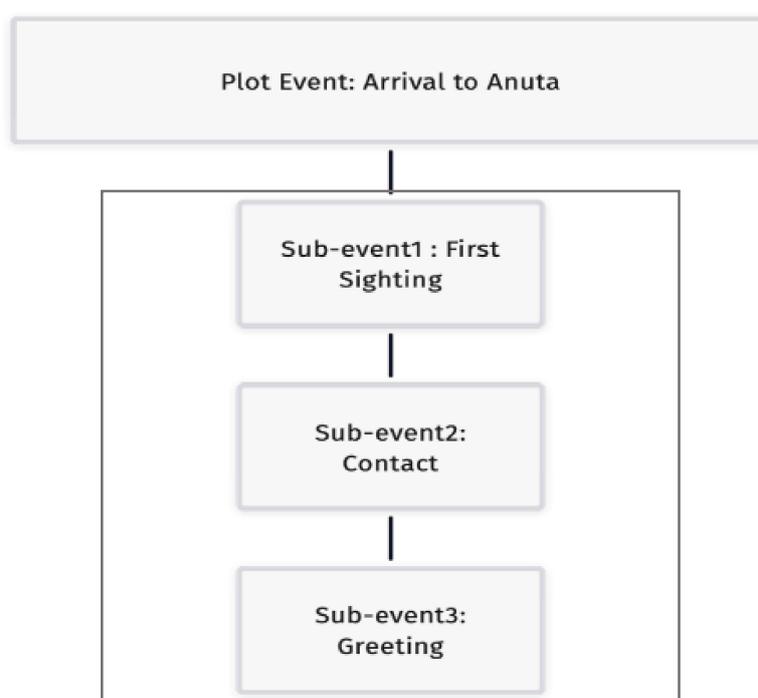
The third type of bite-sized event I analyse is the film shot. The film shot is the smallest unit of analysis and like the plot or sub-events are self-contained units. Like the higher order events, a film shot also develops a topic. A film shot is labelled using the following format: *Shot No.: Topic.*, for example, *Shot 1: Anuta.* The contents of a film shot are the image (visual modes tagged (V)), and non-diegetic and diegetic sound (audio

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modes tagged (A)). The topic of a film shot is determined by the dominant mode, whether it is visual or audio. Modes that directly develop the film shot's topic are identified. Therefore, the assumption is that not all modes in a film shot will develop its topic. Film shots are represented using an adaptation of box notation used in Wildfeuer's theoretical model. Box notation is used in dynamic semantics to reveal hierarchy dependencies of the various modes that develop the film shot's topic. Figure 6 below illustrates my adapted form of box notation.

Figure 7 Box Notation for Film Shot

Shot 1 Anuta	
[V]	Extreme long shot Anuta (a)
[A]	Diegetic sound: People talking (b)
[A]	Non-diegetic music, Polynesian drumming (c)
[V]	Parry Voiceover: "The island of Anuta is surrounded by…"
(a), (b), (d) |~ Anuta, Shot 1	

Note: The first row of the box or table notation is the number of the film shot and its topic. Next to the title the visual image of the film shot. The following rows are descriptions of the visual mode (V) and various audio modes (A). After the description of the modes is a small letter in brackets e.g. (a). These are labels for each description. In the last line of the box or table, the modes contributing to the topic of the film shot are identified. The sign ⌢ is an operator to indicate "that given the situation specified on the left of the ⌢ operator, we can infer the situation on the right" (Wildfeuer, 2014, p. 44). Therefore, the last line in the box notation is read as 'an inference is that modes (a), (b), and (c) contribute or develop the topic of Anuta in Shot 1'.

The topics of film shots can collectively develop a single theme of a plot event. In this case, film shots are dependent on the plot event and are numbered according to their order in the plot event (see Figure 8).

Figure 8 Film Shot dependency to Plot Event
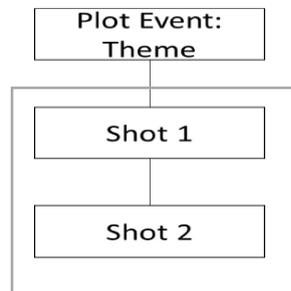
Film shots can also form clusters within a plot event to form minor themes, namely sub-events. In this case, the cluster of shots are dependent on the sub-event they develop. The sub-events, in turn, are dependent on the plot event they develop (see Figure 9 below).

Figure 9 Plot Event, Sub-event & Film Shot Dependencies
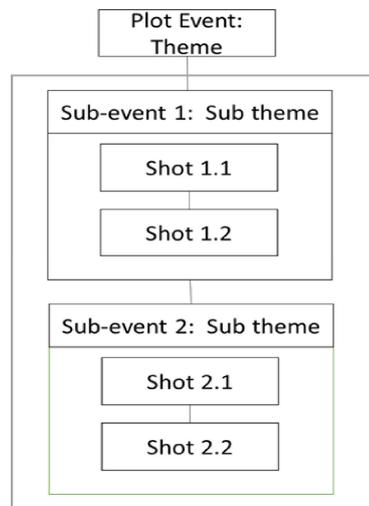
Note: Film shots are tagged to the sub-event, i.e., the first number indicates which sub-event a film shot belongs to, while the second number is its order in the sub-event. For example, shot 2.1 means it is the first shot in sub-event 2.

4.2.2 Rhetorical Relations in the *Film Event Analysis Model.*

Rhetorical relations link film events to build the narrative architecture of the programmes. Rhetorical relations do not necessarily adhere to the programme presenters'

narrative goals, nor render a single interpretation of the programme. They can reveal less obvious layers of meanings in the main narrative and become parallel and alternative sub-narratives.

Rhetorical relations fall into two functions: subordination and coordination. Asher and Vieu (2005) explain these functions affect the temporal order of film events. Coordination emphasises a temporal and linear progression of events while subordination disturbs that progression. Coordination and subordination also affect functional symmetry. If events are on equal footing they are coordinated; if there is asymmetry between the events, then one is subordinated to the other. Apart from affecting the temporal order of events, rhetorical relations also place spatial focus on the theme of events. They decide whether events share a common topic or when one topic ends and another begins. I will first present the subordination rhetorical relations followed by the coordination rhetorical relations.

4.2.2.1 Subordination Rhetorical Relations

Elaboration(Event-1, Event-2). Assume there are two film events: Event-1 and Event-2. An Elaboration relation between Event-1 and Event-2 is inferred when Event-2 gives more details about Event-1, in other words *specification*. For specification to occur, Event-1 must contain Event-2. This is referred to as temporal inclusion (Wildfeuer, 2010, p.67). This affects the temporal succession of these events in that Event-1 starts and ends after Event-2. Figure 10 below demonstrates the temporal condition of inclusion in an Elaboration relation linking film events.

Figure 10 Temporal Condition for the Elaboration Rhetorical Relation
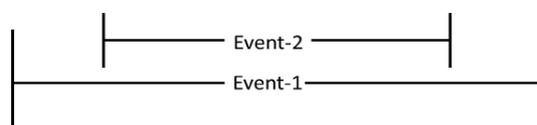
Figure 10 shows temporal inclusion in that Event-2 is located within Event-1, and thus, Event-1 begins before the beginning of Event-2, contains Event-2, and finishes after Event-2 has finished. Because Event-2 is located within Event-1, part of the condition of specification is that Event-2 specifies a particular detail about something in Event-1.

In film, one way of demonstrating the Elaboration relation is a zoom-in camera effect on something specific in a shot.

Figure 11 below shows how camera movement can infer the Elaboration relation. These film shots are from *Tribes Series 3* featuring Bruce Parry, in the episode 'Anuta, Tiny Island in the South Pacific'. To introduce the events in the films in Figure 11, Parry goes night spear fishing with men from his host family. Soon after they begin, a wave pushes Parry against a sea urchin. The film shots are of Parry spending the rest of evening ashore taking out urchin spines embedded in his hands

Figure 11 Example of Elaboration Relation linking Film-shot Events1 & 2.
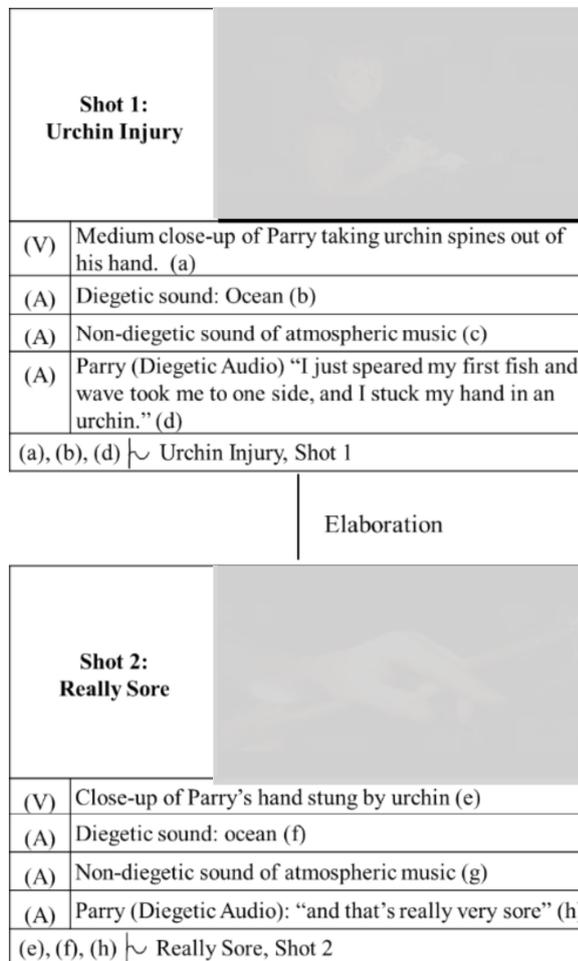
Note: Film events linked with a subordination rhetorical relation are diagrammed vertically, as shown here.

Shot 2: Really Sore is a close-up of Parry's hands seen in *Shot 1: Urchin injury*. Shot 2 provides closeup details of the urchin spins in his hands i.e., specification. The closeup in shot 2 demonstrates the temporal inclusion condition for an Elaboration relation, in that visually Shot 1 contains shot 2. In addition, Parry's audio comments in these two shots infer the Elaboration relation. In shot 1, the key phrase in Parry's comment is "hand in an urchin". In shot 2, this phrase is further elaborated as being "really very sore". Therefore, the Elaboration relation between these two shots is expressed following the schema of *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme)*, namely *Elaboration(Shot 1: Urchin Injury, Shot 2: Really Sore)*.

Explanation(Event-1, Event-2). Assume there are two film events: Event-1 and Event-2. This rhetorical relation infers a causal relation where Event-2 gives the *cause* for effects in Event-1. This implies a temporal circumstance. Rather than a normal temporal order of Event-1 followed by Event-2, a converse temporal order is fired by a cause in which Event-1 is caused by Event-2 (Allen, 1983). The context of these two events must provide evidence of this. This converse temporal order disrupts two basic features of most films: linearity and sequential order.

Figure 12 demonstrates the Explanation relation. The example is taken from Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma (Passage to Rotuma)*. In the lead-up to the events shown in the film shots, Fuata and her daughter Ruby's trip to Rotuma took almost a week, beginning with a plane flight from New Zealand to Fiji. To get to Rotuma from Suva, Fiji, Fuata and Ruby took a ferry. The ferry trip was supposed to take one day, but instead it took three days. Their arrival to Oinafa Harbour in Rotuma is the last stage before finally setting foot on the homeland of her father. She has never been to Rotuma, and this is her first visit. In addition, one of the reasons for her journey is to fulfil, by proxy, her father's wish to return to his homeland.

Figure 12 Example of Explanation Relation between Events in Shot 1 and Shot 2.

Shot 1: Emotional	
(V)	Close-up of Ngaire crying, wiping tears from her eyes as she looks out to sea (a)
(A)	Diegetic sound: People talking in background (b)
(A)	Non-diegetic sound of atmospheric music (c)
(A)	Ngaire (Diegetic Audio) : "I wish Dad was here. I wanted him to take me home" (d)
(a), (d) ⌣	Emotional, Shot 1

Explanation

Shot 2: Finally Rotuma	
(V)	Long shot of Oinafa Harbour [transition between two shots is eyeline match cut with a cross fade.] (e)
(A)	Non-diegetic sound of atmospheric music (f)
(V)	Fade to black screen (g)
(e), (f) ⌣	Finally Rotuma, Shot 2

Note: Film events linked with a subordination rhetorical relation are diagrammed vertically, as shown here.

Ngaire's reaction and comments in *Shot 1 Emotional* is caused by the visual mode of Rotuma in *Shot 2 Finally Rotuma*. The discourse context of the difficult ferry trip and rising anticipation frame these film shots to infer a cause, and this inference is strongest in *Shot 2 Finally Rotuma*. The Explanation relation linking these two film shots could be expressed as 'Because Rotuma is getting closer, Ngaire becomes emotional'. The Explanation relation disrupts a sequential linear and temporal narrative. In these film shots, the Explanation relation asserts a reversed topical order of events. The Explanation relation between these two film shots is expressed following the schema of *Relation(Type of Event 1: Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme),* namely *Explanation(Shot 1: Emotional, Shot 2: Finally, Rotuma).*

Background(Event-1, Event-2). Assume there are two film events: Event-1 and Event-2. The condition inferring this rhetorical relation is that Event-2 gives contextual information about Event-1. The principle constraining this relation is *circumstantial* information. According to Wildfeuer (2014, p.71), Event-2 does not cause Event-1 (Explanation relation), nor does Event-2 provide specification about something in Event-1 (Elaboration relation). Through the Background relation, Event-2 provides additional, minor information about the surroundings or context of Event-1. Event-2 does not have to share the same location as Event-1. In addition, the two events do not have to resemble each other in structure and composition, but they do need to share a common topic (Wildfeuer 2014). Figure 13 below is an example.

The film shots in Figure 13 are from *Selat se Rotuma (Passage to Rotuma)* featuring Ngaire Fuata. The day after their arrival to Rotuma, Fuata and her daughter Ruby participate in a traditional *mamasa* or welcome ceremony for newcomers to Rotuma. The three film shots in Figure 13 show part of her *mamasa* ceremony, which is the feast. The events in these film shots are getting the food ready for everyone to eat in Shot 1.1, Fuata and Ruby are ready to eat in Shot 1.2, and someone opening corned beef in Shot 3.

Before discussing the background-relation in these events, a brief discussion of Shots 1.1 and 1.2 is needed to contextualise the background relation. *Shot 1.1: Food Ready* and *Shot 1.2: Ready to Eat* share the common topic of 'ready'; therefore, they can be grouped to form *Sub-event 1: Ready*. The rhetorical link between Shot 1.1 and Shot 1.2 is the Elaboration relation as the event in Shot 1.2 specifies the event in Shot 1.1, namely *Elaboration(Shot 1.1 Food ready, Shot 1.2 Ready to Eat)*. Discussion can now focus on the Background relation inferred by *Shot 3 Corned Beef*

Figure 13 Mamasa Ceremony

Sub-event 1 Ready

Shot 1.1
Food Ready

(V)	Close-up of food laid out for the Mamasa feast. (a)
(A)	Diegetic sound: people talking and laughing (b)
(A)	Ngaire (Diegetic Audio) "...um, really hungry now, looks good" (c)

(a), (c) ∿ Food Ready, Shot 1.1

Elaboration

Shot 1.2
Ready to eat

(V)	Close-up of Ngaire and Ruby as they wait to be served their food during the Mamasa (d)
(A)	Diegetic sound: people talking and laughing (e)
(A)	Ngaire (Diegetic Audio) "...um, really hungry now, looks good" (f)

(d), (f) ∿ Ready to eat, Shot 1.2

Background

Shot 1.3
Corned Beef

(V)	Close-up of someone's hands opening a can of corn beef (g)
(A)	Diegetic sound: people talking and laughing (h)
(A)	Ngaire (Diegetic Audio) : "It wouldn't be a Pacific Island function without corned beef, huh? (laugh)" (i)

(g), (i) ∿ Corned Beef, Shot 1.3

Note. The sub-event is numbered to indicate that this is the first sub-event developing a plot event. Developing *Sub-event 1 Ready* are two film shots. The film shots are numbered 1.1, and 1.2. The first number tags the film shot to Sub-event 1. The second number refers to the order of the shot in sub-event 1 i.e., shot 1 of Sub-event 1, Shot 2 of Sub-event 1. Also, film events linked with a subordination rhetorical relation are diagrammed vertically, as shown here.

*Shot 3: Corned Beef* provides contextual information about a detail present in the food being served at the *Mamasa.* The small detail highlighted in Shot 3 is visual image of a single can of corned beef prompting Ngaire comments, "it wouldn't be a Pacific Island function without corned beef". The comment is contextual information about the food served at the *mamasa* being typical of food served in Pacific Island functions. The corned beef in Shot 3 is part of the food being served (*Shot 1.1: Food Ready*), and which Ngaire will eat (*Shot 1.2: Ready to Eat).* Since the events in Shots 1.1 & 1.2 form Sub-event 1's theme 'ready', *Shot 3: Corned Beef* provides background, contextual information about Sub-event 1. The Background relation is expressed following the schema *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme)*, namely, *Background (Sub-event 1: Ready, Shot 3:Corned Beef).*

Now that the subordinating rhetorical relations have been given, the following introduces the rest of the rhetorical relations I discuss, namely the coordination rhetorical relations.

4.2.2.2 Coordination Rhetorical Relations.

Narration(Event-1, Event-2). Assume there are two film events: Event-1 and Event-2. This rhetorical relation describes the condition in which Event-1 *occasions* Event-2. This is a "'natural event-sequence' such that events...described by α lead to events…described by β" (Asher and Lascarides, 2003, p. 200), in other words, Event-2 succeeds Event-1 (Allen, 1983). An occasion is created through, firstly, a spatiotemporal consequence in that "where things are in space and time at the end of [event] α is where they are at the beginning of [event] β" (Asher and Lascarides, 2003, p.462). Figure 14 illustrates this spatiotemporal consequence.

Figure 14 Spatial-Temporal Relations of the Narrative Relation

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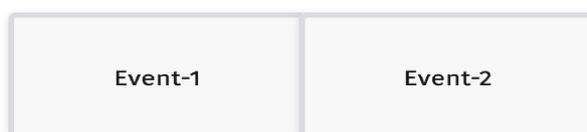
The second condition for an *occasion* to infer a Narration relation is topic constraint in that both events must have a distinct, common topic.

Figure 15 demonstrates the Narration relation linking film events from Episode 1 'Anuta, Tiny Island in the South Pacific' in *Bruce Parry Tribes Series 3*. Parry has been living with the Anutan for a few days. Bad sea conditions prevent the Anutan men from canoe fishing in the open ocean. To have enough fish for everyone, the Anutans use several fishing methods such as long-line beach casting and community fish drives in which everyone in the village stands in shallow coastline water to form a large circle and force fish into a shallow inlet. They bang the surface of the water to scare and trap the fish in the middle of their circle. The events in Shot 1 and Shot 2 is of a man cast fishing and villagers gathering on the beach for a community fish drive.

Figure 15 Fishing
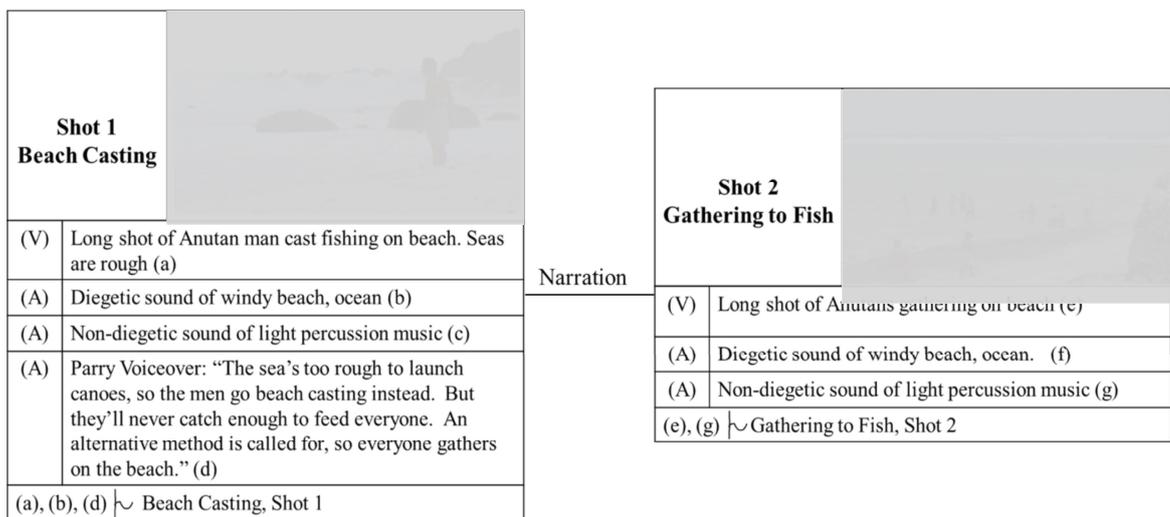
Note: Film events linked with a coordination rhetorical relation are diagrammed horizontally, as shown here.

The events *Shot 1:Beach Casting* and *Shot 2:Gathering to Fish* demonstrate an occasion to infer a Narration relation linking them. The first criterion in determining if the condition of occasion is met is that the two events each have a distinct topic. In these events, their distinct topics are the different methods of fishing. These topics fall under the theme of fishing. The second criterion is the spatiotemporal consequence in which *Shot 2: Gathering to Fish* succeeds *Shot 1: Beach Casting*. This is indicated in Parry's voiceover in Shot 1 which introduces the second method of fishing in his utterance

introducing a new fishing topic which is occasioned in Shot 2. In other words, Parry's voiceover signals the end of Shot 1 and the visual mode in Shot 2 visually begins at the spatial-temporal point of Parry's voiceover ending. This is compounded by the straight cut between the events. The Narration relation is expressed following the schema *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme)*, therefore, *Narration (Shot 1: Beach Casting, Shot 2: Gathering to Fish)*.

Result(Event-1, Event-2). Assume there are two film events: Event-1 and Event-2. This relation is the reverse relation of the subordination relation of Explanation relation. Through the Explanation relation Event-2 is the cause for Event-1. However, with the Result relation, Event-1 causes or results in Event-2. The condition to infer this relation is *cause*. The is the same condition required to infer an Explanation relation. The difference between an Explanation and a Result is the order of events. While the order of events inferred by an Explanation relation is converse, the Result relation, on the other hand, infers temporal succession of Event-1 followed by Event-2 (Allen, 1983). Wildfeuer (2014) notes that the discourse context of the film events must provide evidence of a cause and the maintenance of the consequential succession of events.

Figure 16 illustrates the Result relation. It is a transcript extract of Parry's rite of passage with the Kombai which comprises of seven film shots from 'The Kombai, hunters-gathers of the West Papua Jungle', *Tribe, Series One.*

The film shots are clustered to develop two minor themes developing the main plot event theme of Parry's Kombai Initiation. The minor themes are 1) genital inversion and 2) Parry refusing to go through the process, namely finding his limits. These minor themes are tagged as sub-events: *Sub-event 1: Rite of Passage*, and *Sub-event 2 Reaching the Limit.*

The film shots in Sub-event 1 present an internal discourse to infer a causal relation with Sub-event 2. In Sub-event 1, in *Shot 1.5 Bofo Kwo*, the diegetic audio of Parry wincing in "ooh" (tagged (n)) signals an upcoming effect. In Sub-event 2, *Shot 2.1 Limits* is a visual event of the doubling over of Parry as he throws up into grass nearby (tagged (o)). Parry's nausea is Sub-event 2 is caused by or is the result of the uncomfortable ritual Bofo Kwo has tried to perform on Parry in Sub-event 1. The temporal order of events is a natural order of events in Sub-event 1 causing events in Sub-event 2. Following the schema *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event*

2:Theme), the Result relation is given as *Result*(*Sub-event 1: Rite of Passage, Sub-event 2 Reaching the Limit*).

Figure 16 Plot Event of Parry's Kombai Initiation

Plot Event: Parry's Kombai Initiation

Sub-event 1 Rite of Passage

Shot 1.1 Undressing for Inevitable

(A)	Parry voiceover "…For reasons I'm not entirely clear about, men invert their penises, pushing..." (a)
(V)	Mid-shot of Parry taking off his shorts (b)
(A)	Soft laughter (c)
(b), (c) ⌣ Undressing for inevitable, Shot 1.1

Shot 1.2 The Ritual

(A)	Parry voiceover continued: "… it back inside their bodies…" (d)
(V)	Mid-shot of Parry gettng read for the ritual (e)
(A)	Low level men talking (f)
(e) ⌣ The Ritual, Shot 1.2

Shot 1.3 Bofo Bwo gives rite

(A)	Parry continue voiceover: "… and wrapping what's left in a leaf…" (g)
(V)	Close up of Bofo Kwo administering the rite to Parry. (h)
(A)	Low level men talking (i)
(g), (h) ⌣ Bofo Kwo give rite, Shot 1.3

Shot 1.4 Discomfort

| (A) | Parry continue voiceover: "… with the polite reserve of an Englishman abroad, I didn't quite know how to refuse…" (j) |
| (V) | Closeup of Parry receiving the rite. (k) |
| (j), (k) ⌣ Discomfort, Shot 1.4 |

Shot 1.5 Bofo Kwo

(A)	Parry voiceover continues "… without causing offence"(l)
(V)	Cutaway to close-up of Bofo Kwo administering the rite to Parry. (m)
(A)	Parry (Diegetic Sound): "ooh" (wince), Bofo Kwo soft laughter, talking to Parry. (n)
(m) ⌣ Bofo Kwo, Shot 1.5

Result

Sub-event 2 Reaching the Limit

Shot 2.1 Limits

| (V) | High angle shot of Parry throwing up. (o) |
| (A) | Diegetic Sound: Parry coughing and retching. (p) |
| (o), (p) ⌣ Limits, Shot 2.1 |

Note.   The sub-events are numbered to indicate their standing within a plot event. The film shots are numbered 1.1, 1.2, etc. The first number tags the film shot to the sub-event. The second number is the shot's order in the sub-event. If film events are linked by a coordinating rhetorical relation, they are diagrammed horizontally. In analysis, rhetorical relations would also link the shots inside the sub-events. The purpose is to demonstrate the Result relation by linking the sub-events.

Continuation(Event-1, Event-2). Assume there are two events: Event-1 and Event-2. To infer a Continuation relation linking Event-1 and Event-2, the two events must be of equal value and importance in that they equally contribute to the communication of a shared topic. *Equal value of events* means that Event-1 does not subordinate Event-2 or that Event-2 does not subordinate Event-1. The Continuation relation between events demonstrates a coordinative and symmetrical relation between them. The Continuation relation demonstrates the principle of Event-1 = Event-2, and Event-2 = Event-1 (Allen, 1983) as shown in Figure 16.

Figure 17 Continuation relation between Event-1 and Event-2.

NOTE. If film events are linked by a coordinating rhetorical relation, they are diagrammed horizontally.

Figure 17 demonstrates the equal contribution of Event-1 and Event-2. Both events share the same topic, and they do not subordinate each other. To illustrate this relation in film, Figure 18 below presents a visual montage an example.

Figure 18 Visual Montage of Wasur Park
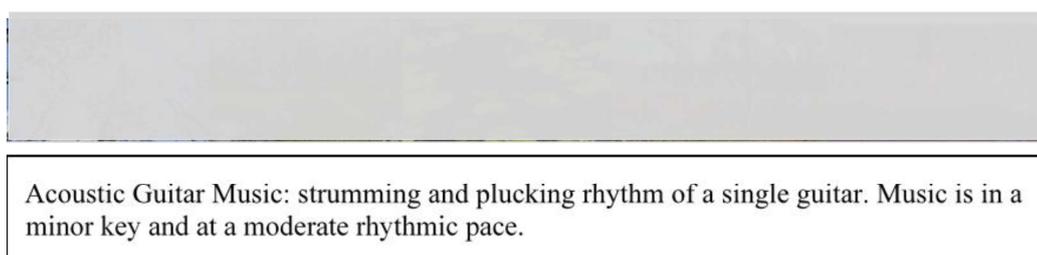
This montage is taken from the short documentary film *The Last Hunter* featuring West Papuan Leo Wambitman. These film shots are a montage of Wasur National Park in Merauke, West Papua, where Wambitman lives. The visual montage of Wasur occurs towards the beginning of the short film. They introduce the national park in the film. These shots indicate an important role, namely the park as a co-protagonist or co-

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subject in the short documentary film. The purpose of the montage in Figure 18 is to show the eco-diversity of Wasur National Park. The transitions in this montage are crossfades or a simple straight cut. The acoustic music is present throughout the entire montage. It does not change in tempo or in tone. It becomes the park's signature tune or 'voice'. Both the audio and visual modes develop a single theme of Wasur National Park. The visual montage shots form one event while the sustaining non-diegetic sound of the music another event. Both events are of equal importance because of their narrative roles. Following the schema *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme)*, the equal importance of the visual and audio events through Continuation is expressed as *Continuation (Montage, Non-diegetic music).*

Parallel(Event-1, Event-2) Assume there are two events: Event-1 and Event-2. This relation is a text structuring relation. Wildfeuer (2014) explains the Parallel relation requires that Event-1 and Event-2 be *similar in structure*. In addition, the two events must be *semantically similar*. Wildfeuer (2014) defines semantic similarity as a common theme: the more informative and stronger the common theme between events the better the parallelism between the two events. Figure 19 demonstrates the Parallel relation between three screenshots from 'Anuta, Tiny Island in the South Pacific' of *Bruce Parry Tribes Series 3*. These screenshots are part of a plot event in which the theme is Parry and the Anutans night bird hunting.

The Anutans hunt at night for seagulls as a source of food. Men and young boys wait on the cliff's edge and imitate bird calls to trick seagulls into returning to their nests in the cliff. The birds are netted by the men as they fly by. Figure 19 are screenshots of Derek (Parry's host), Derek's friend, and Parry.

Figure 19 Parallel Relation in Anutan Night Bird Hunting

Screenshot1 Derek bird calling.

Screenshot 2 Derek's friend bird calling.

Screenshot 3 Parry bird calling.

Parallel   Parallel

In *Screenshot 1 Derek bird call*, the shot composition of Derek is off-centre opening negative space to the left of the shot. A cut-away transitions from Derek to *Screenshot 2 Derek's friend bird calling*. The composition of screenshot 2 mirrors the composition of screenshot 1. The Anutan friend is off-centre occupying the negative space in screenshot 1. The off-centre composition of screenshot 2 opens negative space to the right of the shot. A cut-away transitions to *Screenshot 3 Parry bird calling*. Parry occupies the negative space in screenshot 2. The composition of the screenshot of Parry mirrors the composition of screenshot of Derek (screenshot 1). Also, in the screenshot of Parry, Derek is visible in the background. The mirrored composition as well as the cut-away editing techniques in screenshots 1, 2, and 3 infers the parallelism of these shots. The composition shows that these men are doing the same action at the same time. This is confirmed in the background of screenshot 3. According to the schema *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme),* the Parallel relation between the three shots is given as *Parallel (Screenshot 1 Derek bird calling, Screenshot 2, Derek's friend bird calling, Screenshot 3, Parry bird calling).*

Contrast(Event-1, Event-2). Assume two events: Event-1 and Event-2. Like the Parallel relation, this relation is a text structuring relation. Like the Parallel relation, the Contrast relation is based on the *structural similarity of events*. However, the Contrast relation differs in that it must have *semantic dissimilarity*. Semantic dissimilarity is defined as the events sharing contrasting themes, despite their structural similarity. On this issue, Wildfeuer (2014) explains in filmic discourse, semantic dissimilarity must be conveyed non-verbally compared to writing or speech where dissimilarity is communicated through key words such as but, however, nonetheless, etc. The condition of dissimilarity is illustrated in Figure 20 below. To show the Contrast relation, I use a transcript excerpt of filmshots from 'Anuta, tiny island in the South Pacific' from *Tribe Series Three,* presented by Bruce Parry.

In the transcript, the film shots are clustered to form two sub-events: *Sub-event 1 Derek fishing,* and *Sub-event 2 Parry fishing.* The Anutans have a unique method of open sea fishing. Derek is filmed using this method in Sub-event 1. Parry attempts to use the same techniques but is unsuccessful in Sub-event 2. These sub-events occur simultaneously. The camera filming techniques are long shots in which a hand-held camera is used to film both Derek and Parry.

Figure 20 Transcript Extract of Anutan Fishing

The transcription excerpt in Figure 20 shows a level of structural similarity of the two sub-events. The similarity lies in the filming method of the Anutans and Parry fishing. The first shot in sub-event 1 is a long shot from below Derek, but the camera also moves to a closeup of Derek fishing. The structure of the long shot of Derek is replicated in the first long shot of sub-event 2, which is Parry fishing. The camera angle, movement, and action of the two men emphasise visual similarity of the two sub-events. However, the topic of the two sub-events differs. In sub-event 1, the theme of Derek fishing is show how to successfully deep-sea fish Anutan style. In sub-event 2, the theme of Parry fishing is what not to do when deep-sea fishing Anutan style. Despite the visual similarity of the shots, Parry's voiceover, and images of him flailing in the water is an instruction guide of how to fail in the fishing method. Therefore, the transcription above shows a Contrast relation holding or binding the two sub-events. In

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keeping with the schema *Relation(Type of Event 1:Theme, Type of Event 2:Theme),* the Contrast relation is given as *Contrast (Sub-event 1: Derek Fishing, Sub-event 2: Parry fishing).*

4.3 Ethnical Considerations

My research deals with the (re-)presentation of peoples and cultures. In my chosen selection of programmes, families are filmed interacting with each other, and going about their daily lives in their private and public spaces. Because of my focus in working with final-cut programme versions, I am several steps removed from the filmed people and cultures in the sense that I do not personally interact with them. Despite this, ethical considerations regarding my research are:

- I handle images of people. Even if the identity and locations of the filmed groups are public, consideration is needed regarding how I treat those images.

- I discuss the cultures of the filmed groups and their cultural practices. Their socio-cultural situations need ethical consideration, particularly as these situations are where the filmed groups interact and live.

- My Pacific heritage is important to this research, but how it impacts and potentially bias my discussion in the dynamics between the groups in the chosen programmes need to be taken into consideration.

To ensure good and ethical practice in my treatment of the images of the filmed groups, their cultures, and the research work conducted by others, I use the cultural values of the Samoan culture or *Fa'a Samoa* as a code of research ethics. In *Fa'a Samoa*, Samoan social and kinship relationships are guided by the values of *Pule* (authority), *Fa'aaloalo* (respect), and *mamalu* (dignity). These values are salient in ensuring proper conduct in interacting with others (Huffer and So'o, 2005). These values lead to the development of *mana* (honour) and *tapu* (sacred/taboo). These values correspond to ideologies and principles guiding academic conduct and ethical standards.

My research project is a context in which my cultural heritage, the cultures of the filmed groups, and the academic cultures influencing my research converge to create a space of conversation and discussion. This space is comparable to the Samoan cultural concept of *Vā* or space. Wendt (1999) defined *Vā* as "…space that relates, that holds

separate entities and things together…the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships and the contexts change" (p.402). In my research *Vā,* I adapt and apply the *Fa'a Samoa* principles to fit my project.

The first tenet *Pule* (authority) is adapted to refer to the referenced sources I use to help me fulfil my research aims. The authority of external research is recognised by accurately using their work in my research and with proper acknowledgement. This concept also applies to my role as a researcher as I must demonstrate confidence in my own competence and knowledge. Additionally, my selected programmes are cut and edited in a particular way for broadcast which, in turn, present certain narratives and themes. This is the authority of the programmes; images, dialogue, or any other aspect of the programmes cannot be manipulated or altered.

Fa'aaloalo (respect) is important in ensuring the proper handling of the visual images of the filmed groups, their cultures, values, and practices with respect and without prejudice. For instance, transcriptions of programme extracts are important in contextualising each shot as well as showing their continuity within a film event. Before extract analysis, and through transcription, I present the context of the extract to show its role and place in a programme's narrative and plot. These steps are important in ensuring that an image, action, or comment is not taken out of context. *Fa'aaloalo* is also extended to my role as a Pasifika researcher. I analyse Pasifika peoples, and my background can unintentionally act as a bias and as such affect my research aims. I do not deny my Pasifika background in my study as it is part of the story of my research, but I am careful that my own story does not interfere with the stories of the filmed peoples and how they are filmed in my programme selection. However, my own Pasifika background is used to understand the general ideologies of their cosmologies. Ethnological and anthropological studies of the filmed groups also provide an insight.

The last value is *mamalu* (dignity). In my research context, this concept is understood several ways. Treating the images and discussion of the filmed groups with respect also gives them dignity. As mentioned above, my project, abstractedly, deals with people, their lives, their cultures, and environment. Their stories and their sense of selves must be treated fairly and equally. In addition, I am a PhD candidate within an institution. My conduct as a researcher and my project must adhere to my department and institution's code of ethics. Doing so will pay my institution and department dignity and respect.

The result of maintaining these ethical values is that the people and cultures receive *mana* (power and honour) as their stories contribute to the overall academic discussion of indigenous and minority cultural re-presentation in popular media.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, I presented a rationale explaining my decision to analyse heavily edited or ready-to-broadcast programmes in my research. I introduced the *Film Event Analysis Method* which is an adaptation of the linguistic model of *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Structure Theory* developed by linguist Janine Wildfeuer (2014) for multimodal analysis. As part of that introduction, I explain my reasons for choosing the *Film Event Analysis Method* over other analytical tools or concepts in areas that have a direct association to my research aims, for example cultural studies. I do not dismiss them entirely, but I needed a robust model for the content analyses of the focus programmes.

A major part of this chapter was outlining the *Film Event Analysis Method*, notably the terminology I use in content programme analyses such as the method's notation, and discourse rhetorical relations that link film events to form a narrative. I simplified the original terminology and language. Finally, I dealt with ethical considerations in handling images of the filmed groups and in the way I discuss their cultures.

This chapter sets the scene for the following chapters which is analyses of the programmes themselves.

5. The Anutans: Bruce Parry's *Tribes*

5.1 Introduction

A theme central of this project's focus programmes is to experience the other; in other words, to 'be one of...'. This is an assertion of an outsider's desire to access something beyond the norm. In the context of this study, that something is indigenous cultures and communities. I examine the dynamics between the filmed groups, the presenters, and the camera to examine issues regarding the presenters' narrative aim of 'being one of...' and how this impacts the (re-)presentation of both the presenters and the filmed groups. This chapter focuses on Parry's programme episode, 'Anuta, tiny island in the South Pacific' from *Tribe Series Three* (2007). I consider this programme transnational ethnotainment. I apply the *Film Event Analysis Method* to key plot events, after which the findings are discussed.

5.2 Anutan Programme Extracts

5.2.1 The 'Double Beginning': Prologue and Programme Start.

Descriptions of the Anutans, presenter Bruce Parry, and programme synopsis were given in Chapter 2. Each programme in the *Tribe* television series adheres to a generic structure such as beginning with a prologue to background the locations, cultures, and peoples with whom Parry lives. The prologue is a montage of images of the environment, people, Parry, and flashes of events from the programme. These images are voiced over by Parry and accompanied by 'tribal' atmospheric music. In the prologue, the main purpose of his stay is also given. After the prologue are the opening credits where Parry introduces himself, his goal to 'be one of...', and the programme title. Figure 21 is a screenshot transcript of the prologue of Anuta, before the opening credits of the programme.

Figure 21 Screenshot Anuta Prologue

	Parry voice over. "I'm in the South Pacific heading for the island of Anuta,	one of the most isolated communities on earth."	Parry to camera (diegetic) "There is nothing else anywhere else in any other direction. Rarely have I every felt so isolated.
Parry voice over. "Five thousand years ago, people	setting off from Asia in ocean-going canoes.	These prehistoric	navigators colonised a vast area of the Pacific, Hawaii, Samoa, Tahiti. When the first Europeans came through these waters
they found peoples living	apparently living idyllic lives on lush island homes. They thought they had sailed into paradise.	The original way of life has since disappeared	
from most of these islands	But Anuta , so cut off from the outside world are one of the last traditional Polynesian commmunities in the Pacific.		
Parry voice over. "After four days at sea, we sight a speck of land on the horizon." Parry diegetic comment (to camera): "Half a mile wide, 75 miles to its nearest neighbour,	this finally is my first sighting of the island of Anuta	Parry voiceover. "how do people survive on such an isolated place, and could this really be paradise on earth	

Note: This is the prologue of the programme. This comes before the opening credits and titles where Parry introduces himself, the aim of wanting to experience being one of the tribe, and the programme title.

The Anutan prologue in Figure 21 universalises and simplifies the diversity and complexities of the cultures of the filmed indigenous groups through an outline summary. The prologue acts as a frame which embeds story elements in the rest of the programme (Branigan, 2006). It contextualises the story to come. The prologue is a story about a story, and Parry's voiceover in the prologue establishes him as the voice

of authority in the programme. After the prologue are the opening credits in which Parry introduces himself, and his aim to live as one of the tribe. The duration of the prologue and the programme's opening credits are 00:02.00 long. Afterwards, the actual programme begins. The first key plot event beginning Parry's cultural immersion experience is his first meeting with the host groups. In his programmes, the indigenous peoples are ethnic groups Parry has not met before. Therefore, his meeting is couched in the image and theatricality of 'first contact'.

There are several key plot events in his episode programme of the Anutans, but the events I want to discuss are his meeting with the Anutans (as he steps ashore), Parry's first fishing trip, and his rite of passage. These are labelled *Plot Event1 Parry's Arrival, Plot Event 2 Parry 1st Fishing Trip,* and *Plot Event 3 Rite of Passage.*

5.2.2 Plot Event 1 Parry's Arrival

Plot Event 1 Parry's Arrival (00:02:02 -00:03:11, see Appendix 1 for transcription) is the first event to begin Parry's story of his immersion into the Anutan culture. The film shots in this plot event are clustered to develop four minor themes, namely four sub-events. These are: *Sub-event 1 Anuta*, *Sub-event 2 Hello Children*, *Sub-event 3 English*, and *Sub-event 4 Meet the Anutans*. The main theme of Parry's arrival in *Plot Event 1* is the narrative context framing these sub-events.

The main filming technique in Plot event 1 is the following or tracking shot at either a medium-long shot or full long shot of Parry. The result is a series of long takes necessitating fast cuts for an ellipsis effect. These cuts do not always mean the end and beginning of film shot. A change of topic or theme is achieved through Parry's voiceover, marking a new sub-event. Figure 22 presents the first sub-event in *Plot Event 1 Parry's arrival*, which is *Sub-event 1 Anuta.* The theme of this sub-event is developed by two film shots, each with their own focus. These film shots are *Shot 1.1 Anuta* and *Shot 1.2 Paddling Ashore.*

Figure 22 Sub-event 1 Anuta

Sub-event 1 Anuta			
Shot 1.1 Anuta		**Shot 1.2 Paddling Ashore**	
(V) Extreme long shot of Anuta (a)	Continuation	(A) Diegetic sounds of ocean, distant voices (e)	
(A) Diegetic sounds of ocean, distant voices (b)		(A) Non-diegetic ambient music (f)	
(A) Non-digetic ambient music and light Polynesian drumming (c)		(V) Long shot of Parryt wavying to his yacht crew. He is in a canoe being paddled by Anutans (g)	
(A) Parry voice over "The island of Anuta is surrounded by … (d)		(A) Parry voice over "…a shallow reef so our yacht anchors off shore, and I'm paddled towards the beach" (h)	
(a), (b), (d) ⌣ Anuta, Shot 1.1		(e), (g), (h) ⌣ Paddling Ashore, Shot 1.2	
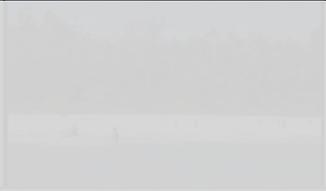
In *Shot 1.1 Anuta*, in visual mode *(a)*, dominant elements in the extreme long shot of Anuta are the white sandy beach set against a curtain of a lush, green, palm-tree forest. White sands and tropical palm trees are tropes echoing Parry's comments in his prologue of European navigators discovering people living in lush paradisiacal environments. Also in the extreme long shot are small specks of Anutans on the beach. This indicates a small and sparse population living on an island in the middle of the Pacific 'nowhere'. The non-diegetic audio tagged audio mode *(c)* is a synthesised soundtrack and the diegetic sounds of the ocean, creating ambience to match the extreme long shot of an untouched tropical paradise. The last element in this shot is audio mode *(d)*, which is the beginning of his voiceover "The island of Anutan is surrounded by…" introducing the island in the programme.

Shot 1.2 Paddling Ashore contrasts the two worlds Parry straddles, namely a British programme presenter and aspiring tribal member. The composition of visual mode *(g)* shows in the background is Parry's catamaran-yacht and in the foreground is Parry and Anutans in a canoe. The whiteness of the yacht stands out against the blue sky and sea. It is a foreign element in a world of blue. The yacht is Parry's connection to the outside world. This visual symbolism is later made clearer in 00:07:51- 00:08:33. In this extract, heavy winds force the yacht to find safer harbour. As the yacht leaves, Parry comments that his lifeline to the outside world is on the move. In Shot 1.2, audio mode *(h)* is the rest of Parry's voiceover begun in Shot 1.1. He concludes "…a shallow reef so our yacht anchors off-shore, and I'm paddled towards the beach". His comment

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contextualises and explains visual mode *(g)*. In *Sub-event 1 Anuta*, the voiceover, audio modes *(d)* and *(h)* split between the two shots, is the dominant mode. The latter audio mode ends Parry's thought begun in the former audio mode. The visual images support Parry's voiceover. Reflecting this dynamic is the Continuation relation between the film shots. Therefore, *Continuation(Shot 1.1 Anuta, Shot 1.2 Paddling Ashore)*.

The transition from *Sub-event 1 Anuta* to *Sub-event 2 Hello* is the straight cut. The straight cut is an ellipsis to shorten the long take, but it also signals the end of Sub-event 1's theme. The last shot of Sub-event 1 occasions the first film event of Sub-event 2, indicating a natural order of events. Anuta is a location of arrival in both shots. These conditions are typical of the Narration relation: *Narration (Sub-event 1 Anuta, Sub-event 2 Hello)*. Figure 23 gives the film shots for sub-event 2.

Figure 23 Sub-Event 2 Hello

Sub-event 1 Anuta		Sub-event 2 Hello
Shot 1.1 Anuta	Narration	Shot 2.1 Hello
Shot 1.2 Paddling Ashore	→	

Shot 2.1 Hello:

[A]	Non-diegetic ambient music and light Polynesian drumming (i)
[A]	Diegetic sound of people talking on beach (j)
[V]	Tracking long take of Parry stepping off canoe and walking towards beach towards children gathered on beach (k)
[A]	Parry saying hello in Anutan to children (l)
[A]	Voice of Anutan woman telling children "don't be scared of him" (m)

(j), (k), (l), (m) |~ Hello, Shot 2.1

The next step is to infer a rhetorical link between *Sub-event 2 Hello* and *Sub-event 3 English*. Sub-event 2 has one shot: Shot 2.1 Hello. Figure 23 outlines the visual and audio modes of Shot 2.1.

Shot 2.1 is a tracking long take of Parry's interaction with the children. The tone of Shot 2.1 is positive with Parry greeting children at their eye level, shaking their hands, and initially saying hello in the Anutan language. A small moment in this film shot event is a comment from one of the Anutan women among the children (audio mode *(m)*) telling the children in Anutan not to be afraid of Parry. This small comment implies that Anutan children are not used to seeing foreigners, emphasising the remoteness and isolation of Anuta. However, this implication becomes an issue of contention in Sub-event 3. *Sub-event 3 English* (see Figure 24 below) is developed through four film shots: *Shot 3.1 Look at You Guys, Shot 3.2 What's Your Name, Shot 3.3 Unexpected*, and *Shot 3.4 English*.

Figure 24 Sub-event 3 English
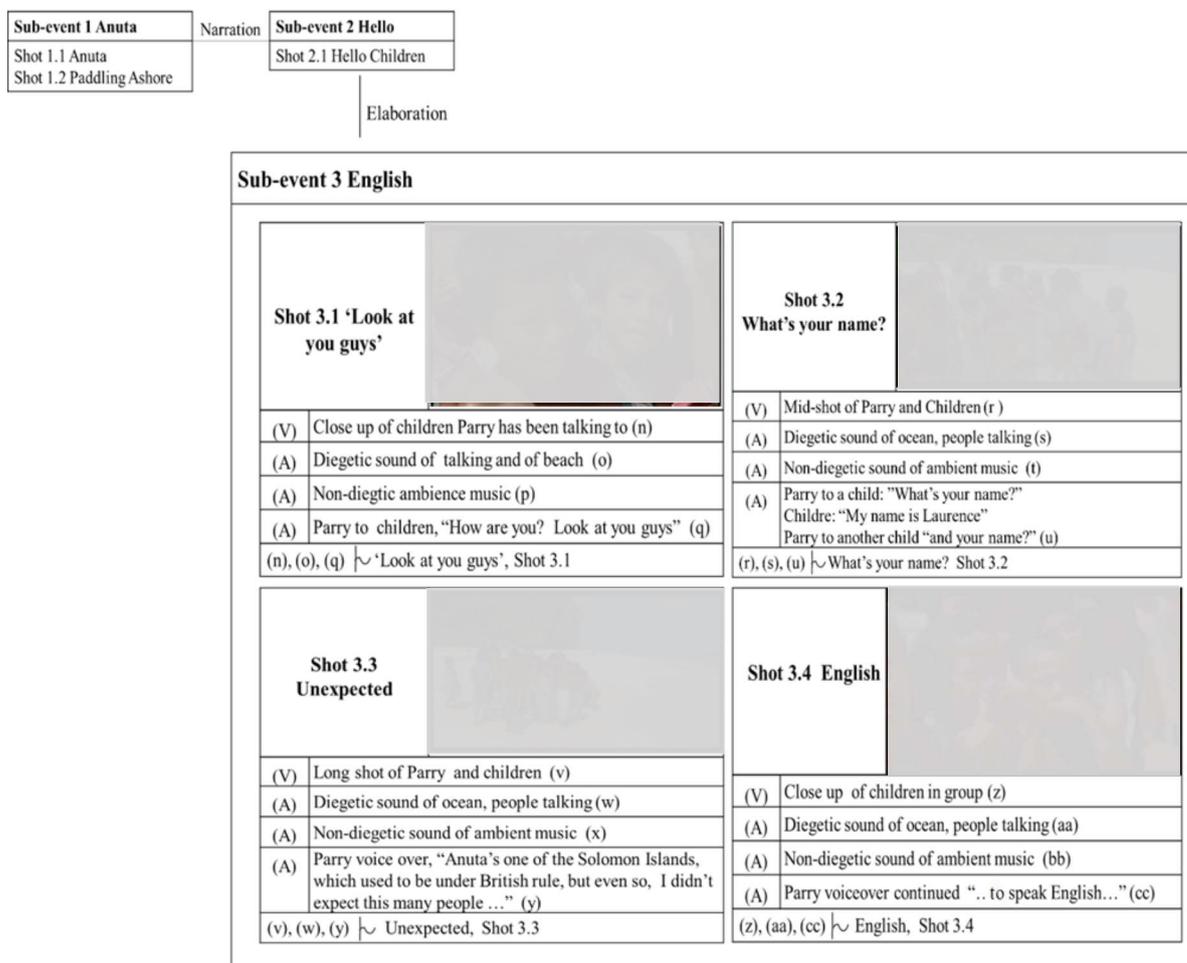
Note: The rhetorical relations linking sub-events 1, 2, and 3 are given here to show the unfolding narrative structure of the main theme *Plot Event 1 Parry's arrival*.

The closeup shot of the children in visual mode *(n)* in *Shot 3.1 Look at you guys* is a cut-in of the children filmed through a tracking long take (using a medium long angle) in Sub-event *2*. Shot 3.1 specifies visual details of some of the children in the larger group in Sub-event 2. Because of this visual specification, the implied rhetorical link is Elaboration. The specification condition is supported by audio mode *(q)* in Shot 3.1 in which Parry says to the children, "look at you guys...What's your name?" This statement-question is a verbal request for more details about and from the children after his initial hello to them in Sub-event 2. Therefore, through the dominance of the visual modes and the support of the audio modes, the rhetorical link between *Sub-event2 Hello* and *Sub-event 3 English* is Elaboration: *Elaboration(Sub-event 2 Hello, Sub-event 3 English).* See Figure 24 above.

  Sub-event 3 English illustrates interesting dynamics between the visual and audio modes in its film shots. They have divergent narratives. The visual modes in Shots 3.1 – 3.4 are closeups of the children and a long shot of Parry and the children, respectively, which presume the children as the main theme and focus. This is supported by audio mode *(q)* in Shot 3.1 in which Parry says to the children "How are you? Look at you guys" and audio mode *(u)* in Shot 3.2 when he asks, "What's your name?" after which the children speak English to Parry. However, in Shot 3.3, Parry's voiceover in audio mode *(y)* changes the thematic focus. Parry's states, "Anuta's one of the Solomon Islands, which used to be under British rule, but even so. I didn't expect this many people…" In Shot 3.4, audio mode *(cc)* is the rest Parry's voiceover "…to speak English". These audio modes diminish the visual dominance of the children. The change of topic in Parry's voiceovers re-establishes him as the authoritative subject-presenter.

  In the prologue, Anuta is established as the only Polynesian island living a traditional Polynesian lifestyle, and Anuta is one of the remotest places on earth. Parry's voiceover in Shots 3.3 and 3.4 uphold these points by expressing surprise at the children's' English language proficiency. Children (some of whom are young) are speaking English, questioning claims of Anutan isolation from the outside world established in the prologue. Figure 25 shows the divergent dynamics of the audio and visual modes in the film shots of *Sub-event 3 English*.

Figure 25 Audio & Visual Modes of the Film Shots of *Sub-Event 3 English*
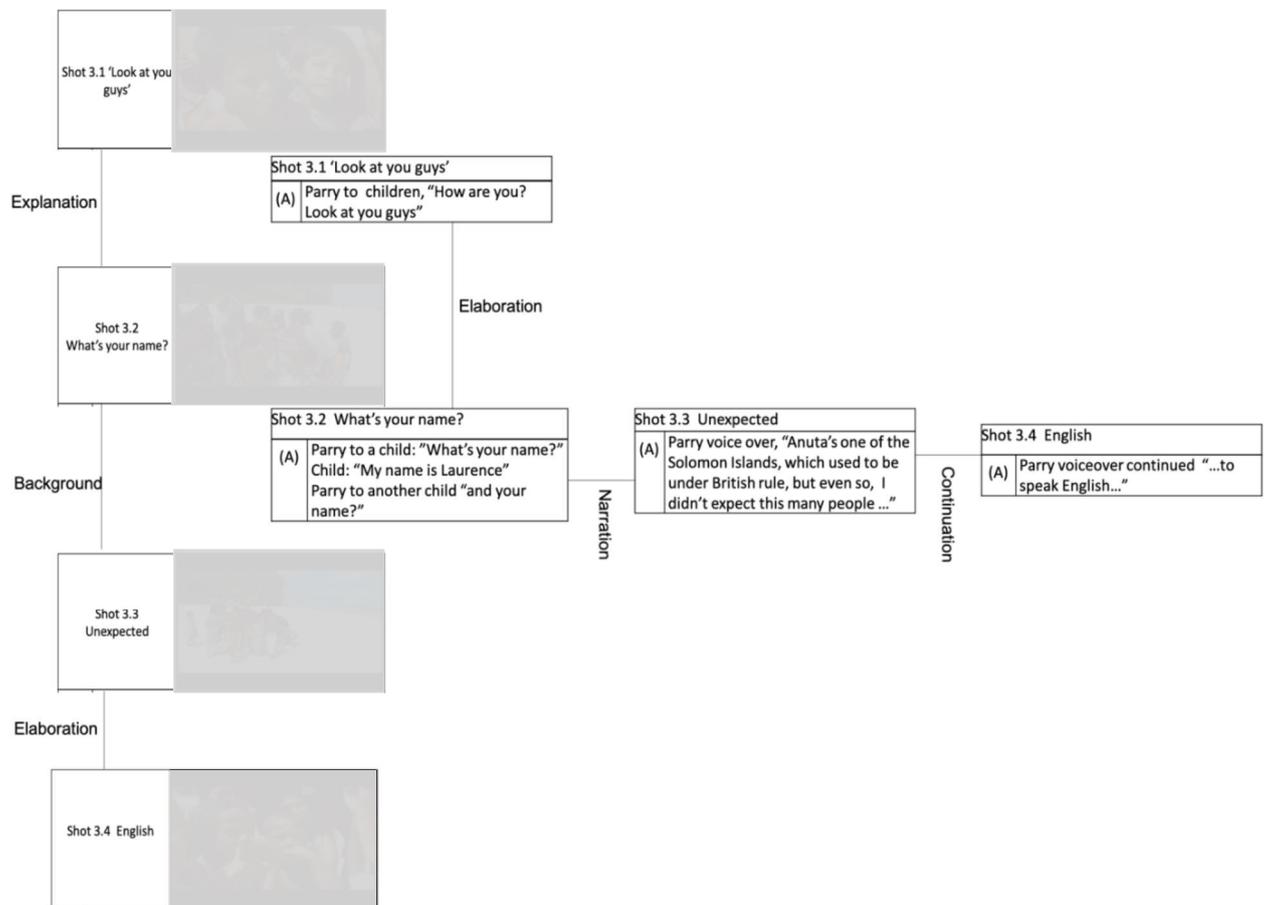
The visual modes of shots 3.1 – 3.4 indicate the visual dominance of the children as the shots' subject. The main rhetorical relations linking the visual modes are subordinate which for the most part reverse the spatial-temporal order of these shots to emphasise the initial closeup shot of children in Shot 3.1. For instance, the rhetorical link between the visual modes of Shots 3.1 and 3.2 is Explanation. Conditions to infer an Explanation relation are a converse order of events in that the second event causes the first event. Both events must share the same topic. The image in Shot 3.2 is a mid-shot of Parry among the group of children, and this provides a causal reason for the closeup of the children in Shot 3.1. Inference of an Explanation relation is also supported by the transition between the two shots which is a cut-away from a closeup to a mid-shot. The rhetorical link between the visual images of Shots 3.2 and 3.3 is Background. The long shot of Parry and children in Shot 3.3 provides contextual and surrounding detail about the location which is the beach. The beach, partially visible in Shot 3.2, is given

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more visual space in Shot 3.3. The beach is reminiscent of tropes of an untouched paradise and of first contact cultural encounters discussed in Parry's prologue. Lastly, the visual mode of Shot 3.3 is a transition to a cut-in of closeup of the children in Shot 3.4, introducing a specification condition to infer the Elaboration relation.

The audio modes of Shots 3.1 and 3.2 appear to support the visual theme of the children. In shot 3.1 Parry says, "look at you guys", while in shot 3.2, he begins to ask them "what is your name?" at which the children respond. However, through the act of asking questions, Parry becomes the subject-actor initiating the verbal dynamics that follow. The children through the act of receiving Parry's questions are acted upon, making them the narrative objects. In the audio modes of Shots 3.1 and 3.2, the Elaboration relation is the link inferred by Parry verbal act. This relation subordinates the children's visual dominance. It not only realigns narrative roles but is also introduces discourse space to steer Sub-event 3 to a new subject introduced by Parry. Shot 3.2 becomes an audio pivot to cement Parry's role as the narrative subject in Shots 3.3 and 3.4.

In Shot 3.3 Parry's audio mode is a voiceover explaining "Anuta's one of the Solomon Islands, which used to be under British rule, but even so, I didn't expect this many people…" Shot 3.4 contains the rest of the voiceover "to speak English". Visually, the children become a backdrop to Parry's comment. The audio mode in Shot 3.3 introduces a spatiotemporal condition in which a new event begins at the point of a previous event's end. Parry's questions in Shot 3.2 occasions the audio event in Shot 3.3 in that the audio in Shot 3.2 is a springboard to introduce a new (but closely related) topic in audio mode in Shot 3.3. These topics are linked by the visual modes of the children common in both shots. The rhetorical relation best suited to illustrate this dynamic is the Narration relation.

Parry's voiceover in Shot 3.3 glosses over the good language proficiency of the children, some of whom are young (according to the visual shots of them). Their English proficiency also indicate their bilingualism (which is suggested in *Sub-event 2 Hello* in which a woman speaks to the children in Anutan). The prologue of this programme emphasises Anuta's isolation and remoteness. Yet, the children in Sub-event 3 question this premise. Parry's voiceover in Shot 3.3 seeks to re-affirms Anuta's remoteness carefully crafted up until this point. The topic of Shot 3.3 is audibly maintained through the Continuation relation in Shot 3.4 which also finishes Parry's voiceover.

The fourth sub-event is *Sub-event 4 Meet the Anutans* (See Appendix 1 Plot Event 1 Parry's Arrival (00:02:02.24 - 00:03:11.17)). Sub-event 4 begins with a tracking long shot of Parry walking towards the rest of the Anutans and the children following him. Parry's voiceover states "Apparently, many months can go by before a ship is sighted. So, someone coming ashore is a big event. The entire community is here to greet me, and I'm told that I must shake hands with each and every one of them" (00:02.27 – 00:02:55). The voiceover changes the topic from Parry meeting the children to meeting the rest of the Anutan community. Therefore, the rhetorical relation linking Sub-events 3 and 4 is Narration i.e., *Narration (Sub-event 3 English, Sub-event 4 Meet the Anutans).*

Sub-event 4 is basically a long take of Parry shaking hands with everyone, interspersed with diegetic comments of the overwhelming reception in which everyone is smiling. The long take is shortened through straight cuts in Parry's meet-and-greet session. The tracking long take establishes the narrative dominance of Parry. By the time he finishes meeting everyone, the image of a lush paradise is reinforced when Parry states "I'm in paradise". The discourse structure of *Plot event 1 Parry's Arrival*, shaped by identified rhetorical relations, is given in Figure 26 below.

Figure 26 Structure of Plot Event 1 Parry's Arrival
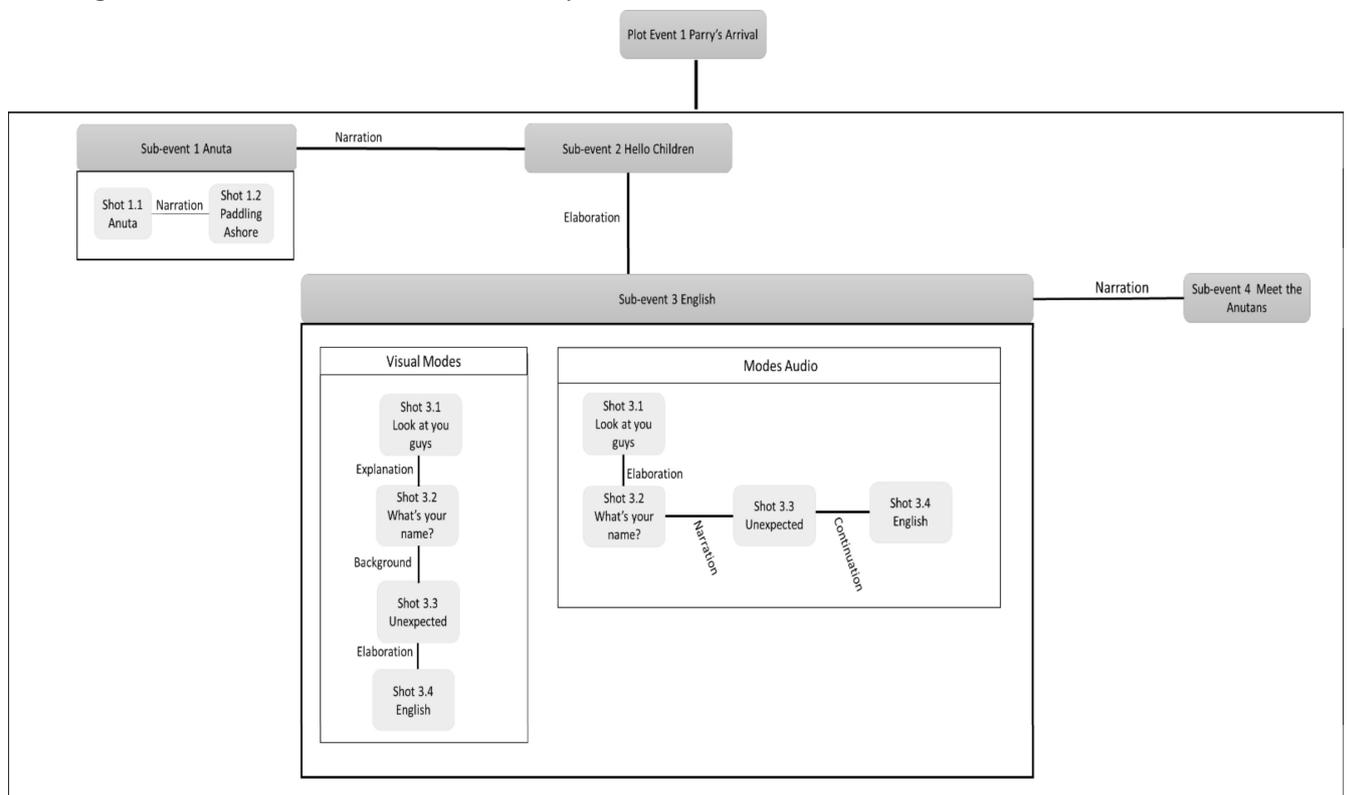
5.2.3 Discussion of Analysis of Plot Event 1 Parry's Arrival

Parry's programme emphasises the size and remoteness of Anuta in the middle of an oceanic nowhere. Situating Pacific peoples and their homelands in this perspective is nothing new. Hau'ofa (1993/2008) in his seminal essay 'Our Sea of Islands' writes size is relative as it is determined by what is included or excluded in calculating whether something is large or small. Explorers from the European continent considered the island nations scattered throughout an expansive ocean as small specks. Their calculations are based entirely on the extent of the land surfaces they see (Hau'ofa, 1993/2008). In *Plot event 1: Parry's Arrival*, historical colonial tropes such as isolation, lush and bountiful environments, paradise, untouched cultures and traditions, and communities cut off from civilisation demonstrate the prevailing attitude of the Pacific as containing "islands in a far sea" (Hau'ofa, 1993/2008, p. 31). These small island masses are far from any centres of power and as such isolated from civilisation.

In the structure of *Plot event 1: Parry's Arrival* (see Figure 26 above), the coordinating rhetorical relations, such as Narration and Continuation, are maintained through filming techniques such as the long take. This filming technique amplifies Parry's contact experience as theatre in which he plays his part. The first-impression images of Anuta correspond to idea of the beach as a place of theatre, a "privileged encounter in the Pacific…it is liminal in the sense of limen, a threshold, marking different spheres of experience and thus differences in the most palpable terms" (Balme, 2007, p. 24). Balme's point reveals beach scenes, such as Parry's arrival, as performances of identity and belonging. The beach is a territory of negotiation. It is a boundary-slither of land upon which first landing experiences create a grammar laden with symbols of politics, wonder, awe, superiority, subordination, outsider, insider, normative, and otherness. Such grammar reiterates Stasch's (2016) elements of stereotypy of exoticism and the transcendental presences and agitation of normativity in his concept of Dramas of Otherness (see sub-section 3.3.1, Chapter 3). This grammar is two sided in that first landing experiences can also be confrontational or reciprocal. The beach is a pivot upon which contact experiences are tested and assumptions are overturned or reinforced. The beach is a boundary space between the outside world and isolation.

Anuta's programme label as a tiny island in the South Pacific communicates small social, cultural, and family connections. Parry's descriptions of Anuta as geographically isolated assumes cultural and social isolation. However, despite these descriptions, Anuta's physical size and isolation is a part of (as opposed to separate from) the expanse of the modern world. In the group shots of the children, their speaking English, small gestures such as the thumbs-up sign, or even their names such as Laurence or Mel Gibson (an infant from Parry's host family is named after the Australian actor) indicate ongoing contact with the modern world. The group of children Parry meets are young, yet their curiosity to be filmed, their bilingualism, their names, and gestures collectively undermine the programme's premise of Anuta's isolation, and its being cut off from the world because of its remoteness. This event, and others throughout the programme, indicate that the Anutans as Pasifika peoples are part of a global economic community through migration of people, goods, and money. To be 'large in stature" is not just physical, it is also ideological and cosmological.

5.3.4 Plot Event 2 Parry 1st Fishing Trip.

 The next significant narrative plot event is Parry's first fishing trip with the Anutans (00:18:24:10– 00:22:20:24, see Appendix 2 for extract transcription). Parry has been on Anuta for a week, and a break in the weather is an opportunity for the men to go fishing. The Anutan men have an unusual deep sea fishing style. They float face down and look for fish shoals swimming close to the sea floor. Parry tries the technique and fails. Through a hand-held camera filming underwater, the main shot is the long take. The main editing techniques from shot to the next is cut-away and cut-back.

This plot event can be divided into five sub-events or themes. These are *Sub-event 1Anutan Method*, *Sub-event 2 Parry Anutan Fishing, Sub-event 3 Parry explains, Sub-event 4 Derek Graceful,* and *Sub-event 5 Parry Experience*. See Figure 27

Figure 27 Sub- events developing Plot Event 2 Parry 1st Fishing Trip

In these shots, the hand-held long take lends itself to an ambivalent point-of-view which simultaneously can be first and third person perspectives, indicating the importance of the gaze in blurring the boundaries between subject and object. Plot event 2 is contextualised by the prologue which states the aim is to live as one of the [Anutan] tribe. In turn, the sub-events are framed by the theme of Plot event 2 which is to fish Anutan style.

In this plot event, the men show him this unique fishing style. Therefore, an argument can be made that in visual mode *(c)*, the first point-of-view of *Shot 1 Anutan Fishing* is Parry's as he watches the men fishing. The movement of the hand-held camera underwater simulates the underwater gaze of Parry. The claim of Parry's first-person point-of-view is supported by Parry's voiceover in mode *(d)* stating, "I've never seen fishing like this before...". Nevertheless, the hand-held long take of the Anutan men fishing can also imply an observatory 3rd person point-of-view. This is an outside perspective through the camera as an implied spectator (Branigan, 2006). Therefore, with an ambivalent point-of-view in Shot 1, the Anutan men are both the object and the subject in that they are recipients of the first- and third-person gaze, while at the same

time the visual and audio subject of the sub-event. In *Shot 2 Parry Anutan Fishing*, the visual image in mode *(g)* is a long take of Parry trying to fish. As the topic of this shot, Parry is the subject. However, the hand-held long take implies different perspectives of the gaze. A third person point-of-view can be assumed from an outside viewer perspective through the camera acts as an implied spectator (Branigan, 2006), but it can also be the Anutan's implied first-person point-of-view as they watch Parry trying to fish Anutan style, given that they are showing Parry how they fish. Therefore, Parry also becomes the object of Anutan gaze.

Structurally, Shot 1 and Shot 2 are similar; they visually mirror each other and share the same theme of fishing. However, these two shots differ in terms of meaning. Shot 1 visually shows the correct way of fishing Anutan style while Shot 2 exemplifies failure, inferring a Contrast relation binding them together. In addition, the Contrast relation permits the multiple and embedded points of view and fluidity in the roles of subject and objects. Contrasted is the narrative aim of Parry wanting to learn and be one of the Anutan 'tribe' and the reality of being successful in fulfilling that aim. Therefore, *Contrast (Shot 1 Anutan fishing, Shot 2 Parry Anutan fishing).*

In *Shot 3 Parry explains*, the film mode determining its link with Shot 2 is audio mode *(j)* as Parry describes and demonstrates the Anutan fishing technique. Also, in audio mode *(j)*, he describes how the Anutans are skilled, and the difficulty in the technique because he is unable to replicate it. He is verbally repeating what is seen visually. These are added details to the visual images in Shot 2. Therefore, the rhetorical relation is *Elaboration(Shot 2 Parry Anutan fishing, Shot 3 Parry Explains).*

Shot 4 Derek Graceful returns to the visual image of Anutan men fishing (visual mode *(l)*). In shot 4, audio mode *(m)* is Parry's voiceover introducing a new topic. In this voiceover, Parry explains the skill and grace of Derek as he fishes giving the impression that the unusual technique is easy to do. Derek's skill demonstrates "precision fishing". Audio mode *(m)* shifts the focus from Parry (talking about the Anutan men) to Derek. The audio modes in Shots 3 and 4 presents an occasion in which one event permits space for the introduction of a new topic while maintaining a natural order of events. The rhetorical relation dealing with this dynamic is *Narration (Shot 3 Parry Explains, Shot 4 Derek graceful).*

The audio and visual description of Derek's precise skill and grace in the Anutan method of deep-sea fishing set the context for *Shot 5 Parry experience.* Visual mode *(h)* is Parry treading water speaking to the camera. Audio mode *(p)* is Parry justifying his minimal level of success, but overall, he was unsuccessful in his fishing efforts. This shot is all about Parry. Parry's audio contrasts his audio in Shot 4 of which the subject is Derek, but a Contrast relation cannot be inferred as the visually the shots are dissimilar. Structural similarity is a condition for a Contrast relation. Therefore, the rhetorical relation dealing with the shift in topic is *Narration (Shot 4 Derek graceful, Shot 5 Parry experience).*

The discourse structure of this plot event based is given below in Figure 28. In *Plot Event 2 Parry 1ˢᵗ Fishing Trip,* the Contrast relation indicates the point at which the roles of subject and object are blurred through the hand-held camera long take of the Anutans and Parry. This infers the double entendre of the point-of-view being both implied first-person and third person perspectives. The filming technique of the hand-held camera movement of swimming around both Derek and Parry anthropomorphises the camera. Through anthropomorphism, the camera is an unseen spectator and is part of the story world. The camera is also the vehicle through which a programme spectator witnesses the Anutan fishing experience.

The Contrast relation is a coordination relation assuming the horizontal development of contra meaning to the main narrative. But the rhetorical relation following the Contrast relation is Elaboration which subordinates this linearity. In shot 3, Parry's diegetic comments to the camera above the water line provides a detailed retelling of the Anutan fishing method to emphasise its difficulty. Shot 3 corrects the plot of this event to Parry as the subject fishing Anutan style. The voiceover is dominant in asserting Parry's place as subject. His subject dominance frames the introduction of new topics which is controlled through the Narration relation.

Figure 28 Structure for *Plot Event 2 Parry 1ˢᵗ Fishing Trip*
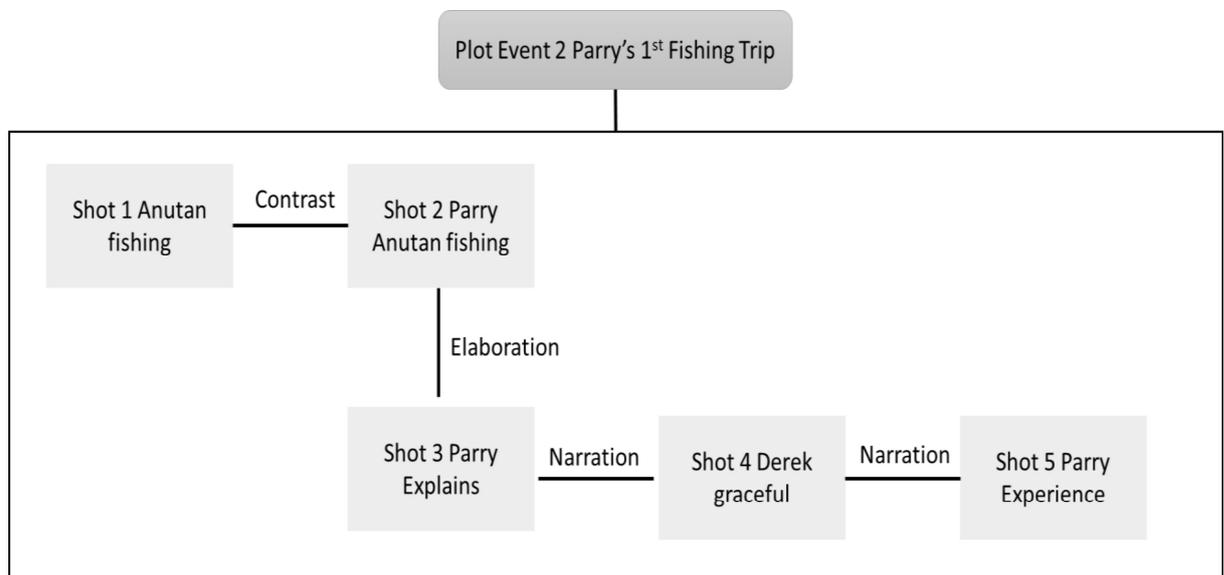
5.3.5 Discussion of Plot Event 2 Parry 1ˢᵗ Fishing Trip

Feinberg (1988) explains Anutans have mental maps of the ocean to help them navigate to other islands or fishing grounds. They develop wind compasses based on the direction from which certain types of winds originate, and they navigate using the stars and form star paths. In addition, Anutans read wave configurations and birds as indicators to fishing grounds and land. These are examples of Hau'ofa's (2008/1993) point above regarding the universe of Oceanic peoples. It is a universe that cannot be drawn on a map. Oceanic knowledge is intangible.

When Parry accompanies the men fishing, he is admitted into their cosmological world, but that admittance is limited. In the fishing event, most of the rhetorical relations develop the narrative established by Parry, but there are moments where this narrative is subverted through ambiguity. Within the discourse context of Parry wanting to 'be one of the tribe', the use of long take filming blurs the narrative role of subject and object leading to the unintentional result of subversion as seen through the Contrast relation. In the ocean, Parry becomes the cultural "other". The fishing event shows some level of control the Anutans have over the programme's narrative. The Anutans need to fish to provide for their families. Bad weather prevents their ability

to deep sea fish, and a break in the weather is an opportunity they cannot miss. The Anutans allow Parry to accompany them, but their priority in catching enough fish for their family implicitly decides his level and role in that participation which in turn becomes a tacit assessment of his performance, such as whether he can contribute by catching fish. This also includes a level of performativity in that the Anutans were, for Parry's sake, performing being Anutan by showing him the fishing technique.

Social and kinship relations, activities and the Anutan culture are bound to the concept called *aropa* (Feinberg 1979, pp. 327-348). Parry idealises *aropa*, adding to his perspective of life on Anuta as idyllic. *Aropa* is a system whereby families and clans pool resources for equal distribution among the families or exchange goods and labour. Through the concept of *aropa*, giving and reciprocity among families in a clan show love and solidarity between family groups. Feinberg writes, "*aropa* [is a] word denoting positive affect as manifested through material assistance and cooperation" (p. 327). When the men return to shore after fishing, they divide their fish haul equally for distribution among their families according to *aropa*. The fishing trip was important to the men as they were unable to fish for food for a week because of severe weather. Salient was getting enough fish for their families. The issue is whether Parry had the same level of burden as the men. As explained in the analysis above, Parry failed to catch anything, and according to the discussion of *aropa*, he failed to display *aropa* because he contributed nothing.

The sea is the main location of sustenance for the Anutans as opposed to their crops. Feinberg discusses that fishing with hook and line "while treading water over a submerged reef in the ocean" (1988, location 536) was one method. Other methods include spear fishing. For Parry's Auntan hosts, fishing is more than just an activity to find food. It is where social relationships are established, strengthened, and even contested through crew selection, behaviour among crew members, and those left on shore. Thus, the fish they catch become a symbol and a location of negotiation and social cohesion and confirmation of familial and clan relations, emphasising the binary social organisation of the Anutans based on relativity and proximity (see Figure 2 in chapter 2).

One of the binary cultural concepts Feinberg (1982) exemplifies is seaward to inland. The first is *tabu* (sacred) and masculine while the other is feminine and weak. This binary opposition becomes significant in another event in which Parry follows a

suggestion to participate in the women-only activity of washing the turmeric harvest in the sea. Parry saw this as an opportunity to become acquainted with the women. Nonetheless, based on Feinberg's outline of the Anutan social and spatial binaries, Parry failed in the masculine domain of fishing at sea and was advised to spend time with the women in the feminine domain of dealing with crops on shore. In addition to this is the binary relationship of Anuta and other coloured people (Pasifika peoples) versus Europeans/outsiders. Again, in this binary pair, the first is masculine and sacred, the other feminine and weak. The ambiguity between Parry and the Anutans leads to an interesting interpretation of Parry's rite of passage following his fishing trip which is the third plot event.

5.3.6 Plot Event 3 Rite of Passage.

After the fishing trip, the men lead Parry back to the village for a rite of passage (00:22:21:14 – 00:23:46:09). This the start of the third plot event in this programme (see Appendix 3 for transcription).

A tracking shot follows behind Parry and the group as they head back to the village, where the fishing crew prepared a ceremony to mark Parry's first fishing trip. The first part of the ritual is washing. Parry is seated and Derek is behind him pouring warm water over Parry while the men (mostly out of frame) are watching. Following the washing ceremony, the men mix turmeric paste which they paint on Parry's face and upper torso. They also paint each other. Parry, addressing the camera, comments on the shyness and genuine gladness of the Anutans. The main camera angle is the medium closeup emphasising the intimacy of this last part of Parry's rite of passage. *Plot Event3 Parry's Initiation Rite* is developed by two sub-events: *Sub-event 1 Washing* and *Sub-event 2 Turmeric painting.*

5.3.6.1 Sub-event 1 Washing Ritual

Sub-event 1 Washing is developed through six film shots: *Shot 1.1 Ritual Washing, Shot 1.2 Sorry, Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators, Shot 1.4 Parry, Shot 1.5 Undeserved,* and *Shot 1.6 Whoops.* Figure 29 presents the films shots for Sub-event 1. The film shots in *Sub-event 1 Washing* are, on one hand, about Parry being washed by Derek, as seen by the visual modes. However, the background audio of men laughing

and of heavy rain are important in influencing some of Parry's diegetic comments and the micro visual element of the gaze.

Figure 29 Sub-event1 Washing

Shot 1.1 Ritual Washing	
(A)	Light percussion music (a)
(A)	Diegetic sound of wind and rain (b)
(V)	Tracking shot following Parry (c)
(A)	Parry voiceover: "Even though its pouring with rain, we can't take shelter just yet. A man's first fishing trip is marked with a ritual" (d)
(V)	Jump cut to Derek pouring warm water over a seated Parry (e)
(A)	Laughter from Parry as he looks at someone out-of-frame (f)
(A)	Diegetic audio. Parry: "Thank..woah. That's great. (g)
(A)	Parry voiceover: First, Derek washes me with warm water (h)
(b), (c), (d), (e),(f), (g), (h) ⌐ Ritual Washing, Shot 1.1	

Shot 1.2 Sorry	
(A)	Light percussion music (i)
(A)	Diegetic sound of wind and rain (j)
(V)	Derek washing Parry. He is looking to his friends out-of-frame and trying not to laugh. Parry is seated looking towards people out-of-frame. Point-of-view is from eye-level (i.e from standing position looking down) (k)
(A)	Parry to those out-of-frame: " I'm so sorry everyone else (l)
(j), (k), (l) ⌐ Sorry, Shot 1.2	

Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators	
(A)	Light percussion music (m)
(A)	Diegetic sound of wind and rain (n)
(V)	Match cut following Parry's eyeline to Anutan men standing looking down at Parry (out-of-frame) (o)
(A)	Parry to those out-of-frame: "…everyone is standing there freezing cold and here I am really warm...Laugh." Anutan men laughing in reply . (p)
(n), (o), (p) ⌐ Cold Spectators, Shot 1.3	

Shot 1.4 Parry	
(A)	Light percussion music (q)
(A)	Diegetic sound of wind and rain (r)
(V)	Match cut from Anutan men back to medium closeup of Parry (s)
(A)	Parry laughing (t)
(A)	Anutan men talkiing to each other in Anutan (u)
(s), (t) ⌐ Parry, Shot 1.4	

Shot 1.5 Undeserved	
(A)	Light percussion music (v)
(A)	Diegetic sound of wind and rain (w)
(V)	Medium closeup of Derek washing Parry (x)
(A)	Diegetic: Parry to those out of frame: "I don't feel I worked hard enough to deserve this. (y)
(x), (y) ⌐ Undeserved, Shot 1.5	

Shot 1.6 Whoops	
(A)	Light percussion music (z)
(A)	Diegetic sound of wind and rain (aa)
(V)	Medium closeup of Derek washing Parry. Derek pours water too fast over Parry. He laughs silently to others out-of-frame (bb)
(A)	Parry "whoops" Derek "Sorry, sorry, sorry (tries to suppress laughter) … aaawww (as in feels good) Parry " yeah that really does warm you up" (cc)
(bb), (cc) ⌐ Whoops, Shot 1.6	

In *Shot 1.1 Ritual Washing*, Parry's voiceover in audio mode *(d)* is linked to the tracking shot following the men walking to the village. The washing event begins with visual mode *(e)* in which Derek is pouring warm water over Parry. As Derek does this, he looks at his fishing crew who are out-of-frame. *Shot 1.2 Sorry*. Visual mode *(k)* is a mid-shot of Derek washing Parry. This is the dominant mode to infer a relation with

Shot 1.1 The action /event in mode (k) is the same action in Shot 1.1. Therefore, the inference is *Continuation (Shot 1.1 Ritual Washing, Shot 1.2 Sorry)*.

Split between *Shot 1.2 Sorry* and *Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators* is Parry's diegetic comments to the men (out-of-frame). In Shot 1.2, apart from Derek washing Parry, visual mode *(k)* shows Parry's gaze to people out-of-frame. To explain his gaze, in audio mode (l), Parry says, "I'm so sorry everyone else..". This comment and Parry's gaze is framed by the diegetic sound of rain in audio mode *(j)*. In *Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators*, a cut to match Parry's eyeline/gaze transitions to the visual image in mode *(o)* of the Anutan men standing looking down at Parry. The men's body language is reacting to the diegetic audio of rain in mode *(n)*. Parry continues his apology stating, "Everyone is standing there freezing cold and I am here really warm… laugh" (audio mode *(p)*). The combination of the visual and audio modes in Shot 1.3 suggests a cause for Parry's need to apologise in Shot 1.2. The apology in Shots 1.2 and 1.3 subverts the visual dominance of Parry and brings the Anutan men into the camera frame through eyeline match cut imitating Parry's gaze. While the men are the object of Parry's verbal apology, the men are the visual subjects, as their act of standing in the rain watching Parry being washed cause Parry to say I'm sorry. This infers a converse order of events in which Shot 1.3 caused events in Shot 1.2 which is an Explanation. Therefore, *Explanation (Shot 1.2 Sorry, Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators)*

The transition from Shot 1.3 to *Shot 1.4 Parry* is an eyeline match cut to imitate the gaze of the Anutan men to a medium closeup of Parry (visual mode *(s)*). As Parry dominates the shot, he is the visual subject. The diegetic audio is limited to Parry laughing and Anutan men talking to each other in Anutan (modes *(t)* and *(u)* respectively). In the shot, Parry is looking up at the men-of-frame. Parry's gaze indicates he is reacting to something, making him the object of the men's act which is verbally heard in audio mode *(u)* i.e., their talking in Anutan. He is also the object of the men's gaze (in Shot 1.3). As Parry looks up at the men, Parry is laughing, but he does not understand what they are saying. Parry's visual dominance is undermined by the background audio of the men. Nonetheless, this dynamic is out-of-frame, so the visual mode of Parry (as a new topic) determines the rhetorical link between Shots 1.3 and 1.4 which is *Narration (Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators, Shot 1.4 Parry)*.

The visual modes in *Shot 1.4 Parry* and *Shot 1.5 Undeserved* present the ongoing washing ritual which, at first glance, infer the Continuation-relation linking

these shots. This relation can only be accepted if the two shots do not subordinate each other. This is not the case, as the audio modes subvert the visual modes in these shots. In Shot 1.4, the audio mode *(u)* is of the men, out-of-frame, talking in Anutan. The inclusion of the Anutan language situates Parry as the cultural other. Parry is speaking English to the men, but they are mostly speaking to each other in Anutan. In *Shot 1.5 Undeserved,* Parry's audio statement *(y)* alludes to Parry's failure to catch any fish. He says, "I don't feel I worked hard enough to deserve this". Given that this washing ritual marks a 'man's' first fishing trip (audio *(d)*, Shot 1.1), in this context, Parry expresses a sense of guilt based on what is already known by the men and himself: he did not catch anything and does not deserve the treatment. Therefore, the inference is *Elaboration (Shot1.4 Parry, Shot 1.5 Undeserved)*

In *Shot 1.6 Whoops*, Derek pours the water over Parry a little too fast catching Parry by surprise (visual mode *(bb))*. This introduces a new topic i.e., Derek's small mishap or 'whoops. The rhetorical relation linking this shot to shot 1.6 is *Narration (Shot 1.5 Undeserved, Shot 1.6 Whoops)*. In this film shot, Derek apologises to Parry for pouring the water too quickly (audio mode *(cc)*). In apologising, he stifles a laugh while simultaneously looking towards the men out-of-frame. The last audio dialogue between Parry and Derek is Derek's interjection of 'aw' indicating a sentiment that the water is warm and feels good. However, this interjection is overexaggerated by Derek and can carry layered meanings: real or mock sympathy or sentiment. Parry confirms his understanding of the interjection as one of good humour and sentiment. Derek's actions in the visual modes create ambiguity in Parry's understanding. The exaggerated way Derek says 'aw' indicates a level of performativity in the ritual and recognition of Parry's first fishing trip. Figure 30 illustrates the structure of *Sub-event 1 Washing ritual* shaped by the rhetorical relations linking the sub-event's shots.

Figure 30 Sub-Event 1 Washing
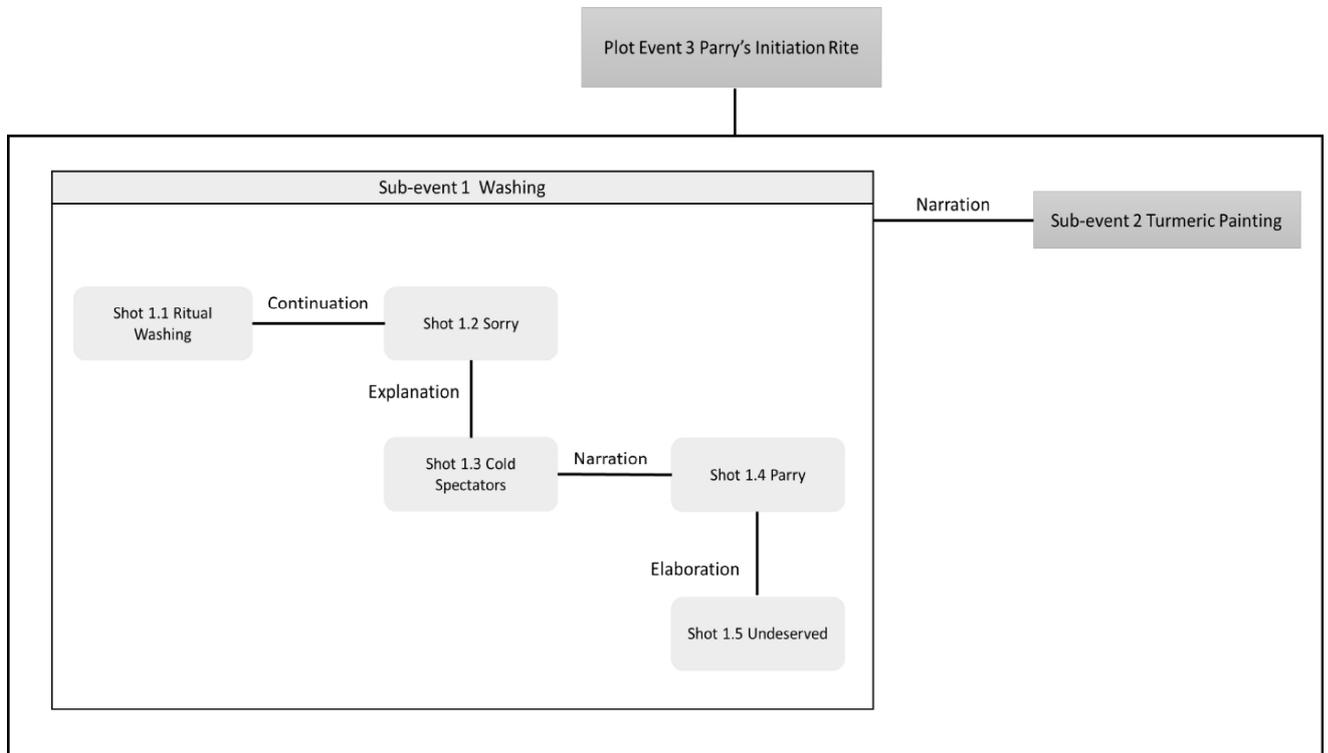
The pivotal point is *Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators* subordinated by the Explanation relation. The Explanation relation subordinates the narrative thread of the washing ritual and placed focus on those watching the ritual. However, through the Narration relation, the topic is reoriented back to Parry in Shot 1.4. His narrative focus is then elaborated through extended descriptions in Shot 1.5.

The next sub-event to develop *Plot Event 3 Parry's Initiation Rite* is the next stage of Parry's initiation rite which is *Sub-event 2 Turmeric Painting.* Figure 31 provides a transcript of this sub-event.

Figure 31 Sub-event 2 Turmeric Painting

Shot 2.1	Shot 2.2	Shot 2.3	Shot 2.4	Shot 2.5
Closeup from high angle of men preparing turmeric paste	High angle shot of men painting Parry with the paste.	Anutan men painting each other with turmeric paste	Medium closeup of Parry talking to camera	Medium closeup group shot of men painting each other with turmeric
	Parry voiceover: "Finally we're all painted with turmeric"	Parry Voice over: My new friends are shy and quiet spoken. Perhaps living on such a small island doesn't make for big personalities. But their smiles seem to speak of a deep contentment and happiness. Parry to camera "They're all just brilliant"	Parry to camera: " They really, really – I mean it really are.. They're just – proper simile everytime you see someone, always a wave and always a big heartfelt grin, every time without exception. It's such as warm place this. Lovely, lovely place to be.	

In plot event 3, the visual images of *Sub-event 2 Turmeric Painting* present a straightforward structure. Shot 2.1 is the preparation of the turmeric. Shot 2.2 is Parry being painted with turmeric indicating a natural order of events, i.e., a Narration relation. Shot 2.3 is a montage introducing a new topic of the men painting each other inferring the Narration relation with Shot 2.2. Shot 2.4 is a cutaway shot from the men to Parry who gives a diegetic commentary. This cutaway re-orientates the plot back to Parry who is the recipient of this stage of the rite; Parry has now been painted. The inference is a Narration relation between Shot 2.3 and Shot 2.4. Finally, shot 2.5 is a cutback to the men painting each other shifting the topic from Parry back to the men which is a new topic. This infers a Narration relation linking Shot 2.4 and Shot 2.5.

While visual modes reflect a straightforward narrative, this sub-event's audio tells a different narrative. The main audio are Parry's diegetic comments and his non-diegetic voiceover. The audio in Shot 2.1 is of the men talking and laughing. In Shot 2.2, Parry's voiceover states "Finally, we're all painted with turmeric". His statement provides additional detail to explain the action and positivity of the men in Shot 2.1. Parry's voiceover infers an Elaboration relation between the two shots.

In Shot 2.3, Parry's voiceover introduces a topic unrelated to the topic of turmeric painting. It is his observation about the men's demeanour, based on his participation in a

ritual. Therefore, inference is that the Narration relation links Shot 2.2 and Shot 2.3. In Shot 2.4, Parry extends his observation of the Anutan men to all Anutans on the island and his experience on the island. Parry elaborates on his initial impressions of the Anutan men. This infers an Elaboration relation between Shots 2.3 and 2.4.

Shot 2.5 has a direct audio link with Shot 2.3. In Shot 2.5, the audio of laughing men talking to each other in Anutan exemplifies Parry's description of them in Shot 2.3. This is a continuation relation between Shots 2.3 and 2.5. Figure 32 below diagrams the visual (in grey) and audio structures (in yellow) of *Sub-event 2 Turmeric Painting* which develops *Plot Event 3 Parry's Initiation Rite.*

Figure 32   Sub-event 2 Turmeric Painting
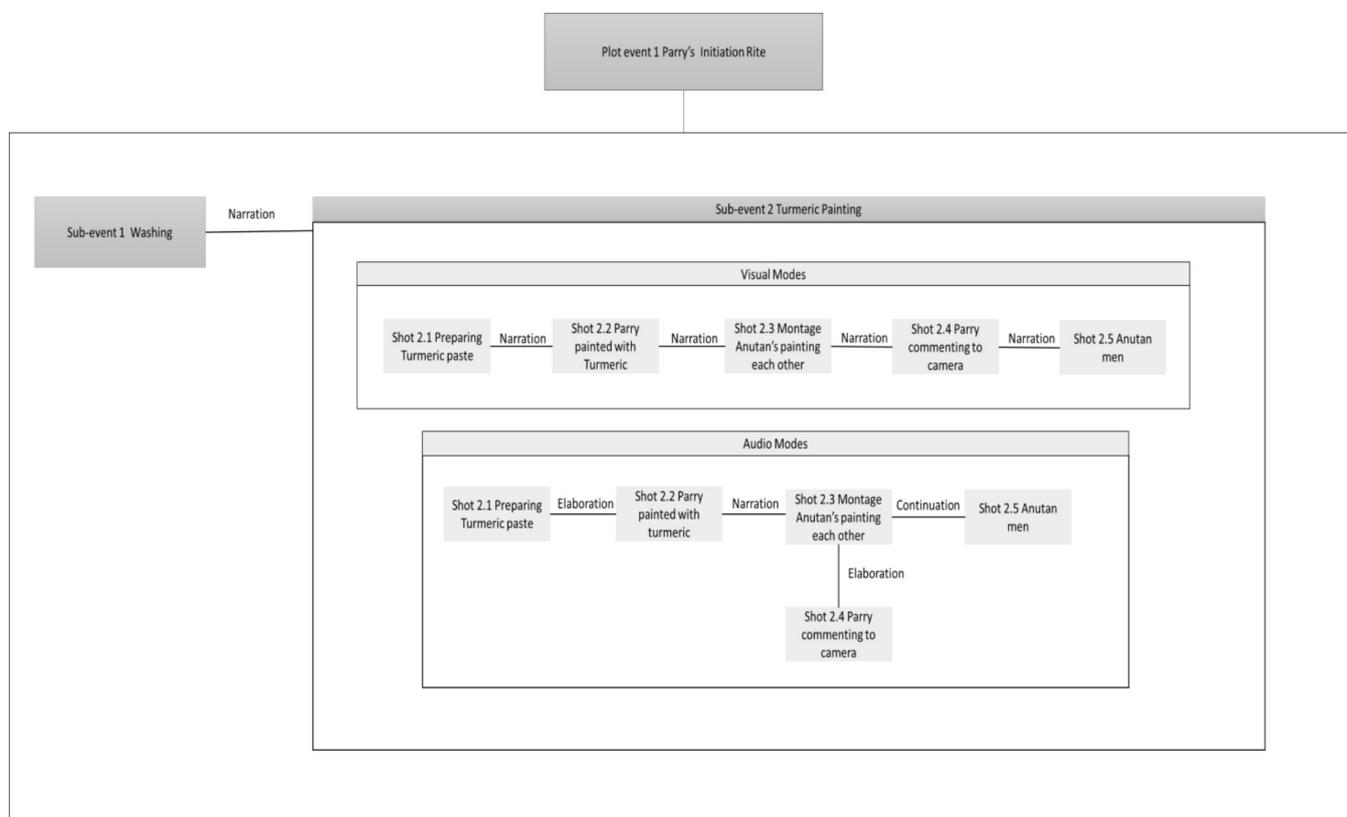
Sub-event 2 Turmeric painting shows two narrative structures formed by the audio and visual modes. The dominant relation linking the visual modes is the Narration relation. The introduction of new visual topics through this relation develops the sub-event's main theme. In the audio modes, the structure is different as Parry's comments steer the theme of turmeric painting to his observations of the Anutan men and to

Anutans in general making him the authoritative subject presenter rather than the one being acted upon i.e., painted, indicating the consequences of participant observation.

5.3.7 Discussion of Plot Event 3: Parry's Initiation Rite.

Parry was invited to participate in a ritual to mark his first fishing trip. The ritual has two stages: washing and turmeric painting. This ritual, according to Feinberg (1979), is called *Vai pa*. Female and male children accompany their parents on fishing trips to the reef. They stay on the canoe and "learn the art [of fishing] by watching experts" (Feinberg, 1979, location 1538). Boys can join their fathers as part of a fishing crew, but their only job is to bail out water from inside the canoe and to learn how to fish and paddle through observation. On Parry's first trip, he paddled the canoe, but after his failure in fishing, his place on subsequent fishing trips is to sit in the middle of the canoe where his job is bailing out water. This was something he remarked upon when he left the island after an emotional farewell. For his farewell, Parry wore a bark cloth, flower garlands, and was painted in turmeric. When being canoed to his yacht anchored offshore, his voiceover says:

> So, I may be dressed in tradition finery, I may be emotional, but I've still got to bail out the canoe. (00:57:50 -00:57:57)

There are several rituals a boy undergoes before and after his first fishing trip. On returning from a fishing trip, Feinberg writes a boy is,

> washed with a warm infusion of fragrant leaves and fed special taro puddings. According to local exigesis, *pa* is an abbreviated form of *aropa* 'pity', 'sympathy' or 'love'; and the expression *vai pa* denotes the aqueous infusion as the 'water of love' or 'water of sympathy' for a boy who has just spent his first full day at sea without protection from the elements. (Feingberg,1988, location 1595)

Feinberg adds that the boy's familial clan organises the ceremony (ibid) and that it is the sisters of the boy's father who performs the washing act (Feinberg, 1979, p.337). It is interesting to note that Derek is the one washing Parry in his 'initiation rite' indicating an adaptation of the ceremony creating ambivalence regarding the symbolism of the warm water used to wash Parry, and the significance of Parry's initiation and recognition of his first fishing trip.

Feinberg (1988) mentions turmeric painting as part of a boy's first trip. It was a ritual that took place before going on a fishing trip. In Parry's case, the turmeric part of the ritual happened after the washing stage. In addition, Parry took part in a ritual that was meant for young boys. Parry's host family again adapted the ritual. In the programme, Parry describes the washing and turmeric ritual as an event a "man" underwent after his "first fishing trip…" Here is a contradiction. In the Anutan culture, a man would have had experience from several fishing trips. All males gain experience in fishing early in their lives. Parry changed the cultural facts of fishing and of the V*ai pa* ritual to suit his narrative as an explorer, adventure, or former special forces officer discovering and living with indigenous peoples around the world. This is an example where aspects of a minor culture are reinterpreted to suit the aims of outside cultures which in the case of Parry are the cultures of the reality television crew and Parry's own cultural background. These cultural frameworks create a particular cultural and social meaning, and as image making devices, they reproduce that meaning. However, I should add here, that Parry's version of *Vai Pa* was one orchestrated by the Anutan men.

Considering Feinberg's work on the Anutan culture, Parry's initiation was not authentic and as such was meaningless. The Anutans changed the context of this ritual because of the context of being filmed. An argument is that this faux ritual is a form of cultural preservation. The Anutans were trying to preserve and protect the principles behind this rite of passage because they knew they were going to be filmed. The events of Parry's first fishing trip and his 'ritual' are examples in which the Anutans controlled the activity, Parry's access to that activity, and expectations of his participation in that activity. Parry received the same treatment of a boy around the age of nine years old. The rhetorical relations hinted at an alternative narrative questioning the narrative offered by Parry. Even if a viewer was unaware of Anutan cultural and social conditions and relationships surrounding canoes and fishing, a viewer's world knowledge of the term "ritual" infers a ceremony of note. However, Parry's washing ritual was the complete opposite, thereby raising inferences that question such a ritual. Visual images of Derek trying to stifle his laughter while looking at others out –of-frame are clues to something more going on in this scene.

5. 3 Chapter summary

Three major plot events were analysed: Parry's arrival to Anuta, his first fishing trip and the *Vai pa* or initiation rite to mark his first fishing trip. In these shots, the Anutans are friendly, quiet, and hospitable. Parry feels at ease with the Anutans because of their shy quiet-spoken natures. However as much as they welcome Parry into their lives, there are small, fragmented signs of their performativity in being Anutan. To act being Anutan is an indication of their awareness of Parry's being filmed as being one of the tribe. The Anutans accommodate Parry's aims by adapting a rite of passage and taking him on a fishing trip in which his role is that of a young boy.

Balme (2007) explains the fascination of wanting to experience being the cultural other and the consequences of that. First, he describes how the mimesis of alterity can range from imitating gestures, exchanging clothing, or dressing up to adoption into or absorption into a host culture. Such exchanges form part of the dialogue of colonialism. Rather than imply or signal equal reciprocity, they entrench otherness. The need to experience life as a native fulfils the desire of one party at the expense of another.

Parry wants to experience life as an Anutan, if only for a moment. When he arrives, he is dressed in traditional bark cloth, wears a flower garland, and is painted in turmeric paste. His every day wear is a singlet and a sarong. But all the while the Anutans are dressed in shorts and t-shirts. Balmes writes that much of so-called first contact experiences whether they are historical, or contemporary are theatrical displays. Performances, cultural activities, village life and so on are theatrical experiences, and they can "transform and redefine signs" (Balme, 2007, p.6) symbols and meanings. For instance, a washing ritual has one meaning as a rite of passage in Anutan context, but when an outsider participates in the same rite of passage, the context changes and the rituals signify something other than a rite of passage. For a boy, it is a symbol of becoming a man or a mark of his development into manhood. In Parry's case, it symbolises him as a child. The rite of passage becomes carnivalesque, which raises an issue regarding his entire experience as being carnivalesque.

6 The Kombai: Bruce Parry's *Tribes*

To 'be one of...' is a central theme in the focus programmes of this project, particularly those I regard as ethnotainment. To assert being 'one of' presents the positionality of an outsider wanting access to something other than the outsider's norm. In this chapter, I examine the cultural and narrative dynamics between the Kombai and Parry in his programme 'The Kombai, hunters-gathers of the West Papua Jungle' from *Tribe, Series One* (2005).

6.1 Kombai Programme Extracts

6.1.1 The 'Double Beginning': Prologue and Programme Start.

The Kombai people and culture were presented in Chapter 2. Like the Anutan programme, the episode of the Kombai begins with a prologue (00:00:00 – 00:01:30) which backgrounds the locations, cultures, and peoples Parry meets on his journey to his host Kombai community. Like the Anutan episode, the prologue of the Kombai episode is a montage of images of the environment, people, Parry, and flashes of events within the programme. These images are voiced over by Parry and accompanied by 'tribal' atmospheric music.

The prologue begins with Parry gazing out an airplane window looking down at mountain ranges and swathes of green tropical jungle. This prologue is a montage of images of Parry trekking through jungle swamps, meeting different indigenous groups, and encountering with different communities of Kombai men armed with bows and arrows. Parry's voiceover describes New Guinea island as one of the last explored areas on the world with hostile environments. According to Parry, New Guinea is home to some of the last uncontacted people on earth. Parry states that the Kombai practise cannibalism, and his goal is to understand this practice. This prologue is accompanied by an eerie synthesised sound to create a sense of danger and of the taboo. Underneath this soundtrack are diegetic sounds of Asmat and Kombai men aggressively shouting accompanied by images of them posturing to attack Parry. Figure 33 is a screenshot transcription of the prologue to the Kombai episode.

Figure 33 Prologue The Kombai

| | Parry Voice over *The island of New Guinea is one of the last unexplored areas of the world.* | *A vast wilderness of high mountains* | *dense jungles, and malarial swamps* |
| Dark discordant ambient soundtrack | Dark discordant ambient soundtrack | Dark discordant ambient soundtrack | Dark discordant ambient soundtrack |

| *dense jungles, and malarial swamps. This impenetrable forest is home to some of the last uncontacted people left on earth.* | *People who until very recently practised cannibalism.* | | |
| Sound of walking through swamp Dark discordant ambient soundtrack | Montage shots of different Asmat on canoes. They are rhythmcally chanting, aggressively whooping. Dark discoordant ambient soundtrack | | |

| Dark discordant ambient sound track. Sound of Parry walking through muddy swamps | *I want to live with some of the* | *Kombai people* | *To explore how something so taboo in our society could have been a* |
| | Dark discordant ambient sound track. | Dark discordant ambient sound track. | Voiced of Kombai agressively yelling Dark discordant ambient sound track. |

| *part of life here.* | *I want to understand* | *how a man might* | *kill and eat another man (end of Parry's voiceover)* |
| Aggressive yelling from Kombai man Dark discordant ambient sound track. | Dark discordant ambient sound track. | Dark discordant ambient sound track. | Dark discordant ambient sound track. |

In comparing the prologue of the Anutans with the prologue introducing the Kombai, the obvious difference is the descriptions of the environments of these cultures and people. New Guinea is described as an island with impenetrable and dense forest, malaria, swamps, high mountains, and one of last unexplored islands in world. Such descriptions create an image of hostility, danger, and remoteness. The Papuans are portrayed as warlike, and aggressively weary of outsiders. This is a far cry from the

Anutan paradise described by Parry. In contrast, the image of New Guinea is one of a hell which is the unknown and uncharted. Instead of smiling happy people, the images are closeup shots of warlike Asmat and Kombai peoples. Another significant word is 'taboo'. The connotations associated with this word include forbidden, offensive, banned, unthinkable, unmentionable, unacceptable or profane. The discourse of the prologue is biased towards the programme's topic of cannibalism.

Parry's arrival to the territory of his host Kombai family is a complex and long affair involving several indigenous groups and Kombai communities. After the prologue and opening title credits, the first scene is Parry on a canoe waiting to be greeted by a fleet of canoes of the Asmat on a war hunt. Parry gives the impression of the war hunt being an actual event, but it is a show. Later Parry is taken to an Asmat long house where they perform cultural songs and war dances. After his visit with the Asmat, Parry takes an airplane trip to Papua's interior and arrives at a missionary outpost called Wanggamalo: the so-called last bastion of civilisation. He meets with Kombai who converted to Christianity, and who live in Wanggamalo. These Kombai are called 'clothed Kombai'. Some of the 'clothed Kombai' take Parry through the Papuan jungle where he encounters different groups of Tree Kombai i.e., Kombai who live in tree houses high up in the tree canopy of the tropical forest. Each time he comes across a 'tree' Kombai group, the men are armed, and they aggressively threaten to harm Parry. Eventually, Parry meets his Kombai clan.

The Kombai family hosting Parry is a small group with three men: Bofu Kwo, Bomari and Namufu, their wives and children. They welcome Parry into their lives and they teach him spear hunting skills, food gathering, and fishing. Bofu Kwo tries to teach Parry the language. Bofo Kwo is also the 'clown' in the group as he likes to imitate Parry. The hospitality of the Kombai clan hosting Parry contradicts the image of the Kombai presented in the prologue.

In the following sub-sections, I analyse the following plot events: *Plot event 1 Cannibalism, Plot Event 2 Joke's on you,* and *Plot Event 3 Initiation Rite*. I chose the theme of cannibalism as the first plot event because it the main purpose of Parry's visit to the Kombai. To contrast the established context of the aggressive image of West Papuans established in the prologue, I chose a plot event showing a playful side of the Kombai. The last plot event is the Kombai accepting Parry to go through an initiation rite to become a man.

6.2 Plot Event 1 Cannibalism

Cannibalism is the reason why Parry wants to spend time with the Kombai (33:35-38:25). At some point of his stay, Parry's Kombai hosts share stories of cannibalism with him (see Figures 34 & 35 for transcriptions). This plot event develops two themes or sub-events: *Sub-event 1 Khakua-kumu* and *Sub-event 2 Namufu's story.*

6.2.1 Sub-event 1 Khakua-Kumu

In the lead-up to this sub-event, Parry and his Kombai hosts were pond fishing. After a day of fishing (in which Parry only caught one fish), the Kombai families in this small group are eating their freshly caught fish and are relaxing when Parry, through a voiceover, brings up the topic of cannibalism. Against images of the Kombai families seated around a fire laughing and eating, Parry's voiceover provides background information about cannibalism. He states,

> The Kombai seem to lead such easy lives. When they're hungry, they go and find food. The rest of the time, they relax together. I find it hard to equate these laid-back people with a practice that is such a taboo in our society - cannibalism. There are many reasons why cannibalism has been found within cultures round the world, from simple hunger to honouring your dead. While there's been very little research into the Kombai way of life, studies of neighbouring tribes suggest that cannibalism here is a form of tribal punishment. Only evil men are killed and eaten. (00:32:34 – 00:34:22)

In the evening, Namufu, Bofu Kwo, and Bomari tell their stories about cannibalism in their community. This sub-event is developed through long shots of the group of men and mid-to-tight closeups of individual speakers. Editing between shots is a straight cut or an eyeline match cut to follow the gaze of the speaker and listener. Sub-event 1 develops a single topic which is *Khakua-kumu* (evil person, male witch doctor). The Kombai men are talking in Kombai, and Parry is receiving information about the *Khakua-kumu* through the translator, the Kombai Pastor Naphtali whom he met in Wanggamalo. Parry's voiceover glosses over much of the discussion by describing the Kombai's concept of the *Khaktua-kumu.* Figure 34 is a transcription of *Sub-event1 Khakua-kumu.*

Figure 34 Sub-event 1 Khakua-kumu (Transcription)

Long shot of Parry sitting with Namufu (closest to Parry) Bofo Kwo (in middle of Kombai trio) and Bomari (at the end) Bofo Kwo is speaking	Long shot of the men Bofo Kwo speaking (Trans subtitle) *We call these evil men Khakhua-Kumu*	Long shot of the men Bofo Kwo speaking (Trans subtitle) *Our ancestors have always killed and eatn Khakhua-Kumu*	Zoom in to Mid closeup of Namufu speaking and looking at Parry (out-of-frame) Namufu speaking (Trans subtitle) *I am scared of the Khakhua-Kumu*
Medium close up of Namufu speaking as he looks at Parry (out-of-frame) Namufu speaking (Trans subtitle) *Every time I am walking alone or hunting alone,*	Cut in to a close up of Namufu speaking while looking at Parry (out-of-frame) Namufu speaking (Trans subtitle) *I think about them and I'm scared.*	Straight cut to translator Naphtali (a pastor from missionary outpost and who accompanies Parry) Bofo Kwo and Naphtali speaking in the background. Voiceover Parry: "They tell me that Khakhua-Kumu consume the souls of their victims so	Cut to closeup of Namufu Bofo Kwo and Naphtali speaking in the background. they must be killed and eaten in return. It's about retribution and restoring balance.
Cut out to long shot of the men Kombai men talking in the background Voiceover Parry: *The Kombai believe that the soul lies in the brain and the stomach and*	Cut in to a tight head shot of Parry Kombai men talking in the background that's why they have to eat these parts to end the evil once and for all."		
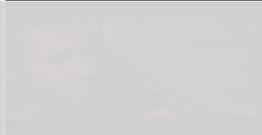
The first three long shots establish the setting which is intimate. The men are telling their stories in a story telling circle. In the visual modes, the Kombai men dominate. The closeup shots of the Kombai men reveal their emotional state of mind as they tell their stories. However, this visual dominance is undermined by Parry's voiceover which takes over the men's stories of their first-hand experiences of the *Khaktua-kumu*. Parry is the voice of authority as he interprets why the men consume someone believed to be *Khaktua-kumu*. The voices of the Kombai men become atmospheric sound to emphasise the authenticity and authority of Parry's voiceover. As already mentioned, Parry's comments are based on information from his translator and mediator Pastor Naphtali.

Parry met Naphtali during his stopover at the missionary outpost of Wanggamalo (00:05:36-00:09:52). As mentioned above, the Wanggamalo Kombai are

'clothed' Kombai, namely Kombai who converted to Christianity and live a Western lifestyle. After a church service, Parry met with some of the men. He wanted to know about the effects of modern life on Kombai culture. The Pastor was positive about changes saying life was better, and he criticised the 'tree' Kombai who refused to leave their traditional way of life. The Kombai are known for building elaborate treehouses high up in the forest canopy. Naphtali said the tree Kombai "lived like pigs" (00:07:36). Yet, the Pastor acts as Parry's guide, mediator, and translator.

6.2.2 Sub-Event 2 Namufu's Story

Sub-event 1 Khakua-kumu establishes the context for the second sub-event, *Sub-event 2 Namufu's story.* In sub-event 2, one of the Kombai men, Namufu tells the story of his father killing a *Kahkua-kumu* and eating him. After this story, Parry, in a voiceover, states that the story is extraordinary, and he explains he asked if cannibalism was still practised. This voiceover signals an end to Namufu's first story of his father and assists in the introduction of Namufu's second story of how he revenged his brother killed by a *khakua-kumu.* Namufu discloses further information regarding when or when not to consume a person. At the end of Namufu's stories, Parry ends this event by concluding he believes the men and is not shocked by what he heard. Figure 35 below is a transcription of this sub-event.

Screenshots 1-9 is Namufu's oral story of his father who killed a *khakhua-kumu* and consumed him. The visual modes move from a long shot of the group of men to cut in of a closeup shot of Namufu. A straight cut transitions from Namufu's closeup to a long shot of the group of men (in Screenshot 9). In Screenshot 10 is Parry's voiceover in which he states, "it's an extraordinary story". His voiceover punctuates Namufu's story to indicate its end. Parry's voiceover comment shifts the focus from Namufu to Parry, yet this shift is subtly ambivalent. As visually shown in the screenshots 9 and 10, Parry, as one of the group of men, is the recipient-listener, in other words the object of Namufu's action of storytelling, but, through his voiceover, Parry becomes a person of focus i.e., subject. It is less about Namufu's oral history/stories of cannibalism, and more about Parry's reaction to the story. The rhetorical relation accommodating this shift and ambivalence is the Narration relation as it introduces the 'topic' of Parry. Therefore, *Narration(Screenshots 1-9, Screenshot 10).*

Figure 35 Transcription of *Sub-event 2 Namufu's Story* (Transcription)

Namufu and Bofu Kwo speaking to each other Long shot of men Namufu to Bofu Kwo (translation) *My father captured a Khakhua-Kumu* **1**	Namufu to Bofu Kwo (translation) *He tied his hands threw him in the river* Long shot of men **2**	Namufu (trans) *and started shooting him with arrows* Long shot of men **3**	Namufu (trans) *He drank the water mixed with the man's blood* Cut in to close up of Namufu **4**	*and then kill him..* Namufu pauses, Bofu Kwo (out of frame) speaks and Namufu continues with story **5**
Namufu *He severed the head with a bamboo blade* **6**	*and cut off the arms and legs.* **7**	*He cut the head, torso, and stomach into pieces* **8**	*and ate them.* Cut out to mid shot of men **9**	Parry Voice over: *it's an extraordinary story* Cut out to mid shot of men **10**
Parry Voiceover *"I ask whether it still goes on today."* Cut in to a tight closeup of Bofo Kwo **11**	Namufu : (translation) *Last year my youngest brother was dying.* Mid close up of Namufu as he tells his story of his own experience **12**	*I asked him "who got you?" and he told me a name.* **13**	*I sat crying out of love for my brother while he died.* **14**	*I took my bow and told one of the elders of the Khakhua-Kumu.* **15**
He said I could kill that man. **16**	*I killed him and carried him on my shoulder* Cut out to a long shot of the group of men as Namufu tells his story **17**	*On my way home, I decided not to eat him.* Cut in to a close up of Namufu **18**	Eyeline Match (Namufu) cut to a close up of Parry **19**	*I have eaten two people before* Match eyeline cut (Parry's eyeline) to a mid closeup of Namufu as he tells his story **20**
so I thought on this occasion I will leave him. Mid closeup of Namufu telling story Eyeline match cut **21**	*I would kill again.* Close up of Parry Eyeline match cut **22**	*If a Khakhua-kumu kills either of my brothers I will kill that man.* Tight close up of Parry **23**	*If he comes from another clan, I will kill him and eat him.* Tight close up of Namufu **24**	*If he comes from among us* **25**
I will give him to other people to be eaten **26**	Parry Voice over : *"It's a power detailed and graphic description* Sound of a thunder crack and lightning **27**	*that seems entirely plausible and I can see no reason why they would lie to me. And I find that I'm not shocked".* Fade in acoustic music **28**		

Screenshot 11 is a cut-in to an extreme closeup of Bofo Kwo. This is a visual transition from the mid-shot of the group of men in Screenshot 10 to a mid-closeup of Namufu as the main storyteller in Screenshot 12. Nonetheless, Screenshot 11 contains Parry's voiceover in which he states: "I ask whether it still goes on today?". His voiced over question has little correspondence to the closeup of Bofo Kwo. Thus, the visual dominance of Bofo Kwo is subordinated by Parry's voiceover question indicating that Parry's voiceover determines the rhetorical link between Screenshots 10 and 11. Parry's question is a request for more information to confirm and expand on his amazement inferred in his voiceover comment in Screenshot 10, namely specification. The rhetorical relationship mirroring this dynamic is Elaboration; thus, *Elaboration(Screenshot 10, Screenshot 11).*

In Screenshot 11, Parry's voiced over question is a narrative turning point in this sub-event. The question, while seemingly innocuous, subtly usurps Namufu's role as the subject-storyteller. Through his voiceover question, Parry becomes the subject as he becomes the one initiating and steering the topics of Namufu's stories. Namufu, in return, receives Parry's question and responds to it by providing stories to deal with the question. This is evidenced in Screenshot 12 in which Namufu begins his next story with the phrase "last year…". Namufu then proceeds to tell the recent story of his own experience of revenging his brother who died after encountering a *khakhua-kumu.* Namufu's story continues to Screenshot 18. As the recipient of Parry's question, Namufu actively answers Parry's query with an example story. In other words, Namufu is acted upon making him the object. Namufu elaborates and confirms Parry's wonder at the continuing practice of cannibalism, and therefore satisfies Parry's curiosity. Based on this rhetorical dynamic, the rhetorical relation linking Screenshot 11 and the group of Screenshots 12-18 is Elaboration, namely *Elaboration(Screenshot 11, Screenshots 12-18).*

An eyeline match cut follows Namufu's gaze to a closeup of Parry listening in Screenshot 19. This transition is ambivalent as, on the one hand, it reasserts the narrative role of Namufu as the subject storyteller and Parry's role as the recipient of Namufu's act of storytelling. However, when placed in the wider context of Parry's voiceover comments in Screenshots 10 and 11, another interpretation is that this screenshot confirms and continues Parry's role as the subject presenter. This point-of-view holds validity as Parry's voiceover question establishes a context in which

Namufu reacts. Namufu's remaining stories serve to answer Parry's question. Therefore, the rhetorical relation demonstrating this discourse dynamic of Continuation can be defeasibly inferred, thus *Continuation(Screenshots 12-18, Screenshot 19).*

Apart from re-asserting the focus of Parry's role as the subject presenter, Screenshot 19 is also a transition shot to Screenshots 20 – 21. The transition from Parry to a closeup of Namufu is the eyeline match cut. Despite the visual and audio dominance of Namufu in Screenshots 20 - 21, the eyeline match cut follows Parry's gaze in which Namufu is the object of that gaze, cementing Namufu's role as the object. Screenshots 20 -21 is Namufu's confirmation of having consumed people but rather than present a new story, Namufu develops the story of revenging his brother's death. Regardless of Namufu's visual and audio dominance, the editing transition of the eyeline match cut from Screenshot 19 to Screenshots 20-21 determines the rhetorical relation holding between these two sets of screenshots. Established in Screenshot 11, Namufu continues to respond to and elaborate on Parry's question both verbally (in developing his story about his brother) and visually as the recipient of Parry's gaze. The rhetorical relation suited to this complex dynamic is Elaboration, namely *Elaboration(Screenshot 19, Screenshots 20 – 21).*

Screenshot 22 is another closeup of Parry following the eyeline gaze of Namufu. In this instance, Parry is the object of Namufu's gaze. The closeup of Parry is underscored by Namufu's comment "I would kill again". Closeup shots of a person are commonly used to indicate psychological and emotional reactions of that person to an event. Yet, as already established, the voiceovers and shots of Parry are used to punctuate the end of a topic or story and the beginning of a new story or topic. In this instance, Parry's closeup acts as a transition to a new topic in Namufu's oral stories, namely the principles he follows in deciding when to kill and consume a person. This implies a Narration relation adhering to the spatial condition of 'event 2' starting at the end of 'event 1'. Therefore, *Narration(Screenshot 20 – 21, Screenshot 22).*

The topic of Screenshots 23 – 26 develop the Namufu's principles in when to consume a person. Namufu adds layers to details to his original statement of "I would kill again" in Screenshot 22. This infers an Elaboration relation, namely *Elaboration(Screenshot 22, Screenshots 23-26).*

Screenshots 27 – 28 end the night-time stories of cannibalism from Namufu. They indicate a break in the intimacy of the storytelling space created by the men by

introducing a new location and time. The voiceover of Parry also suggests an end to the storytelling event. Both the visual images and audio in Screenshots 27-28 infer a Narration relation with Screenshots 23-26, thus *Narration(Screenshots 23-26, Screenshots 27-28).* The structure of this sub-event is given in Figure 36 below.

Figure 36 Structure of Sub-event 2 Namufu's story
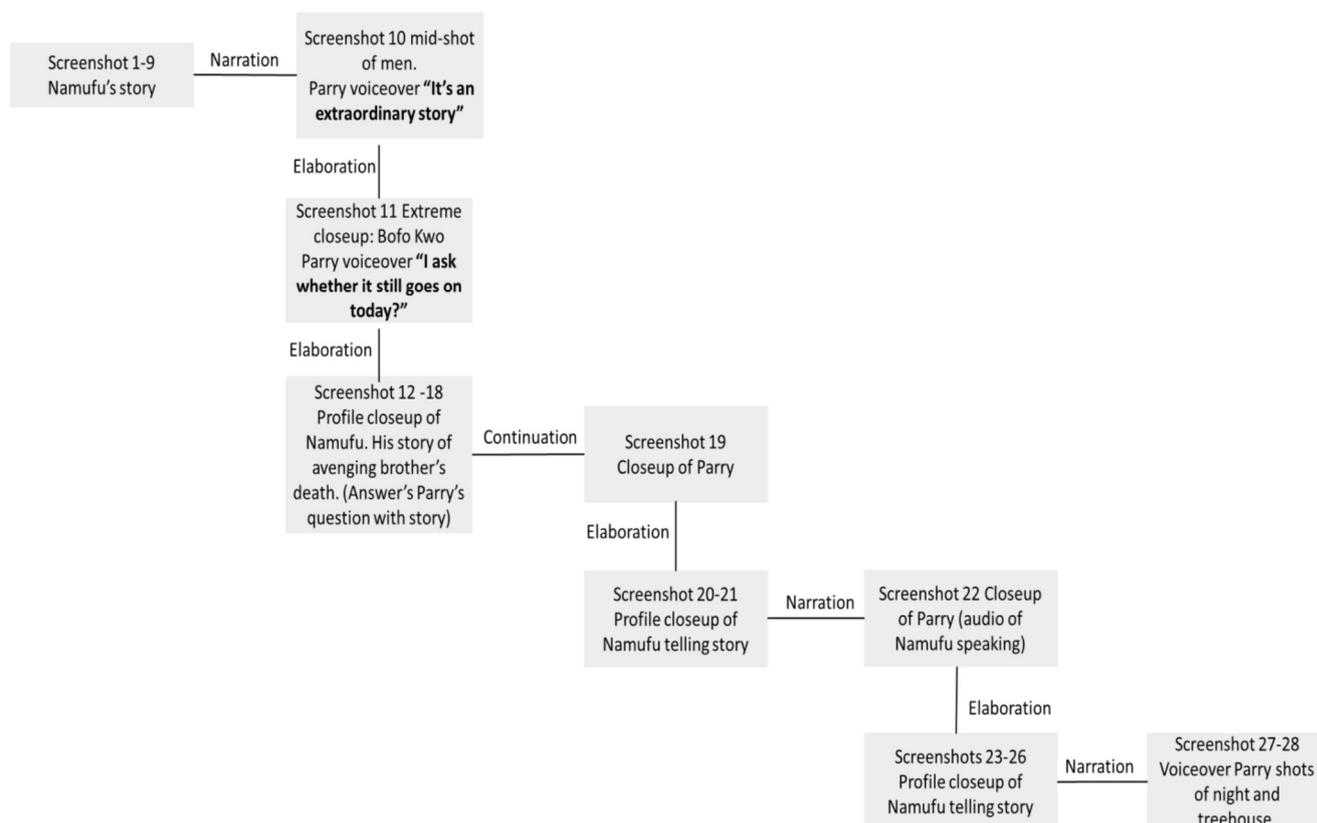
The main rhetorical relation linking these screenshots is the subordination relation of Elaboration. The beginning of this sub-event begins with the coordinating Narration relation, which supports Namufu as the subject-storyteller. However, Screenshot 10, and Screenshot 11 are pivot shots because of Parry's voiceover. The dominance of the Elaboration relation is a consequence of Parry's voiced over question in Screenshot 11. Parry's question reframes Namufu's stories as fulfilling his request to know if cannibalism was still practiced. Therefore, Parry usurps the narrative role of subject and Namufu reacts to that role as seen through the Elaboration relation. The first eyeline match cut from Namufu to Parry from Screenshot 18 to Screenshot 19 infers the

Continuation relation maintaining the shift of narrative roles and focus caused by Parry's voiceover in Screenshot 11. From there the rest of the dynamics is steered by Parry's closeup shots as indicated by the Elaboration and Narration relations. In summary, the change from the Narration relation at the beginning of this sub-event (favouring the subject role of Namufu) is hijacked by one question after which Parry becomes the implied subject-actor and Namufu the object-responder of this event.

6.2.3 Discussion of Plot Event 1 Cannibalism

The heart of cannibalism is belief in the *Khakhua-kumu,* or evil man which Parry says consumes the soul of its victims. Parry explains that in the Kombai culture, cannibalism is retribution.

Studies about the Kombai and neighbouring indigenous groups reveal a complex cosmology incorporating intricate relationships with their environment, clan lands, and with other clans. Words in the Kombai culture are acts of naming in that they endow or recognise a spiritual power of the named object or person. Words and naming can also evoke the spiritual power of the person or thing being spoken of. A word indicates a state of being or a state of becoming. Therefore, for the Kombai, *khakwa-rumu* is not just a word to refer to someone evil, as Parry states. Such a description oversimplifies the concept and some of his statements are contradicted by Namafu's stories. For instance, in *Sub-event 2 Namufu's story,* Namufu recounts the oral history and story of his father. In the story, Namufu's father diluted a man's blood in water and drank it, then he quartered the man and ate the parts. Parry claims that the brain and stomach are the source of a *khakwa-rumu's* power and that the Kombai consume these parts to consume his power. In his own story, Namafu killed his brother's killer, but he did not consume that person. Therefore, the Kombai assess a situation before deciding to undergo a cannibalistic ritual. Degrees of consumption and who should consume another being is dependent on proximity. The closer the relation to the person, the less likely cannibalism is conducted. As Namafu explains, if the person is from among them, then other people may consume that person.

Proxmity and space is important to the Kombai, and Parry does not understand the complexity of space and territory of various clans. In addition, he universalises the practice of one clan to all Kombai clans. When he finally meets other clans, he is unable

to account for differences in attitudes and behaviours. Failing to consider the concepts of space and proximity means Parry misses Namafu's point about proximity in cannibalism. As a term and concept, *Khakwa-rumu* is more than just someone who is evil; it can also refer to anything outside a Kombai clan's social community. An outsider is an unknown element, a threat, or an invasion; people such as Parry. This is reflected in the exonym of the Kombai's own name *Khombaye-lu* 'who we sound' or 'people's speech'.

The term Kombai is an Indonesian term. Just as Indonesian colonialism recontextualises the Kombai culture in the Indonesian context, Parry recontextualises the *Khakwa-rumu* and cannibalism into a Western cultural context. His understanding of the these cultural precepts is juxtaposed against the Western cultural value of it being taboo, forbidden, horrific, and unthinkable. Such a re-contextualisation cements the binary structure of primitive – civilised and bestial – human. The re-contextualisation of the term *Khakwa-rumu* means it loses its true essence or power (as understood by the Kombai) and becomes trivialised as primitive exoticism (of the worst kind).

The concept of cannibalism does not limit itself to consuming humans, but it could also refer to punishing a person. Parry mentions that cannibalism is about the consumption of someone's power. Consuming human flesh is the literal symbol of the abstract concept. Parry got this half right when he said a *Khakwa-rumu* consumes the soul of his victim, but he was simplistic in presenting the Kombai cannibalism of *Khakwa-rumu* as revenge and retribution. The Kombai concept of cannibalism is like the concept of the Christian sacrament. The bread and water as the body and blood of Christ is not just symbolic. According to the principle of transfiguration in some religious, sacrament bread and water is transformed into the actual body and blood of Christ which is consumed. This is abstract cannibalism as it is the consumption of the power of Christ.

Parry asserts he has substantial knowledge of New Guinea island and is familiar with some of the Papuan cultures. Cannibalism among cultures on New Guinea island is common knowledge, according to Parry. His prior knowledge has coloured his experience in hearing from his Kombai clan stories of cannibalism. Stefivater (2008, p.19) notes that tales of cannibalism have been used by colonial powers to justify the colonisation of New Guinea and mistreatment of its peoples. Parry's aim is to understand why the Kombai practice cannibalism. Instead, his thoughts and summary of

the stories from Namafu is a comparison of cannibalism and the morals of Western society.

6.3 Plot Event 2 Joke's on You

In *Plot Event 2 Joke's on You* (42:11- 44:02), the Kombai play a joke on Parry. The film shots in this plot event develop two themes in one sub-event: the setup and the punchline. (See Appendix 4 for transcription of Plot event for *Sub-event 1 Grub Joke)*.

The Kombai and Parry have just finished eating sago grubs, and they are relaxing after their meal. Parry and two of the Kombai men, Bomari and Bofu Kwo, are sitting on a sago tree trunk. A voiceover from Parry explains he has been told that the Kombai use sago grubs to clean wax from their ears, and he asks them to show him. In response, Bomari and Bofu Kwo put fat sago grubs into their ears and finally in Parry's ears. The Kombai are laughing and talking to each other as Parry reacts to having grubs in his ear. The prank reaches a climax when the sago grub bites Parry's ear. It turns out the Kombai use a different and smaller type of grub. A voiceover from Parry states "joke's on me again". Figure 37 presents the film shots for *Sub-event 1 The Grub Joke.*

Visual mode *(a)* in *Shot 1.1 Telling Parry* is a long shot of the three men sitting on a sago log and Parry is in the middle. Despite the balanced composition of the men the Kombai are dominant as they are demonstrating to Parry how they clean their ears. This is emphasised by visual mode *(c)* in *Shot 1.2 Cleaning ears* which is an extreme closeup of Bofo Kwo's ear with a sago grub in it. Despite the Kombai's visual dominance, the visual modes do not determine the rhetorical link between the two shots. The images and actions of the Kombai frames Parry's voiceover which is carried over Shots 1.1 and 1.2

In Shot 1.1, the beginning of Parry's voiceover in audio mode *(b)* says, "I've been told they also…". This voiceover is completed in audio mode *(d)*, Shot 1.2 where Parry states "…use grubs to clear the wax from their ears". Parry's voiceover in the audio modes of these two shots subordinate the visual dominance of Bofo Kwo and Bomari as he explains what the two men do as well as establish the topic of this sub-event. Given that Parry's voiceover is divided over two film shots, the rhetorical relation linking Shot 1.1 and Shot 1.2 is Continuation, i.e., *Continuation(Shot 1.1 Telling Parry, Shot 1.2 Cleaning Ears).* After shot 1.2, the visual modes decide the rhetorical relations, as there is little dialogue among Parry, Bomari, and Bofo Kwo.

Figure 37 Sub-event 1 The Grub Joke

Shot 1.1 Telling Parry

(V)	Long shot of Parry, Bomari and Bofo Kwo sitting on sago tree trunk (a)
(A)	Parry Voiceover: "I've been told they also…"(b)
(a), (b) ⌣ Telling Parry, Shot 1.1	

Shot 1.2 Cleaning Ears

(V)	Close up of Bofo Kwo's ear with a sago grub in it (c)
(A)	Parry Voiceover: "..use grubs to clear the wax from their ears. "(d)
(c), (d) ⌣ Cleaning ears, Shot 1.2	

Shot 1.3 Demonstration

(V)	Close up of Bomari putting a sago grub in his ear (e)
(A)	Parry Voiceover: "so, I've asked them to show me "(f)
(e), (f) ⌣ Demonstration, Shot 1.3	

Shot 1.4 Double demonstration

(V)	Close up of Bofo Kwo with sage grub in ear (g)
(A)	Women laughing (out-of-frame), men talking to each other. (h)
(g) ⌣ Double demonstration, Shot 1.4	

Shot 1.5 Parry's turn

(V)	Medium Long shot of Bomari putting a sago grub in Parry's ear. Bofo Kwo is standing watching (i)
(A)	Woman out-of-frame yelling, laughing (j)
(i), (j) ⌣ Parry's Turn, Shot 1.5	

Shot 1.6 New grub

(V)	Medium long shot of Bomari trying to put grub in Parry's ear –doesn't work. Parry has a grub to try. Bofo Kwo behind Parry gives Bomari a grub (k)
(A)	Woman in background speaking, Muffled laughter from the men (l)
(A)	Parry to Bomari: "Here try this one, it's different" (m)
(k), (m) ⌣ New Grub, Shot 1.6	

Shot 1.7 Grub swapping

(V)	Medium shot of Parry, Bomari, Bofo Kwo. As Bomari tries to put a grub in Parry's ear, Bofo Kwo from behind, slipped a grub in Parry's other ear (n)
(A)	Bomari laughing loudly. Much laughter from others out of fram (o)
(A)	Parry : "oh he's already put it in my ear.. that's a little bit… "(p)
(n), (p) ⌣ Grub Swapping, Shot 1.7	

Shot 1.8 Weird

(V)	Medium shot of Bomari putting grub in Parry's ear. Bomari is laughing and looking at Bofo Kwo behind Parry. Bomari is speaking to Bofo Kwo (q)
(A)	Bomari laughing uncontrollably, women in background watching and speaking to Bomari and Bofo Kwo. Laughter in background (r)
(A)	Parry. "Ah" Bomari imitating Parry "Ah" … laughs Parry: Nah that's just weird (s)
(q), (s) ⌣ Weird, Shot 1.8	

Shot 1.9 Grub bites

(V)	Medium shot of Bomari and Parry. Bomari laughing uncontrollably. Parry trying to take grub out of ear (t)
(A)	Bomari laughing till he cries. Bofo Kwo whooping and dancing in background. Women laughing and speaking to men in Kombai (u)
(A)	Parry "Ah, I've been bit They have quite big pinchers. Parry laughing"(v)
(t), (v) ⌣ Grub bites, Shot 1.9	

Shot 1.10 Joke Punch line

(V)	Closeup of real grub used to clear ears (w)
(A)	Parry Voiceover: "The joke's on me. They tell me its an entirely different grub they use to clear their ears. "(x)
(w), (x) ⌣ Joke Punch line, Shot 1.10	

Shot 1.2 Cleaning Ears is an extreme closeup of Bofo Kwo's ear (visual mode *(c)*) and *Shot 1.3 Demonstration* is an extreme closeup of Bomari's ear (visual mode *(e)*). Both men are demonstrating to Parry their 'hygiene' method with grubs. These shots are complementary as they are of equal importance, and they are structurally similar. The inference rhetorical relation is Continuation, namely *Continuation (Shot 1.2 Cleaning Ears, Shot 1.3 Demonstration). Shot 1.4 Double Demonstration* is also another closeup of Bofo Kwo's ear (visual mode *(g)*) to reaffirm and complement previous demonstrations to Parry. This establishes the use of sago grubs as authentic. Therefore, the Continuation

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rhetorical relation links Shot 1.3 and Shot 1.4, i.e., *Continuation (Shot 1.3 Demonstration, Shot 1.4 Double Demonstration).*

Shot 1.5 Parry's turn changes the topic of the method as authentic, based on the Kombai demonstrations to where Parry tries the method. A straight cut from an extreme closeup of Bofo Kwo's ear (visual mode *(g),* Shot 1.4) to a medium long shot of the Kombai men putting sago grubs into Parry's ears (visual mode *(i)*) indicates the next phase of the setup of the Kombai men's joke. This infers the Narration relation linking Shot 1.4 and 1.5, i.e., *Narration (Shot 1.4 Double Demonstration, Shot 1.5 Parry's turn).* In *Shot 1.6 New Grub*, Bomari is having 'difficulty' putting the grub in Parry's ear. Parry has one which Bomari can use, but in the background, Bofo Kwo has handed Bomari a grub (visual mode *(k)*). The action of the two men is to keep up the pretence of the activity inferring a Continuation link, *Continuation (Shot 1.5 Parry's Turn, Shot 1.6 New Grub).*

Shots 1.7 to 1.9 is the climax of the prank. In the climatic build-up in Shot 1.7 Bomari is ready to put a grub in Parry's ear, but Bofo Kwo slips a grub in Parry's other ear (visual mode *(n),* Shot 1.7). In audio mode *(p)* in Shot 1.7, Parry states, "oh he's already put it in my ear. That's a little bit…". In Shot 1.8, Parry continues his utterance in audio mode *(s)* where he says "Ah…Nah, that's just weird". In Shot 1.9, Parry receives a small shock as he explains in audio mode *(v)* "Ah, I've been bit. They have quite big pinchers". The visual modes in these shots are of Bofo Kwo and Bomari working behind Parry finding grubs and sticking them in Parry's ears. Their action is consistent throughout Parry's diegetic comments. For the joke to each its climax, the Continuation relation is inferred as holding between Shots 1.7 to 1.9, namely *Continuation (Shot 1.7 Grub Swapping, Shot 1.8 Weird, Shot 1.9 Grub bites).*

Shot 10 Joke punchline is the joke's reveal, and Parry realises he is the victim of a prank. The prank has come to an end and the reveal infers the relation *Narration (Shot 1.9 Grub bites, Shot 1.10 Joke punchline).* Figure 38 outlines the structure of this sub-event.

Figure 38 Structure of Sub-event 1 The Grub Joke
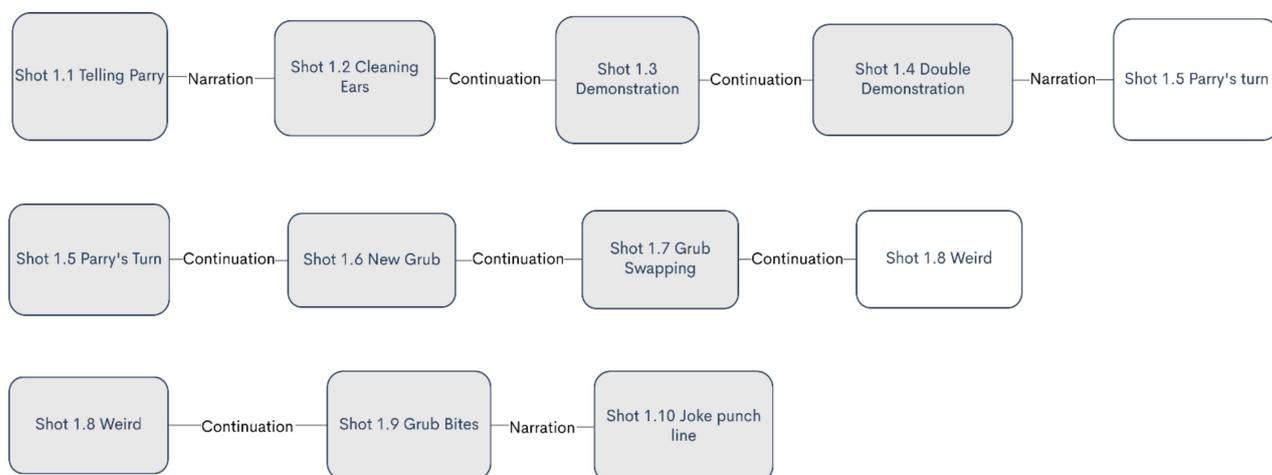
Note: The structure of this sub-event is based on coordinating rhetorical relations; therefore, the structure should be a single horizontal line. Due to space, splitting the structure into three horizontal lines was necessary. The modes in white indicate the break.

The coordinating relations dominate in *Sub-event 1 The Grub Joke*, in particular the Continuation relation. This relation maintains the single topic of the Kombai prank on Parry. The coordination relations (as the structure infers) focuses on linear progression as the prank unfolds. The pace and development of the sub-event is controlled by the Kombai. This is the only moment where Parry is passive as the recipient object.

The analysis above focuses on determining the rhetorical relations linking the film shots of this plot event. However, other film elements are needed to support and maintain the dominance of the Continuation relation. These elements are what Chanan (2008) refer to as the invisible or out-of-frame events which impact the discourse dynamics of visible elements inside a camera or shot frame. One element is the absence of dialogue between Parry and the Kombai opening discourse space along the margins of shot frames. This absence is filled with the background audio of women and the men laughing loudly and talking among themselves. The audio is located out-of-frame or in the background of the shot. Because of the absence of dialogue between Parry and the Kombai men, clues regarding the build-up and climax of the prank are through the out-of-frame audio. Parry cannot see what is happening behind and round him. He does not know what is really going on other than what the Kombai present him. Diegetic audio in the margins play a crucial part in ensuring linear progression of the theme of the prank.

The Kombai invite Parry to participate in what he thinks is an authentic and actual practice. They even demonstrate several times this 'practice' to lay the foundations for authenticity. Part of the conviction of their demonstrations is that they had to be equally convincing, as seen through the Coordination relation. This makes Parry believe that he is experiencing something unique to the Kombai. The Kombai act Kombai to imitate Parry wanting to be Kombai. They control the actual practice with an imposter event. As such, Parry remarks that the joke's on him. The Kombai have made fun not only of Parry but also his performativity of being Kombai.

6.4 Plot Event 3 Initiation Rite

Parry is coming to the end of his stay with the Kombai (00:47:54-00:51:43), and there is one more Kombai tradition he wants to take to become a Kombai man: the initiation rite of manhood, namely genital inversion. There are two stages of Parry's initiation rite (See Appendix 5 for full transcript of stages). The first is the Kombai dressing Parry in the symbols of Kombai masculinity. Part of that process is having his nasal septum pierced with a sago thorn. Parry also explains (through a voiceover)

> They hang a pig tooth necklace around my neck and tie a cord around my head. The simple adornment of a Kombai man (00:49:42- 00:49:49)

The second stage is genital inversion (see Appendix 5 for full transcription containing extract shown in Figure 39). Parry is reluctant to go through this phase, and he is not sure how to refuse without causing offence. Parry is dressed in the symbols of a Kombai man, but he must go through the physical transformation to be Kombai. The men lead Parry to a place in the jungle where they administer to him the physical part of the initiation rite. Bofo Kwo attempts to invert Parry's genitals while Bomari collects leaves to cover Parry when finished. Parry finds the experience uncomfortable, and he feels nauseous and sick. The men encourage him to continue, but he refuses as the physical process is a step too far; he found his limits in wanting to be Kombai. The men cover Parry with a leaf as compensation. I analyse and discuss the last part of the initiation rite of Kombai manhood. See Figure 39 below.

Figure 39 Plot 3 Initiation Rite (00:47:54-00:51:43)

Plot Event 3 Initiation Right	

Shot 3.1 No

(V)	Medium close up from low ange of Parry not feeling well. This is from the point-of-view of Bofo Kwo who is performing the rite. Bofo Kwo is looking up (a)
(A)	Parry – Just, er.. Bofo Kwo speaking in Kombai and softly laughing Parry - ooh, ooh, …fuck No. I'm feeling faint (b)
(a), (b) ⌣ No, Shot 3.1	

Shot 3.2 Kombai

(V)	Medium close up of Bomari who is watching and assisting Bofo Kwo (c)
(A)	Men speaking in Kombai (d)
(c), (d) ⌣ Kombai, Shot 3.2	

Shot 3.3 The process

(V)	Mid shot of Parry talking to camera (e)
(A)	Parry: "their trying to like wrap it up and ah or stick it back in, which... culturally sensitive as I wanna be, ah just not getting there. It's kind of weird having this happen, to be honest" (f)
(e) (f) ⌣ The process, Shot 3.3	

Shot 3.4 Keep trying

(V)	Mid shot of Bofo Kwo as he tries to carry out the ritual (g)
(A)	Parry : "oh" (h)
(A)	Kombai men: light muffled laugther (i)
(g) (h) ⌣ Keep tying , Shot 3.4	

Shot 3.5 Strange

(V)	Mid shot of Parry trying to walk away from Bofo Kwo who is working with ritual (j)
(A)	Parry : "wait, wait, wait, wait. I gotta lie d-fuck. That is very strange. Ah.. Fuck (k)
(j) (k) ⌣ Strange, Shot 3.5	

Shot 3.6 Sick

(V)	High angle shot of Parry throwing up. (l)
(A)	Diegetic Sound: Parry coughing and retching. (m)
(l), (m) ⌣ Sick, Shot 3.6	

Shot 3.7 Bofo Kwo

(V)	Mid shot of Bofo Kwo watching Parry. (n)
(n) ⌣ Bofo Kwo, Shot 3.7	

Shot 3.8 Unpleasant

(V)	Mid shot of Parry talking to camera (o)
(A)	Parry. " Ah, I just went really faint then, like I was about to fall over, and I still can't quite hear my own voice. They rolled my foreskin and then... did a sudden movement with a hand and the thing went back in and, uhm... it was really very unpleasant and I nearly fell over" (p)
(o), (p) ⌣ Unpleasant, Shot 3.8	

Whether it is trying to learn how to cutdown sago trees with a hand-made stone axe, walking barefoot through bush covered in sago thorns, or trying to hunt with the men, everything Parry did was to get to the point where he would be ready for the Kombai rite of passage. *Shot 3.1 No* is a closeup shot of Parry from a low angle to match the point-of-view of Bofo Kwo who is performing the inversion (visual mode *(a)*). In this shot, Bofo Kwo is talking to Parry, but he is refusing and for that moment, Parry loses his composure and swears (audio mode *(b)*). *Shot 3.2 Kombai* is a cut to a closeup shot of Bomari (visual mode *(c)*). Bomari is watching and the dialogue is the Kombai men talking (audio mode *(d)*).

Shot 3.1 seems to have little relevance to Parry's discomfort seen in Shot 3.1. The composition of the visual closeups of Parry and Bomari give a clue regarding the type of rhetorical link between shots 3.1 and 3.2. The closeup shots are structurally similar as they are reverse images of each other. Structural similarity in film shot events infer either the Parallel or Contrast relations. The difference between the two relations is that for a Parallel relation to be inferred, two shots must be structurally and semantically similar. For a Contrast relation to be inferred between two film shot events, they must be structurally similar, but have different or contrasting meanings. If the visual images of Parry and Bomari indicate structural similarities in Shots 3.1 and 3.2, the attitudes of the men reveal opposing attitudes. Parry is wincing with discomfort, while Bomari is talking and smiling. Parry is trying to become Kombai, and the men who went through the same rite to as a process of becoming are *Khombaye-lu* (see section 2.2.3, chapter 2. This means 'we who sound'. Kombai is an Indonesian version based on how it sounds to the outsider). Therefore, the inferred relation is *Contrast (Shot 3.1 No, Shot 3.2 Kombai)*.

Shot 3.3 The Process is a medium shot of the men, with Parry and Bofo Kwo in the foreground and Bomari in the background (visual mode *(e)*). Parry is describing the process in audio mode *(f)*. While Parry's comment to the camera is an explanation of the process, the Explanation relation cannot be inferred here. This relation requires a reverse order of events in that the event in Shot 3.3 caused the event in Shot 3.2, which is not the case. The relation dealing with Parry's description is Narration as Parry is detailing the process as it happens. The Narration relation also signals the end of the contrast between Parry's discomfort (visual mode *(a)* in Shot 3.1) and the smiles of Bomari in visual mode *(c)* in Shot 3.2. Therefore *Narration (Shot 3.2 Kombai, Shot 3.3*

The Process). *Shot 3.4 Keep Trying* is a shot of Bofo Kwo continuing the process (visual mode *(g)*). The dialogue is of Parry wincing and the Kombai men lightly laughing (audio modes *(h)* and *(i)* respectively). Shot 3.4 is the demonstration of the process described by Parry. Therefore, the inference is a Continuation of Parry's inversion process, namely *Continuation (Shot 3.3 The process, Shot 3.4 Keep trying)*.

Shot 3.5 Strange is a film shot of Parry trying to walk away from Bofo kwo (visual mode *(j)*). The dialogue is Parry asking Bofo kwo to stop as he is feeling faint (audio mode *(k)*). While the visual image of Parry's discomfort is strong, the diegetic audio is the dominant mode inferring the rhetorical relation between Shots 3.4 and 3.5. In shot 3.4, the only dialogue from Parry is "oh" (audio mode *(h)*). This is further specified in shot 3.5 where part of Parry's comment of his sensation of being "very strange" (audio mode *(k)*). In the visual modes of these shots, the closeup shot of Bofo kwo (visual mode *(g)*, Shot 3.4) cuts out to a wider shot to include Parry (visual mode *(j)*, Shot 3.5). Both the audio and visual modes suggest the rhetorical relation of Elaboration, thus *Elaboration (Shot 3.4 keep Trying, Shot 3.5 Strange)*.

In *Shot 3.6 Sick*, Parry is doubled over retching because of what Bofo Kwo was doing to him (visual mode *(l)*). Therefore, a natural inference is a Result relation between shots 3.5 and 3.6. However, in visual mode *(j)* in Shot 3.5, Parry is trying to walk away from Bofo Kwo and in *Shot 3.6 Sick*, visual mode *(l)* is of Parry doubled over being sick. In audio mode *(k)* of Shot 3.5, Parry expresses the need to lie down, while in Shot 3.6 the only audio is Parry coughing and retching (audio mode *(m)*). This makes the case for the stronger inference of Continuation, i.e., *Continuation (Shot 3.5 Strange, Shot 3.6 Sick)*.

Shot 3.7 Bofo Kwo is a cut to a medium shot Bofo kwo watching Parry vomit (visual mode *(n)*). Unlike previous images of Bofo Kwo, the medium closeup of him is where he is not smiling. The only time Bofo Kwo did not smile was during his first meeting with Parry at which Bofo Kwo pointed a bow and arrow at him. Determining the meaning of Bofo Kwo's expression in Shot 3.7 is difficult. It could mean concern for Parry, or it could mean disapproval for Parry not being strong enough to undergo the ritual. Earlier in the programme, Parry commented on how the Kombai regard him as a child in that he was clumsy and needed to be taught. Bofo Kwo's expression in Shot 3.7 could symbolise confirmation of their view of Parry as a child: he is not man enough to be Kombai. These are speculations as there is nothing in the discourse of Plot event 3 to

provide a clue. Therefore, the rhetorical relation which allows for the cut from Parry vomiting (visual mode *(l)* in Shot 3.6) to a mid-shot of Bofo Kwo (visual mode *(n)*), and without imposing any assumptions about the image of Bofo kwo is Narration. Thus *Narration (Shot 3.6 Sick, Shot 3.7 Bofo Kwo)*.

Shot 3.8 Unpleasant is a medium closeup of Parry (visual mode *(o)*) speaking to the camera (audio mode *(p)*). His dialogue recounts what happened to him physically as Bofo Kwo performed the inversion. The audio in this shot is a specification as to why he was sick in Shot 3.6. Parry specifies details of what happened, therefore, Shot 3.8 is an Elaboration to what Bofo Kwo was doing and which made him sick. *Elaboration (Shot 3.7 Bofo Kwo, Shot 3.8 Unpleasant)*

Now that the relations for most of this plot event is given, Figure 40 below presents the last three film shot events for *Plot event 3 Initiation Rite*.

Figure 40 Last Stages of Initiation

I present these shots separately as they lead to a significant statement regarding Parry's representation and presentation of his subjectivity. First is to determine the rhetorical relation between *Shot 3.8 Unpleasant* and *Shot 3.9 One last try*. Shot 3.8 is of Parry explaining that he felt faint after Bofo Kwo inverted his genitals. In Shot 3.9 Bofo Kwo is talking to Parry (audio mode *(r)*). This introduces a new topic. Despite Parry feeling sick, Bofo Kwo appears to be convincing Parry to try again (this is implied based on Parry's response in audio mode *(t)* in Shot 3.10). Therefore, the inference is *Narration (Shot 3.8 Unpleasant, Shot 3.9 One last try)*

Shot 3.10 Not Happening is a medium closeup of Parry (visual mode *(s)*) talking to Bofo Kwo (audio mode *(t)*). Shots 3.9 and 3.10 illustrate the turn-taking conversation between the two men. Parry is refusing to go through the inversion process. This infers *Continuation (Shot 3.9 One last try, Shot 3.10 Not happening)*.

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Shot 3.11 Limit concludes the rite of passage. Visual mode *(u)* is of the men walking out of the jungle. Parry comments, through a voiceover in audio mode *(v)*, "finally wrapped in a leaf but without the conversion. I realise, I'd found my limits in living like a Kombai". Parry has failed the physical conversion, but the men go through the last part of the ritual which is wrapping Parry in a leaf. Visual mode *(u)* of this shot suggests the rhetorical relation of Continuation as the only option for the men is to return to their homes. Parry's audio (mode *(v)*), to begin with, also suggests a Continuation of Parry's refusal to be inverted, but the last part of his comments brings in an inference of another rhetorical relation thereby overriding the plausibility of a Continuation relation between shots 3.10 and 3.11. The last part of Parry's audio introduces a new topic indicative of a Narration relation. The new topic is Parry's Limits. Therefore, *Narration (Shot 3.10 Not Happening, Shot 3.11 Limit)*

Figure 41 presents the structure of *Plot Event 3 Initiation Rite* based on rhetorical relations between the discussed film shots given in Figures 39 and 40.

Figure 41 Plot Event 3 Initiation Rite
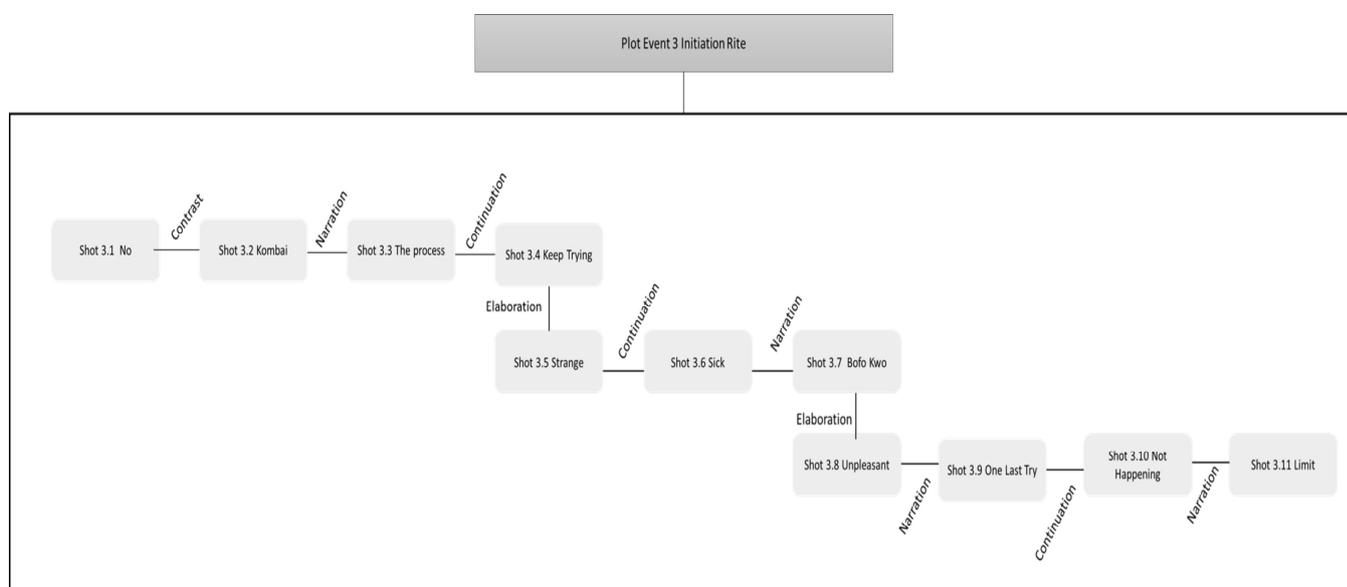
The structure of Plot Event 3 is dominated by the coordination relations as seen the horizontal development of most of this plot event. The only subordination relation is Elaboration. The Elaboration relation occurs at points of Parry's dialogue. Parry tries to fill in the gaps of information because 1) the process is not filmed, and 2) the Kombai

are speaking among themselves. Parry's uncomfortable and sickly feeling through the process needed specification to provide information about the cause of his feeling ill.

In this basically linear structure, the first coordination relation, Contrast, sets the tone for the rest of the narrative structure. The Narration relation not only introduces new topics to develop the plot event, but as the analysis above indicates, the Narration relation can gloss over information gaps in the event. The Narration relation is also used as a 'neutral' relation to link shots in which the meaning of the visual modes is ambivalent or ambiguous. This happens when there is no audio to help build a discourse context, for instance, *Shot 3.7 Bofo Kwo*. The last Narration relation between shot *3.10 Not happening* and *Shot 3.11 Limit* punctuates the climax of this event, namely Parry finding his limit in trying to be Kombai.

6.5 Summary of Chapter

Throughout the programme, Parry has fallen short on many activities to prove himself to the Kombai. On pig hunting activities, Parry struggles to keep up with the Kombai, and he slows them down. The Kombai try to teach him how to use a spear, but the incident turns comical as the men lampoon Parry. The Kombai have a relatively easy fishing technique, but Parry only manages to catch a small fish in comparison to the Kombai. He breaks a handmade axe when trying to cut down a sago tree. He is unable to take the bark of a fallen tree to expose the tree's soft pith from which sago is extracted. It should be remembered that Parry states he has knowledge of New Guinea and the some of the New Guinean cultures. Yet in a voiceover, Parry says:

> They see me as a small child. They even feel sorry for me. They tell me I'm big, heavy, and clumsy with shoes and equipment that slow me down and make me stumble.

This statement brings to focus the initiation ritual of masculinity. The Kombai dressed him with the symbols of Kombai manliness, but like most of the activities in which Parry has participated, he has even fallen short in the initiation ritual, which is an implicit confirmation of the Kombai's description of him above. As mentioned earlier, words are important to the Kombai in navigating their complex social and environmental cosmology. Language are markers in which the Kombai know the origins of something or someone. To understand one's identity is to understand the

nature or essence of that person. For the Kombai, this is a form of power in their cosmology. To say someone's or something's name is to expose that person's true nature.

At one stage in the programme, the Kombai try to teach Parry their language. Parry states "I only know one or two words. Kwai which means spirits or ghosts is also the word to describe outsiders like me". In discussions on cannibalism, the term *Khakua -Kumu* is used to mean evil men. Linguistic research into languages such as Kombai note that this term is also used in a wider sense to refer to anything that is outside the Kombai social community – in other words foreigners. Parry cannot be called a *Khaku-kumu* as he is living with the Kombai and does not pose a threat to them. They perceive him as a small child. Instead, they use another word with a similar meaning to refer to Parry's status as an outsider: *kwai*. To indicate Parry's peripheral position in Kombai culture, the Kombai often perform being Kombai to mirror Parry's performativity, and in doing so make him the object of many jokes and pranks. In the programme, Parry quipped that Bofo Kwo noticed Parry performing in front of the camera, and so Bofo Kwo also performed before the camera.

Despite his will to be Kombai, Parry realises his limits. The Kombai adorn Parry with the outward symbols of Kombai masculinity, yet, at the same time Parry wears khaki shorts and shoes. Parry being half-dressed Kombai, and half-dressed Western indicates his liminal subjectivity: an English man among the Kombai and wanting to be Kombai. He aims to learn Kombai customs, yet he chooses to maintain a sense of English dignity. In finding his limits in wanting to be Kombai, Parry chooses to be English through his failure to go through the ritual. The Kombai on the other hand edgewalk by performing being Kombai, according to the exonym and the tropes associated with that exonym. However, they can quickly abandon the exonym and to be, among themselves, as illustrated in the autonym, *khombaye-lu "we who sound"*.

7. Pasifika Programme: *Selat se Rotuma* (Return to Rotuma)

Apart from the transnational ethnotainment programmes is another group of ethnotainment programmes, which, as mentioned in Chapter 2, I refer to as Pasifika ethnotainment. These are programmes produced in the Pacific region, but in the former colonial centres of New Zealand and Australia. They feature New Zealanders or Australians with Pasifika heritages. These programmes feature Pasifika cultures in Pacific Island states, other than New Zealand or Australia. They are first broadcast on national networks in countries of origin, and secondly in other Pacific nation states through local broadcasters, Pan-Pacific film festivals, limited film releases, and specialised public broadcasting channels.

In this chapter, I analyse and discuss *Selat se Rotuma,* a television programme produced by and featuring New Zealand-Pasifika Islanders (New Zealand-born with Pacific Island background). *Selat se Rotuma* is a first-person account of Ngaire Fuata's trip to her father's homeland of Rotuma in the Fijian Archipelago. Her journey is a journey of self-discovery and a discovery of a cultural homeland. The main premise is for Fuata, and her daughter Ruby, to experience the Rotuman culture and to know her father's family or *Kainaga*. The motive for Fuata's trip is the declining health of her father who always dreamed of taking his family to Rotuma. Programme excerpts chosen for analyses are cultural milestone events in Fuata's experience of Rotuma and the Rotuman culture. The first plot event is Fuata's arrival to Rotuma, the second is her first Rotuman experience: the *Fara,* and the Rotuman welcome ceremony, the *Mamasa.*

7.1 The Plot Prologue

Selat se Rotuma has a double beginning. The first is the opening prologue (00:00:00 - 00:00:32) followed by the programme's introduction. In the opening prologue, the first shot is a medium closeup shot of Fuata sitting on a boat looking at the distance to the left of the screen. Her voiceover is introduced in which Fuata says, "I've always dreamed of going there one day". Her closeup shot is timed to fade out with the utterance "going there" and an extreme long shot of the ocean fades in. In the horizon is land. An atmospheric soundtrack with the slow singular beat of a drum fades in as an image of Fuata looking out to sea slowly fades onto screen. The camera then fades with

a zoom out to a long shot of the deck of front of the boat in the background. Fuata, looking out to sea, is in the foreground of the shot. This shot is from behind Fuata. The background music intensifies with the addition of tambourines, drums, and synthesised music. A cross fade occurs with an extreme long shot of the ocean. The image then crossfades back to the very first medium closeup of Fuata; she is looking at something in the distance to the left. Her voiceover accompanying this shot states "I'm Ngaire Fuata and this is my story". The programme title and Rotuman flag fades in. Figure 42 below is the montage of the opening prologue.

Figure 42 I'm Ngaire Fuata

Voiceover: I've always dreamed of going there someday"

Fade in music soundtrack which run throughout this scene.

Voiceover (as titles fade in). I'm Ngaire Fuata and this is my story."

7.2 Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma

After the prologue, the programme's introduction begins (00:00:33- 00:16:29, Part 1). The introduction comprises of: Fuata and her life story, the story of her father Espasi, and her trip to Rotuma. In her story, Fuata explains she was born in England to a Dutch mother and, as she states, a "rather exotic father who came from New Zealand". The family moved to Whakatane, New Zealand when she was eight years old. Fuata explains she grew up thinking she was Māori; but the issue was she was not Māori. Fuata outlines her career as a pop singer, television producer, and presenter. She also introduces her daughter Ruby. Fuata's father, Espasi Fuata, is seriously ill in hospital and part of the introduction includes scenes of Fuata and her family visiting their father.

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These are transition scenes to move the narrative from Fuata's story to the story of her father.

Espasi left the islands and immigrated to New Zealand in the 1950s to become a Catholic priest. Instead, he became a teacher and went to London where he met his Dutch wife, Marion. While living in England, everyone thought Espasi was Māori. In an interview extract, Espasi used to tell people he came from Rotuma, but, at that time, no one had heard of his island homeland. People knew he came from New Zealand, so the assumption was he was Māori. Espasi says he gave up explaining where he came from, and he let people think he was Māori. He did not tell his wife he was Rotuman until they started building a family. Towards the end of the introduction, the father's health turns for the worse, after which Fuata decides that she and daughter will go to Rotuma.

Fuata and Ruby's trip to Rotuma takes a week. Day one of the trip is from Auckland International airport in New Zealand to Nadi on Fiji's main island of Viti Levu. When they arrive to Nadi, they drive three and half hours to the capital city of Suva to catch the ferry to Rotuma. On day two of their trip, they take the ferry to Rotuma. The ferry trip takes three days. It is an uncomfortable trip, as there are no sleeping cabins forcing over 200 people sleep wherever they can find a spot, no air conditioning, and limited services and facilities. After three days at sea, Fuata finally spots Rotuma on the horizon.

Fuata's voice is the dominant mode in this part of the programme. The plot of this programme is told through her voiceovers or diegetic dialogues to the camera describing their uncomfortable situation on the ferry. Seventeen minutes into the programme, Fuata sees Rotuma. The lengthy introduction establishes her role as the protagonist and her voice, while her father's story is the narrative frame for her story of her journey to her cultural homeland.

7.2.1 Analysis of Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma.

To contextualise the first plot event, *Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma* (00:16:30 – 00:17:45), Fuata and Ruby have been on a ferry from Suva to Rotuma for nearly three days. They hear rumours that they may have to spend another day on the ferry. Ngaire and Ruby, and many of the passengers, are on deck getting fresh air when

they suddenly see Rotuma on the horizon. Figure 43 is a montage showing the passengers on deck. This is the moment before seeing Rotuma.

Figure 43 Passengers on Deck

Ngaire Voiceover: What was originally supposed to be a 36-hour boat ride.

has turned into 3 days.

and 2 nights

After the montage above is the development of *Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma* (00:16:30 – 00:17:45, see Appendix 6 for extract in transcription of Plot Event 1). Plot event 1 is the thematic context for the next 20 film shots. These 20 shots develop two sub-events: *Sub-event 1Rotuma* and *Sub-event 2 Finally Home.*

Sub-event 1 Rotuma is developed through 10 film shots. This sub-event begins with an extreme long shot of Rotuma. A cut-away transitions from the image of Rotuma to an image of Fuata on deck and pointing towards the island. She exclaims to the camera, "that's Rotuma". Following is a cut back to a long shot of Rotuma. This time more details of Rotuma is visible. In this sub-event Fuata expresses hope at getting off the boat as well as a sense of disbelief at finally arriving to Rotuma after a long time of wanting to go. After this, atmospheric music fades in, and the diegetic sounds of people fade out. This audio transition signals the start of *Sub-event 2 Finally Home.* This sub-event is a montage of passengers looking towards the island. Images of the passengers are interrupted with images of Rotuma's small harbour, as the ferry sails closer to the island's shoreline. Dominant is closeup shots of Fuata crying. She wishes that her father was with her. This sub-event ends with a fade to black screen. Following is an analysis and discussion of Sub-*event 1 Rotuma* and *Sub-event 2 Finally Home* which form the contents of the first narrative plot event, *Plot Event 1, First Sighting of Rotuma*.

7.2.1.1 Sub-Event 1 Rotuma.

Sub-event 1 Rotuma is the thematic context for its 10 film shot events. Figure 44 presents the shots in this sub-event. *Sub-event 1 That's Rotuma* is one of the two sub events within *Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma*.

Figure 44 Sub-event 1 Rotuma

Shot1.1 Rotuma
[V] Extreme long shot of Pacific and Rotuma in horizon (a)
[A] soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music, sounds of people around Ngaire talking (b)
[A] Voiceover "…but all of a sudden there i was" (c)
a, c |~ Rotuma (Shot1.1)

Shot 1.2 Ngaire: that's Rotuma
[V] Medium shot of Ngaire (d)
[A] Soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music sounds of people talking (e)
[A] Ngaire: "That's Rotuma" (f)
d,f |~ Ngaire That's Rotuma (Shot 1.2)

Shot 1.3 . Rotuma 2
[V] Extreme long shot of Rotuma (g)
[A] Soundtrack of synthesised music, sounds of people talking (h)
[A] Ngaire "48 hours after we set off.." (i)
g |~ Rotuma 2 (Shot 1.3)

Shot 1.4 Ngaire sees speck
[V] Medium close up Ngaire (j)
[A] soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music, sounds of people around Ngaire talking (k)
[A] Ngaire: " …. we finally see speck on the horizon…yes...." (l)
j,k, l |~ Ngaire see speck (Shot 1.4)

Shot 1.5 Hope
[V] Long shot of Rotuma (m)
[A] soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music, sounds of people around Ngaire talking (n)
[A] Ngaire " let's hope we get off the boat tonight" (o)
m, o |~ Hope (Shot 1.5)

Shot 1.6. Rotuma bigger
[V] Extreme close up of Ngaire(p)
[A] soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music, sounds of people around Ngaire talking (q)
[A] Ngaire to Ruby "Ruby it's getting much bigger now isn't it? Ruby: yeah (r)
r |~ Rotuma bigger (Shot 1.6)

Shot 1.7. Rotuma smaller
[V] High angle medium shot Ruby(s)
[A] soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music, sounds of people around Ngaire talking (t)
[A] Ngaire: It's a lot smaller than I thought it would be (u)
u |~ Rotuma smaller (Shot 1.7)

Shot 1.8. Ngaire Disbelief
[V] Close up of Ngaire (v)
[A] soundtrack atmospheric synthesised music, sounds of people around Ngaire talking (w)
[A] Ngaire: I'm still in a bit of disbelief. I can't quite believe that we're here(x)
v, x |~ Ngaire Disbelief (Shot 1.8)

Shot 1.9. Long
[V] Long shot of Rotuma coast(y)
[A] Orchestral soundtrack (z)
[A] Ngaire: It's just taken so long (aa)
y, aa |~ Long (Shot 1.9)

Shot 1.10. middle of nowhere
[V] Long shot of Rotuma harbour(bb)
[A] Orchestral soundtrack (cc)
[A] Ngaire: and its in the middle of nowehre(dd)
bb, dd |~ middle of nowhere (Shot 1.10)

In the first film shot *Shot1.1 Rotuma,* the extreme long shot of Rotuma (visual mode *(a)*) is accompanied with Fuata's voiceover "but all of a sudden, there it was" (audio mode *(c)*). In *Shot 1.2 That's Rotuma,* the medium shot of Fuata pointing (visual mode *(d)*) specifies and confirms the voiceover in Shot 1.1. Her exclamation "that's Rotuma" (audio mode *(f)*) names the impersonal pronoun 'it' in her voiceover "...there it was" in Shot 1.1 This specification leads to an inference of an Elaboration relation liking these two shots: *Elaboration (Shot1.1 Rotuma, Shot 1.2 That's Rotuma).*

Shot 1.3 Rotuma 2 is a cut back to a long shot of Rotuma (visual mode *(g)*) in which Ngaire's statement, "48 hours after we set off…" (audio mode *(i))*, begins a commentary voiceover. Visually, Shot 1.3 maintains the theme of seeing Rotuma inferring a Continuation relation. Nevertheless, audio mode *(i)* introduces the topic of time spent of the ferry towards Rotuma. This comment weakens this inference. Fuata's comment suggests a new topic, inferring the stronger link of Narration, hence *Narration (Shot 1.2 That's Rotuma, Shot 1.3 Rotuma2)*

Shot 1.4 Ngaire sees speck concludes the topic introduced in Shot 1.3. In Shot 1.4, audio mode *(l)* of Fuata's comment, "we finally see a speck on the horizon" completes her utterance in *Shot 1.3 Rotuma*. The image (mode *(j)*) of a medium closeup of Fuata pointing to Rotuma continues the editing technique of cut-away and cut-back. Therefore, the defeasible inference of a relation linking these shots is Continuation expressed as *Continuation (Shot 1.3 Rotuma2, Shot1.4 Ngaire sees speck).*

Shot 1.5 Hope begins with visual mode *(m)* which is a cut to a long shot of Rotuma specifying the "speck" Fuata identifies in Shot 1.4. The long shot reveals more details about Rotuma indicating the ferry's closer proximity to the island. Because of this, Fuata is hopeful in saying "let's hope we get off the boat tonight" (audio mode *(o)*). This is a wished-for consequence of finally seeing Rotuma. A possible inferred relation is that the event described in *Shot 1.4 Ngaire see Speck* caused a consequential or resultant event described in *Shot 1.5 Hope*. The principle is namely a cause. Thus, *Result (Shot 1.4 Ngaire sees Speck, Shot 1.5 Hope).*

In *Shot 1.6 Rotuma bigger,* the audio mode *(r)* is of Fuata's short conversation with her daughter in which she states to her daughter that Rotuma is getting bigger. This maintains the hope of disembarking off the ferry. The relation expressing this dynamic is Continuation. Thus, *Continuation (Shot 1.5 Hope, Shot 1.6 Rotuma bigger),*

In *Shot 1.6 Rotuma bigger,* visual mode *(p)* is a tight close-up of Fuata suggesting her as the subject of this film shot event. Yet, in audio mode *(r)*, the short dialogue between Fuata and her daughter Ruby, who is out-of-frame, centres on Rotuma. Ruby comes into the frame in *Shot 1.7 Rotuma Smaller.* The visual editing between Shots 1.6 and 1.7 is not synchronised with the turn-taking dynamics of their conversation. In other words, the conversation is heard first, then the visual image of that conversation comes later. In addition, despite the composition of the shots, Fuata and Ruby are not the film shots' topics. The closeup of Fuata in Shot 1.6 and the medium shot of Ruby in visual mode *(s)* in Shot 1.7 confirm them as conversation partners. Therefore, the rhetorical link between the two shots is determined by the audio modes. In audio mode *(r)* in Shot 1.6, the theme is closer proximity to Rotuma in which the "speck" (Shot 1.4) is getting bigger. In Shot 1.7, audio mode *(u)* is of Fuata stating "It's a lot smaller than I thought it would be". Up until Shot 1.7, the film shots focus on sighting Rotuma in the horizon and the ferry getting closer to the island. Audio mode *(u)* shifts the thematic focus to a closely related topic of Rotuma's geographical size which is unexpected. Therefore, the most likely rhetorical relation to link Shots 1.6 and 1.7 is Narration, namely *Narration (Shot 1.6 Rotuma bigger, Shot1.7 Rotuma smaller)*

Shot 1.8 Ngaire Disbelief is a closeup or headshot of Fuata (visual mode *(v)*) in which she says, in audio mode *(x),* "I'm still in a bit of disbelief. I can't believe that we're here". Fuata's comments diverts focus from Rotuma in Shot 1.7 to her. A new topic is introduced again inferring a Narration relation, in other words, *Narration (Shot 1.7 Rotuma, Shot 1. 8 Ngaire Disbelief). Shot 1.9 Long* provides details that enlarge Fuata's disbelief at arriving to Rotuma. Part of the disbelief is the time it took to make it to Rotuma (both in terms of the literal travel time and the fulfilment of a lifelong wish) in which she states in audio mode *(aa)*, "It's just taken so long". Specification is condition for an Elaboration relation. Therefore, this relation links Shots 1.8 and 1.9. *Elaboration (Shot 1.8 Ngaire Disbelief, Shot1.9 Long).*

Shot 1.9 Long is a long shot of Rotuma (visual mode *(y)*). In *Shot 1.10 Middle of Nowhere,* the visual image of Rotuma, visual mode *(bb)*, is also a long shot, but this shot includes the island's Oinafa Wharf. This is an additional detail. Also, in Shot 1.10, Fuata's voiceover in audio mode *(dd)* states "and it's in the middle of nowhere" adds further details emphasising Rotuma's isolation. These are specific details added to those

in *Shot 1.9 Long* inferring an Elaboration relation, given as *Elaboration(Shot 1.9 Long, Shot 1.10 Middle of Nowhere)*.

Now that the relationships between shots that develop the *Sub-event 1 Rotuma* are given, the structure of the sub-event is presented in Figure 45 below.

Figure 45 Structure of *Sub-event 1 Rotuma*
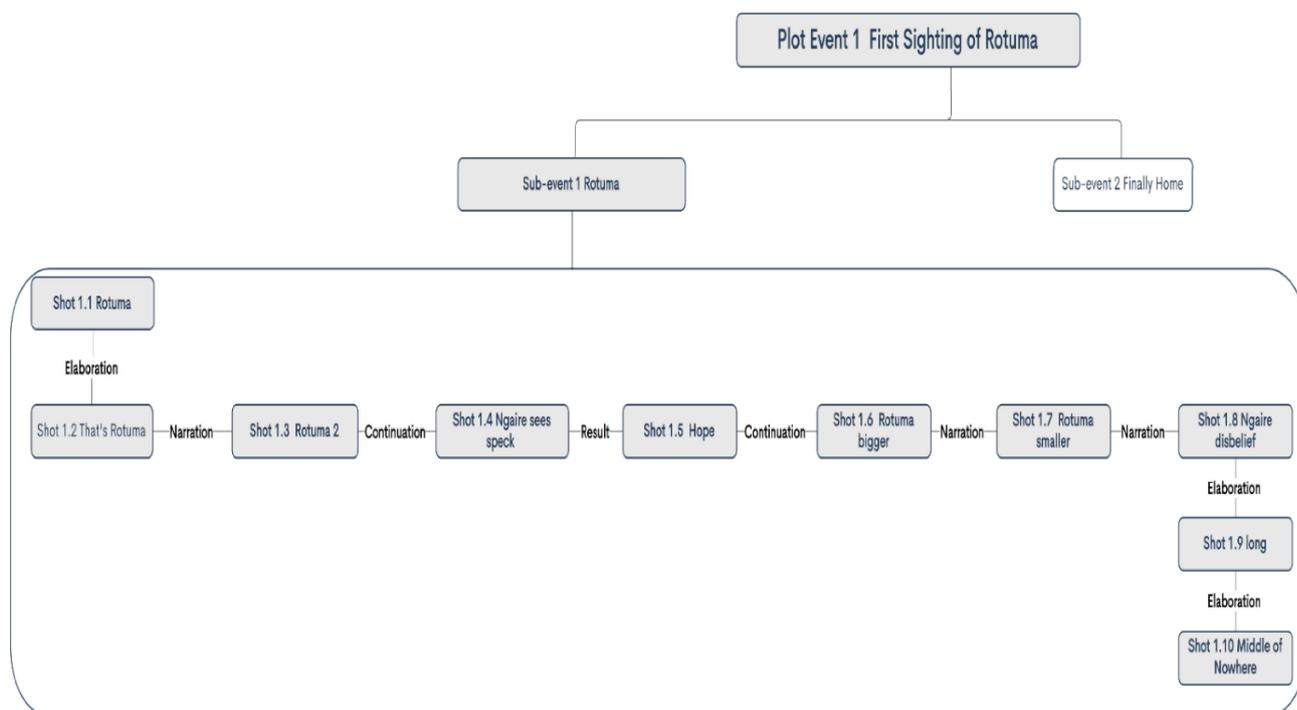
Note: *Plot Event 1 First sighting of Rotuma* is developed through two sub-events. The plot event is the discourse and thematic context for and developed by the two sub-events. The sub-events then form the discourse and thematic discourse for and developed by its film shot events. Discussion so far has dealt with the first sub-event of which the structure is given.

The dominant relations in this sub-event are the coordination relations developing and maintaining a linear progression of thematic topics. *Shot 1.1 Rotuma* introduces Rotuma as the subject. The Elaboration relation shifts the topic by changing the subject to Fuata, as the person speaking. Rotuma becomes the object as it is the topic of Fuata's comments. The Narration relation is used to introduce various themes through Fuata's audio, which in part are developed through the Continuation and Result relations. However, interesting is the successive introduction of new topics through the Narration relation from Shots 1.5 to 1.8. The Narration relation punctuates each digression of thought as a new topic. These topics are not given discourse space for development.

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This in turn limits any potential moments of ambiguity, ambivalence, or any other voice. The point at which a topic is developed is when Fuata is the subject from Shot 1.8 through to Shot 1.10. Her personal observations are given layers of detail through the Elaboration relation indicating the programme's objective which is that the Rotuman trip is Fuata's story.

The next sub-event to complete the *Plot event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma* is *Sub-event 2 Finally Home*.

7.2.1.2 Sub-event 2 Finally Home

Sub-Event 2 Finally Home is the context for its eight shots. The first three shots form a montage, and the remaining shots are extreme closeup shots of Fuata (see Appendix 6 for extract in transcription of *Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma*).

Fuata and the passengers are getting ready to disembark off the ferry, and the emotions and excitement build, as the ferry slowly makes its way to the island's harbour. Dialogue from Fuata is minimal, and the main film modes are the montage of the passengers and shots of Fuata. The visual modes are held together by the diegetic audio sound of people and the non-diegetic orchestral soundtrack. Shots of Fuata starring out to sea are extreme closeups to show her emotions which are mixed with excitement of her soon setting foot on Rotuma, and sadness of her father unable to accompany her. Figure 46 presents film shot events for *Sub-event 2 Finally Home*.

Shot 2.1 Close to Home is a montage of medium to closeup shots of passengers which emphasise their emotions as they look towards Rotuma. The fade-in of the orchestral music supplements the emotions of the images. An eyeline match cut transitions from the passengers to a long shot image of Oinafa Harbour in *Shot 2.2 Home.* Rotuma is both the subject in the shot and the object of the passengers' gaze. The orchestral soundtrack in Shots 2.1 and 2.2 maintains the continuity of the emotional pathos of these shots. The soundtrack also links the two shots as a single event. The inferred relationship linking the two shots is Continuation i.e., *Continuation(Shot 2.1 Close to Home, Shot 2.2 Home)*.

Figure 46 Film shot events for *Sub-Event 2 Finally Home*

Shot 2.1 Close to home

[V]	Montage of passengers on deck looking out towards Rotuma (a)
[A]	Fade in orchestral atmospheric soundtrack, fade out diegetic sound of people talking, laughing (b)

a,b ⌣ Close to home Shot **2.1**

Shot 2.2 Home

[V] Long shot of Oinafa Harbour (c)
[A] Orchestral soundtrack (d)

c, d ⌣ Home Shot 2.2

Shot 2.3 Ngaire emotional

[V] Closeup of Ngaire (e)
[A] Orchestral soundtrack (f)

e,f ⌣ Ngaire emotional 2.3

Shot 2.4 Ngaire Wish

[V] Close up of Ngaire (g)
[A] Orchestral soundtrack (h)
[A] Ngaire " I wish Dad was here. I wanted him to take me home" (i)
[A] Fade in underneath soundtrack diegetic sound of people talking (j)

g, i ⌣ Home Shot 2.4

Shot 2.5 Entering Port

[V] Fade in to Long shot of Oinafa Harbour (k)
[A] Orchestral soundtrack (l)

k ⌣ Entering Port, Shot 2.5

A straight cut takes the attention away from Rotuma as the subject (and object of gaze) in Shot 2.2 to a closeup of Fuata in *Shot 2.3 Ngaire emotional*. This reorientates the viewer to Fuata as the subject presenter. The closeup shot of Fuata captures her emotions and eliminates other narrative elements in the frame. Her closeup shot suggests a Narration relation linking shot 2.3 to shot 2.2. But a stronger inference of a different relationship between these two shots can be made, particularly when seen in conjunction with the discourse of *Sub-event 1 Rotuma.* In sub-event 1, Fuata was excited about seeing a "speck on the horizon". However, as the ferry sails closer to that speck, that speck becomes a homeland. In *Sub-event 2 Finally Home*, Fuata is finally arrived home. Therefore, the inference is that Fuata's emotional state is because she finally got to see Rotuma. This reverses the natural order of events in that Fuata crying in Shot 2.3 is caused by seeing home in shot 2.2, namely *Explanation (Shot 2.2 Home, Shot 2.3 Ngaire emotional).*

The topic of Fuata, visually established in shot 2.3, is maintained in *Shot 2.4 Ngaire Wish.* In this film shot, Fuata states "I wish Dad was here. I wanted him to take me home". Her comment specifies her thoughts and state of mind visually represented by her closeup in shot 2.2. The rhetorical relation suited to this discourse dynamic is *Elaboration (Shot 2.3 Ngaire emotional, 2.4 Ngaire Wish).*

The editing transition from Shot 2.4 to *Shot 2.5 Entering Port* is a straight cut to Rotuma. This is a change of topic. Rotuma as an island, but it is also 'home' both physically and ideologically. Both senses of home are the object of Fuata's and the passengers' gaze, but it is also a plot subject in that it signals the end of Fuata's long journey, both literally and ideologically. The only plausible relation that best reflects this discourse dynamic is the Narration relation. This fulfils the spatial temporal condition of the second event starting after the first event. This is supported by the straight cut. Therefore, *Narration (2.4 Ngaire Wish, 2.5 Entering Port).* Based on the discussion above, the structure of *Sub-event 2 Finally home* is given in Figure 47 below.

Figure 47 Structure for *Sub-event 2 Finally Home*
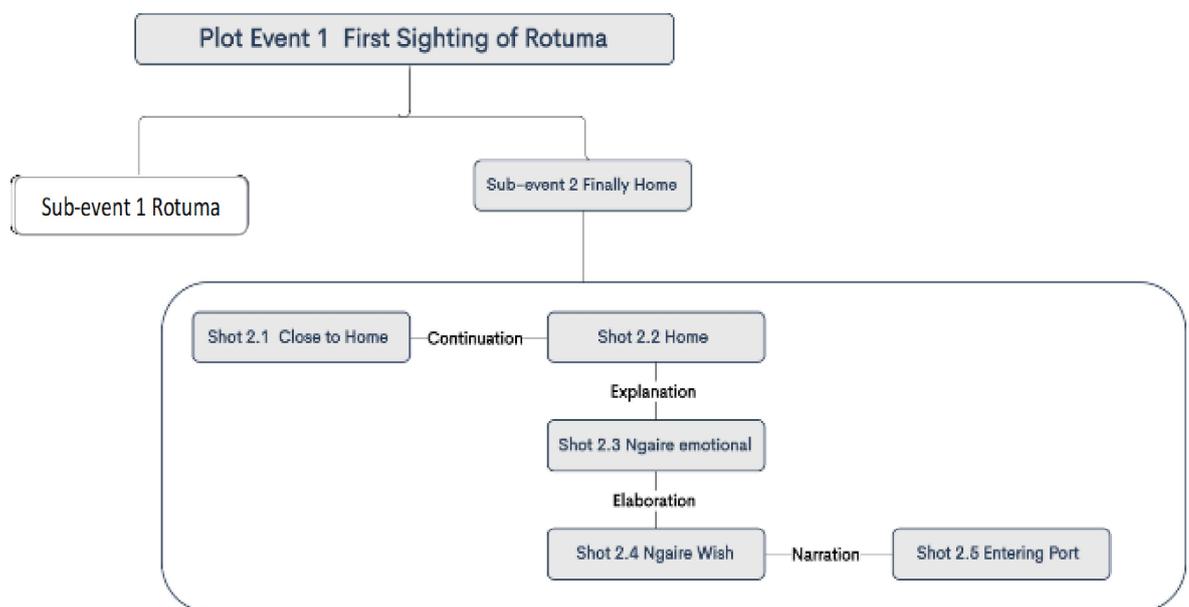
Note: This is the structure of the second sub-event developing *Plot Event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma.* See Figure 45 for the structure of this Plot Event's first sub-event.

In the structure of *Sub-event 2 Finally Home*, the dominant type of rhetorical relations between the film event shots is the subordination relations such as Explanation and Elaboration. These relations are inferred through the closeup shots of Fuata in Shots 2.3 and 2.4. The Explanation and Elaboration relations shift from the subject of Rotuma to Fuata's narrative role as subject, and they maintain that narrative position. In Shot 2.1, the concept of home is established and developed in Shot 2.2. Rotuma is home to those on the ferry, but home is more than just a physical island; it is a conceptual sense of belonging. These understandings of home frames the rest of the sub-event in which Fuata knows she is returning home. Fuata has never been to Rotuma, and this is her first visit, yet her wish was to have her father with her so that he could bring her home. Shot 2.2 is the pivot shot in the shift of topic or theme, and it provides a cause for Fuata's emotion, hence the Explanation relation. In addition, the Elaboration relation compounds Fuata's state of mind through specification which is her sense of going home.

Sub-event 1 Rotuma and *Sub-event 2 Finally Home* develop the first major plot event, *Plot event 1 First Sighting of Rotuma.* Sub-event 1 develops the sense of getting closer to Rotuma, the island home. The coordination relations such as Narration and Continuation maintain this idea of Rotuma, the island home. It is a speck which becomes a little bigger and finally quite a small island. However, as the ferry sails closer to Rotuma's Oinafa Harbour, the sense of home changes. *Sub-event 2 Finally Home* introduces a cultural and cosmological sense of place. Fuata is returning to that cultural space, and she wants her father to be the one to lead her and guide her in that cultural space. The Elaboration and Explanation relations in Sub-event 2 develop this sense. *Plot event1 First sighting of Rotuma* is Fuata's first sighting of her cultural home – a home of self.

The next plot event is Fuata and Ruby's first cultural experience which is the *fara.* This is tagged as *Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara* (see Appendix 11 for extract transcription).

7.3 Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara.

Prior to the *Fara* (00:16:30 – 00:19:49, see Figure 48 below), Fuata and Ruby arrive to Rotuma and are met by her father's brother. The scene at Rotuma's small harbour is chaotic as everyone on the island is there to meet the arriving passengers.

People are carrying luggage to parked cars and shouting to find each other. It is happy chaos full of laughter, hugs, and animated talking. Fuata and Ruby are surrounded by people they do not know. Eventually, they spot their host relatives. Through a voiceover, Fuata expresses uncertainty at meeting her uncle Alessio whom she has never met. She will be staying with him and his family at village of her father's family. After a warm welcome at Oinafa, Fuata and Ruby are taken to Alessio's home where they are met by a large *fara* group.

Scheifes (2005) who has studied the *fara* tradition on Rotuma explains the term *fara* means to beg, request, or ask for. She writes, "in the case of dance it refers to the indirect asking for gifts, such as talcum powder, perfume, lemonade, and fruit" (Scheifes, 2005, p.10). Villagers go from house to house in the evening to sing and dance. As a sign of appreciation, the entertained audience shower the *fara* group with talcum powder and spray perfume on their heads. They also offer the *fara* group food and drink. Scheifes further adds that the *fara* takes place during the *av mane'a* period which is from the beginning of December to mid-January. *Av mane'a* means time to play (Scheifes 2005, p.10). "During this period, the Rotumans take things easy and in general do not need to work hard. Time is spent on picnics, harvest festivals...and going fara" (ibid).

In *Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara,* there are four film shots. They are *Shot 2.1 Fara 1, Shot 2.2 Ngaire and Ruby, Shot 2.3 Fara 2,* and *Shot 2.4 Need Sleep.* Figure 48 presents the film shots.

This plot event is about the Rotuman cultural practice of *Fara*. Visually, the *fara* group is dominant. However, the diegetic comments or voiceovers from Fuata determine the rhetorical relations between the film shots developing this plot event. In *Shot 2.1*, The visual image is a high angle long shot of the Rotumans singing and dancing (visual mode *(a)*). Audio mode *(b)* are diegetic sounds of people singing and laughing. However, the visual and audio dominance of the Rotumans is subordinated by audio mode *(c)* which is a voiceover from Fuata explaining the *fara* according to her observations. Through her voiceover, the images, and voices of the Rotumans are cultural background props to give Fuata's voiceover authenticity. Fuata's voiceover makes her the subject through her role as narrator. *Shot 2.2 Ngaire and Ruby* is a medium shot of Fuata and Ruby (visual mode *(d)*). The composition of this shot eliminates other visual elements such as the Rotumans, and Fuata's diegetic comment in

audio mode *(e)*, is "We've only just here and we get a *fara* straight away". This shifts the topic from the *fara* to Fuata and Ruby inferring a Narration relation. Therefore, *Narration (Shot 2.1 Fara 1, Shot 2.2 Ngaire and Ruby).*

Figure 48 *Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara*

Shot 2.1 Fara 1		
	(V) (A) (A)	Montage of the fara group. (a) Fara group singing, playing guitar, clapping, dancing, laughing (b) Ngaire Voiceover "During the Fara season in December and January, groups sing and dance outside houses. I guess its like a Rotuman version of carolling, only more interactive and a lot messier" (c) (a), b), (c) ⌣ Fara 1, Shot 2.1
Shot 2.2. Ngaire and Ruby		(V) Mid shot of Ngaire and Ruby watching the Fara performers. (d) (A) Ngaire: *"We've only just got here and we get a fara straight away. It's great." (e)* (A) Audio: People singing, laughing, clapping, guitar music (f) (d), (e) ⌣ Ngaire and Ruby, Shot 2.2
Shot 2.3 Fara 2		
	(V) (A) (A)	Montage of the fara group. (g) Fara group singing, playing guitar, clapping, dancing, laughing (h) Ngaire Voiceover: "Residents from the houses douse the fara group with perfume and talcum powder. I've heard different stories about the origins of this tradition. Some say it's a substitution for monetary gifts; some say it's to keep away the spirits. Whatever the reason, during Fara, Rotumans of all ages are in party mode. (i) (g), (h), (i) ⌣ Fara 2
Shot 2.4 Need Sleep		(V) Cut to Ngaire and Ruby (j) (A) Fara group singing, playing guitar, clapping, dancing, laughing (k) (A) Ngaire voiceover But after a long journey on a boat, Ruby and I are keen to catch up on some sleep on land. Tomorrow we wake up in Rotuma (l) (j), (l) ⌣ Need Sleep, Shot 2.4

In *Shot 2.3 Fara 2*, (audio mode *(i))* Fuata expands her description of the *fara* she begun in audio mode *(c)* in Shot 2.1. Given its visual similarity and theme, if Shot 2.3 followed directly after Shot 2.1, a possible rhetorical inference would be Continuation. However, this thematic development is interrupted by a closeup of Ruby and Fuata

(visual mode *(d)* in Shot 2.2). Because of this thematic interruption, the editing transition between Shots 2.2 and 2.3 determine the rhetorical relation. The editing transition is a straight cut from Shot 2.2 to shot 2.3 inferring a spatial temporality in which a second event begins at the point of the first event ending. The straight cut ends and redirects the subject of Fuata and Ruby in Shot 2.2 back to the *fara*, which is visually represented by the images of the *fara* group in mode *(g)*, Shot 2.3. The rhetorical relation best suited to deal with this discourse dynamic is Narration, expressed as *Narration (Shot 2.2 Ngaire and Ruby, Shot 2.3 Fara2).*

Between *Shot 2.3 Fara2* and *Shot 2.4 Need Sleep* is a cut to a long shot of Fuata and Ruby sitting on a porch watching the *fara* (visual mode *(j)*). The long shot brings in the physical context which was present but unseen in the closeup of Fuata and Ruby in Shot 2.2. The theme of Shot 2.4 is their needing sleep after a long journey to Rotuma. The main mode determining the rhetorical link between shots 2.3 and 2.4 is the audio mode rather than the long shot. Part of Fuata's voiceover in audio mode *(i),* Shot 2.3, is "...whatever the reason, during Fara, all Rotumans of all ages are in party mode...". In Shot 2.4, the rest of the voiceover (audio mode *(l)*) is "But after a long journey, Ruby and I are keen to catch up on some sleep...". The coordinating conjunction 'but' introduces an added statement; a statement about something different from what was previously communicated. Fuata's comment in Shot 2.4 introduces a new topic which is the end of the *fara* plot event indicative of the Narration relation; in other words, *Narration (Shot 2.3 Fara 2, Shot 2.4 Need Sleep).* Figure 49 outlines the structure of *Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara* created by its film shot events.

Figure 49 Structure of *Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara.*
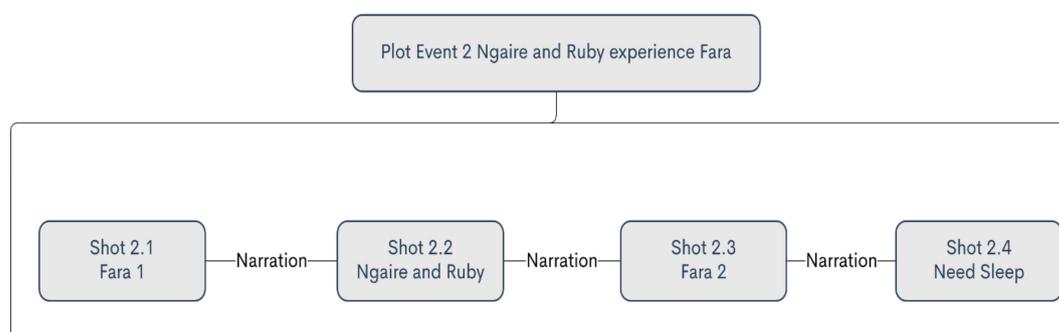
The structure of this plot event is simplistic. The only rhetorical relation linking all film shot events is the coordination relation Narration. One reason for this is the '1st shot-cutaway-to-2nd shot-cutback-to-1st shot' editing technique. This method interrupts the development of ideas. The only rhetorical relation suited to the constant changes and redirection of topics is the Narration relation. The structure of this plot event also reveals the dominance of Fuata's audio in determining the structure, despite the visual dominance of the *Fara* performers. Through the Narration relation, the *fara* event is told from the point-of-view of Fuata. An alternative perspective, for example, could be one of the Rotuman performers explaining the *fara*, which could form a different structure. Because of the dominance of Fuata's perspective through the Narration relation, the *fara* is located within the New Zealand-Pasifika context Fuata brings with her in her experience of Rotuma. For instance, part of Fuata's description of the *fara* is that it is a "Rotuman version of carolling, only more interactive and a lot messier"(Fuata). This comment may seem harmless, but Fuata recontextualised the Rotuman cultural practice within the Western understanding of carolling which is usually done during the Christmas season. Another implication is that Western carolling is either subdued, or that the Rotuman version is a wilder.

7.4 Plot Event 3 Mamasa

Howard (1995) explains the *mamasa* emphasises the importance of canoe journeys; in the contemporary context, travelling abroad is their equivalent. He writes "mamasa means 'to be dry' or 'to become dry' and is used in reference to a ceremony performed when people return from a sea voyage" (Churchwood cited by Howard, 1995). Howard notes before the building of Oinafa harbour, the canoe voyagers or fishermen would return to Rotuman wet and they "had to be dried and provided with clothes; hence the reference to drying out" (Howard, 1995).

As newcomers or first timers to Rotuma, Fuata and Ruby must participate in a *mamasa*. A cousin's village on the other side of Rotuma is hosting a *mamasa*. Fuata explains the *mamasa* is a welcome ceremony for visitors to the island. In her explanation, Fuata compares the *mamasa* to the New Zealand Māori *powhiri* which is a welcome ceremony for visitors entering the grounds of a *marae* or traditional meeting house. She elaborates that she and Ruby will see "a bit of traditional or custom here, of course we're

going to have a big feed and a bit of dancing" (00:50:00, Part 2). Fuata further elaborates visitors cannot do anything on the island without having a *mamasa*. She adds that "in the old days, a *mamasa* was held for fishermen who braved the sea" (00:18:28, Part 2). When Fuata arrives at the host village, her cousin explains the stages of the *mamasa* ceremony and tells them what to expect, implying that this is Fuata and her daughter's first experience. Despite this, and through a voiceover, Fuata explains in broad terms the *mamasa*. The *mamasa* begins with a church service followed by oratory speeches from local village chiefs. The extract in plot event 3 focusses on the events after the church service and oratory, specifically the *mamasa* food preparation, the *tefui*, the *mamasa* feast, and Rotuman performances of *mamasa* songs.

 Plot Event 3 Mamasa comprises of montage or long takes. They basically form eight film shot events. Fuata's voiceovers are the dialogue in this plot event. Actuality sound is of Rotumans laughing, singing, as well as a non-diegetic acoustic soundtrack. Figure 50 presents the first two film shot events: *Shot 3.1 Mamasa Food* and *Mamasa 3.2 Tefui.*

Figure 50 Mamasa Shots 3.1 and 3.2

Shot 3.1 Mamasa Food	
[V]	Montage of images of people preparing the food to be served (a)
[A]	Diegetic sounds of people talking, laughing. (b)
[A]	Non-diegetic soundtrack of acoustic guitar music. (c)
[A]	Ngaire Voiceover: The Mamasa is, you know, is , it's quite ceremonious. I think it's pretty much like giving you a bit of a blessing and making sure that you're stay here is, is a safe one. And so, yeah, you don't go swimming, fishing until you've had your Mamasa. (d)
(a), (b) ⤳	Mamasa food, Shot 3.1

Shot 3.2 Tefui	
[V]	Shots of Rotuman women putting on newcomers the tefui. Ngaire and Ruby receive their tefui (e)
[A]	Diegetic sounds of people talking, laughing. (f)
[A]	Non-diegetic soundtrack of acoustic guitar music. (g)
[A]	Ngaire Voiceover. And also the tefui is the garland they put over your neck, painstakingly made, it's um quite intricate. I think the women must've stayed up for weeks preparing because there would've been at least 50-odd made for that occasion. (h)
(e), (h) ⤳	Tefui, shot 3.2

 Shot 3.1 Mamasa Food is a montage of Rotumans from the host area preparing food for the feast. The food is wrapped in banana leaves and cooked in an earth oven.

Many villages in the host area are involved in preparing the food, cooking, and preparation. In Shot 3.1, the audio is of people laughing and talking (audio mode *(b)*), as well as the backing track of acoustic guitar music (audio mode *(c)*). The diegetic and non-diegetic audio are constant throughout most of plot event 3. In Shot 3.1, a voiceover from Fuata (audio mode *(d)*) explains the importance of the *mamasa*, and how it is an entrance into the physical and cultural world of Rotuma,

> The Mamasa is, you know, is, it's quite ceremonious. I think it's pretty much like giving you a bit of a blessing and making sure that you're stay here is, is a safe one. And so, yeah, you don't go swimming, fishing until you've had your Mamasa.

Shot 3.2 Tefui is the presentation of the *Tefui* which is an elaborate garland made for visitors to the island. Visual mode *(e)* in this shot is Fuata and Ruby, and other newcomers, receiving their *tefui* garlands. Fuata's voiceover in audio mode *(h)* says the *tefui* is intricate to make and that the women would have spent weeks making the garlands for around 50 people.

Elisabeth Inia is a Rotuman elder who has written about Rotuman customs, proverbs, and ceremonies. She also co-authored the Rotuman dictionary. Inia (2001) explains *tefui* are made from bleached pandanus leaves, coconut, or palm leaves. These leaves are cut into strips. Red skin from the pandanus fruit or the red ginger flower are cut and shaped into diamonds. The leaves and flowers are woven together to form stars, and they are tied and woven together with string to form one fringed garland (Inia, 2001). *Tefui* are used in ceremonies such as the *mamasa*, for a ceremony which occurs five days following a death, headstone-placing ceremonies, or for dancing at special occasions (Inia, 2001).

In Shot 3.1, focus is on food preparation. The Rotumans and their preparing food are the visual focus, but Fuata's voiceovers creates a secondary focus of her as the implied subject. In Shot 3.2, her voiceover is dominant as it explains the *tefui*. As such, the images are visual examples complementing Fuata's comments. The brief discussion of the *tefui* in Shot 3.2 is a new topic inferring a Narration relation linking Shots 3.1 and 3.2. Therefore, *Narration (Shot 3.1 Mamasa Food, Shot 3.2 Tefui).* Figure 51 below presents the next two film shot events in *Plot event 3 Mamasa.*

Figure 51 Shot 3.3 and Shot 3.4

Shot 3.3 Mamasa Feast	
[V]	Montage of shots of the Mamasa feast (i)
[A]	Diegetic sounds of people talking, laughing. (j)
[A]	Non-diegetic soundtrack of acoustic guitar music. (k)
[A]	Ngaire diegetic dialogue "Um.. Yum . Looks good. Yeah the food looks great . It wouldn't be a Pacific function without corned beef huh? Laugh" (l)
(i), (j), (l) ⌣	Mamasa Feast, shot 3.3

Shot 3.4 Moving ceremony	
[V]	Montage of people eating the Mamasa feast (m)
[A]	Diegetic sounds of people talking, laughing. (n)
[A]	Non-diegetic soundtrack of acoustic guitar music. (o)
[A]	Ngaire Voiceover. It was a really really moving ceremony actually, yeah. I think most people felt that for the first time, there is a sense of belonging here. (p)
(m), (n), (p) ⌣	Moving ceremony

First is to determine the rhetorical link between *Shot 3.2 Tefui* in Figure 50 and *Shot 3.3 Mamasa Feast* shown above. Shot 3.3 is a montage of Fuata and Ruby, along with other newcomers, being served the prepared food (visual mode *(i)*). Fuata's diegetic comment in audio mode *(l)* focuses on how appetising or the food looks. A camera zoom-in of someone opening a can of corned beef as part of the montage in visual mode *(i)* lends itself to Fuata joking that it would not be a Pacific function without corned beef (audio mode *(l)*). The focus of food in this shot seems to have little relevance to *Shot 3.2 Tefui.* However, clues within the images of Shot 3.3 infer a rhetorical relation. In the images, those sitting with Fuata, and Ruby are wearing *Tefui*. These visual clues suggest a natural order of events in which the *mamasa* feast occurred after the *tefui* ceremony inferring a Narration relation linking Shots 3.2 and 3.3. Therefore, *Narration (Shot 3.2 Tefui, Shot 3.3 Mamasa Feast).*

According to Inia (2001), part of the *mamasa* ceremony, along with the *tefui*, is the ceremonial anointing or *mamiag forau*. Inia explains that newcomers or *forau* sit in places of honour on woven mats prepared for the *mamasa*. A woman presents the *forau* the

tefui wrapped in giant taro[28] leaves, and the *forau* are anointed with a few drops of oil on their heads. Inia notes that the current practice is to spray the *tefui* and the wearer with perfume, after which a feast is held. She states that the *mamasa* feast followed certain procedures which included the announcement of the *päega* (pandanus mats) followed by an announcement from the *mafua* (those who serve the traditional kava drink) and then the *koua* or food from the earth oven is served.

    Shot 3.4 Moving Ceremony is dominated by audio mode *(p)* of Fuata's voiceover. Her voiceover reflects on the *mamasa* ceremony experienced so far. Fuata explains that the significance of the ceremony is to give people a sense of belonging. For instance, in Shot 3.4, the image in visual mode *(m)* is a montage of shots of people enjoying the *mamasa* feast. The montage develops continuity, unity of time and place, as well as Shots 3.3 and 3.4's focus on food. The audio of people laughing and talking in these two shots creates an ambience of united celebration. The images of everyone together eating and the audio of everyone laughing become metaphors for belonging and acceptance. The reflective tone in Fuata's voiceover in audio mode *(p)*, Shot 3.4, buttressed by her participation in the *mamasa*, adds details about the effects of the ceremony.

    Several rhetorical relations can be inferred: Elaboration, Explanation or Result**.** The Elaboration relation can be inferred if 'Event-2' specified something in 'Event-1'. In Shots 3.3 and 3.4, the images suggest this relation could be inferred, but this is not supported by Fuata's voiceovers in both shots. The Explanation relation can be assumed if 'Event- 2' caused 'Event-1. This reversal order of events does not occur as the voiceover in Shot 3.2 responds to the *mamasa* experienced so far. Thus, events in Shot 3.3 did not cause events in Shot 3.2. A Result relation is defined as 'Event -2' is a consequence of 'Event-1'. Therefore, through abductive reasoning, Shots 3.3 and 3.4 are connected as *Result(Shot 3.3 Mamasa feast, Shot 3.4 Moving ceremony).*

    According to Howard (1995), there are two functions of the *mamasa*. "One is to reintegrate sojourners back into Rotuman life by communicating their importance to the community and elevating their status". The visitors, newcomers, and those returning home are made to feel special. The *mamasa* ceremony emphasises absence and return, bravery in leaving the island and accomplishments while away. "The ceremony's other function is to

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[28] A large corm or tuber plant which grows underground. The plant stem or tuber is eaten in the same way as potato. The large flat green leaves are used several ways for instance to wrap food for cooking in earth ovens.

celebrate the triumph of life over death" (Howard, 1995). The *mamasa* is about the renewal of life, and the food served at the *mamasa* symbolise this ideal. The pigs sacrificed for the feast "is a gift to the gods, who are supposed to respond by giving life to the land and its peoples" (Howard, 1995). The traditional kava drink found in most Pasifika cultures symbolises the bodily fluids that give life. The oils and fragrant flowers of the *tefui* symbolise "the sweet smells of life as opposed to the stench of death" (Howard, 1995). The *mamasa* is a celebration of the safe return of loved ones who braved the sea (or in contemporary times, braved the outside world). These cultural aspects are not made visible or explained audibly in Fuata's experience of the *mamasa.* Howard and Inia's discussion of the *mamasa* and *tefui* indicate a cosmological world which are simplified by images of food or broad descriptions. The depth and symbolism of the *mamasa* are not dealt with in Fuata's explanation and commentary, which is a generalised simplification to make it palatable for a New Zealand-Pasifika and Pan-Pacific audience.

The next part of Fuata's experience of the *mamasa* focuses on her daughter's experience. Figure 52 presents the next two film shot events in *Plot event 3 Mamasa, Shot 3.5 Ruby* and *Shot 3.6 Island Girl*

Figure 52 Shot 3.5 and Shot 3.6

Shot 3.5 Ruby

[V]   Images of Ruby, among others, eating the Rotuman food (q)

[A]   Diegetic sounds of people talking, laughing. (r)

[A]   Non-diegetic soundtrack of acoustic guitar music. (s)

[A]   Ngaire Voice over: Ruby's a pretty fussy eater back and home and is worried about Rotuman food
Ngaire to Ruby: "And you can eat with your fingers."
Ngaire Voice over. She's never eaten food like this before in her life. There seems to be plenty of food on the island, that's for sure. It was quite an experience in that the lovo just tasted so beautiful (t)

(q), (t) ⌣ Ruby, Shot 3.5

Shot 3.6
Island Girl

[V]   Mid closeup of Ngaire (u)

[A]   Diegetic sounds of people talking, laughing. (v)

[A]   Non-diegetic soundtrack of acoustic guitar music. (w)

[A]   Lucky I wore the ah , big ah cause it was one massive feed . It was awesome. I'm so, ah pleased that Ruby got absolutely stuck into it. She showed that she's a real island girl at heart (x)

(s) (x) ⌣ Island Girl, Shot 3.6

I begin by analysis and discussion of *Shot 3.5 Ruby* by determining its rhetorical relation or link with *Shot 3.4 Moving Ceremony* (Figure 51). The topic of Shot 3.5 is Ruby's possible reaction to eating Rotuman (island) food as she "has never eaten food like this before" (audio mode (t)). This is a shift in topic, indicating the end of one topic and the beginning of a new topic. Ruby is visually dominant (visual mode *(q)*), as established in the opening screen shot of the montage. Fuata's voiceover in audio mode *(t)* places Fuata as the audio subject in which she gives a pre-emptive explanation for Ruby's possible negative reaction to island food. In her voiceover, she changes topic from Ruby's gastronomic experience to the quantity and quality of food. The rhetorical relation that deals with changes or shifts in topic is Narration. Therefore, this is given as *Narration (Shot 3.4 Moving Ceremony, Shot 3.5 Ruby)*.

In *Shot 3.6 Island Girl*, visual mode *(u)* is a closeup of Fuata speaking to the camera. In her address (audio mode *(x)*), Fuata explains that she is pleased with her daughter as she "got absolutely stuck into it (eating the food)"; therefore, "She showed that she's a real island girl at heart". The diegetic comment mode *(x)* forms the topic or theme of this film shot. It also determines it rhetorical relation with Shot 3.5. Mode *(x)* elaborates on Ruby's positive attitude towards Rotuman food by placing that attitude within the context of island identity. Fuata's comment adds extra information about Ruby, i.e., specification. Therefore, *Elaboration(Shot 3.5 Ruby, Shot 3.6 Island Girl)*. Figure 53 presents the last two film shot events for *Plot Event 3 Mamasa*. But first is to identify the rhetorical link between *Shot 3.6 Island Girl* (Figure 52) and *Shot 3.7 Rotumans* (Figure 53).

In Shot 3.6, Fuata discusses in audio mode *(x)* Ruby's initiation into eating Rotuman Island food. Ruby enjoyed the food proving her inherent island heritage. In Shot 3.7 (Figure 53), the topic or thematic focus of 'island nature' broadens to the nature of Rotumans, as generally conservative (audio mode *(aa)*). Two possible rhetorical inferences can be made: 1) as Ruby has proven herself to be "island" at heart, and given that Rotumans are generally conversative, then conservativism is part of Ruby's island-ness, indicating an Elaboration about Ruby, or 2) Fuata is beginning a new topic indicating a new stage in the *mamasa* ceremony of which that stage is performance of *mamasa* songs, inferring a Narration relation. For the first option to occur, something in Shot 3.6 needs to be specified or detailed in Shot 3.7. In shot 3.6, visual mode *(u)* is a closeup of Fuata, so specification of a detail would have to come from Fuata's voiceover, i.e.,

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something about Ruby. Shot 3.7 (Figure 53) would then elaborate or specify that detail about Ruby. This does not happen, so this leaves the second option of Narration. In Shot 3.6, Fuata's closeup in visual mode *(u)* and comment (audio mode *(x)*) indicate the end of a stage of the *mamasa.* In her comment, she jokingly hints at being relieved at wearing baggy clothes to accommodate a full stomach from eating too much food. The other aspect is that in her closeup, Fuata's surroundings have changed, indicating a new spatial temporality. Therefore, given the composition of the visual image and the audio in Shot 3.6, the defeasible and stronger inference is *Narration (Shot 3.6 Island Girl, Shot 3.7 Rotumans).*

The last rhetorical relation to be determined in *Plot event 3 Mamasa* is between *Shot 3.7 Rotumans* and *3.8 Rotuman Fun*.

Figure 53 Shots 3.7 Rotumans and 3.8 Rotuman Fun

Shot 3.7 Rotumans

[V]	Screen shots of a long take of Rotumans performing traditional songs and dance (y)
[A]	Rotumans singing and Polynesian drums (z)
[A]	Ngaire Voiceover. I found generally Rotumans are quite conservative but during fara season, it's all about having fun (aa)

(y), (z), (aa) ⌣ Rotumans, Shot 3.7

Shot 3.8 Rotuman Fun
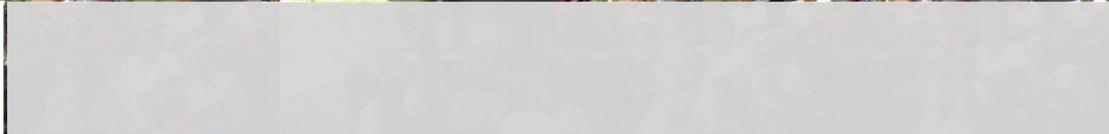
[V]	Long take and panning movement of one of the women singers running across with bottle of water to pour it over one of the musicians. (bb)
[A]	Rotumans singing, drums and guitars playing, laughing, and talking. (cc)
[A]	Ngaire Voiceover. And sometimes anything goes. When the talcum powder runs out, there's always something else (dd)
[A]	Fade in slow strumming of an acoustic guitar. (dd)

(bb), (cc), (dd), ⌣ Rotuman Fun, Shot 3.8

In Shot 3.7, the visual images in mode *(y)* are screenshots from a long take of Rotumans performing *sua* (song and dance) during the *mamasa*. In the images, the performers are covered in talcum powder. Everyone is involved in some way in this part of the *mamasa* either by performing, playing instruments, or singing in a choir to help reinforce the singing of the performers. Fuata, along with other newcomers and local dignitaries, is watching the performances. The audio mode of *(aa)* is a voiceover from Fuata explaining

why the dancers are covered in talcum powder, namely it is the *fara* season in which Rotumans abandon their reserve. Part of her voiceover states, "it's all about having fun".

In Shot 3.8, visual mode *(bb)* are screen shots of the camera panning or following a Rotuman woman with a bottle of water running towards the musicians to douse them with water. She runs back to where she was sitting, and she ends up having water poured over her. Visual mode *(bb)* complements the visual images of performing Rotumans in Shot 3.7. Audio mode *(dd)* in Shot 3.8 is another voice from Fuata in which she adds further verbal information about Rotumans having fun. In her voiceover in mode *(dd)*, Fuata says, "and sometimes anything goes". An Elaboration relation maintains the normal sequence of events as details are added to clarify and expand on previous details. Therefore, the Elaboration relation is expressed as *Elaboration (Shot 3.7 Rotumans, Shot 3.8 Rotuman Fun)*.

In this part of the *Mamasa* ceremony, Inia (2001) noted "in some instances, songs and dances were composed commemorating the voyages" (para 2). The songs performed at the *mamasa* are more than just entertainment. Howard (1995) writes the music and dances were composed for the *mamasa* to honour the accomplishments and adventures of the returnees. In other words, they are part of the oral literacy of Rotumans. Figure 54 gives the structure for *Plot Event 3 Mamasa*.

Figure 54 Plot Event 3 Mamasa
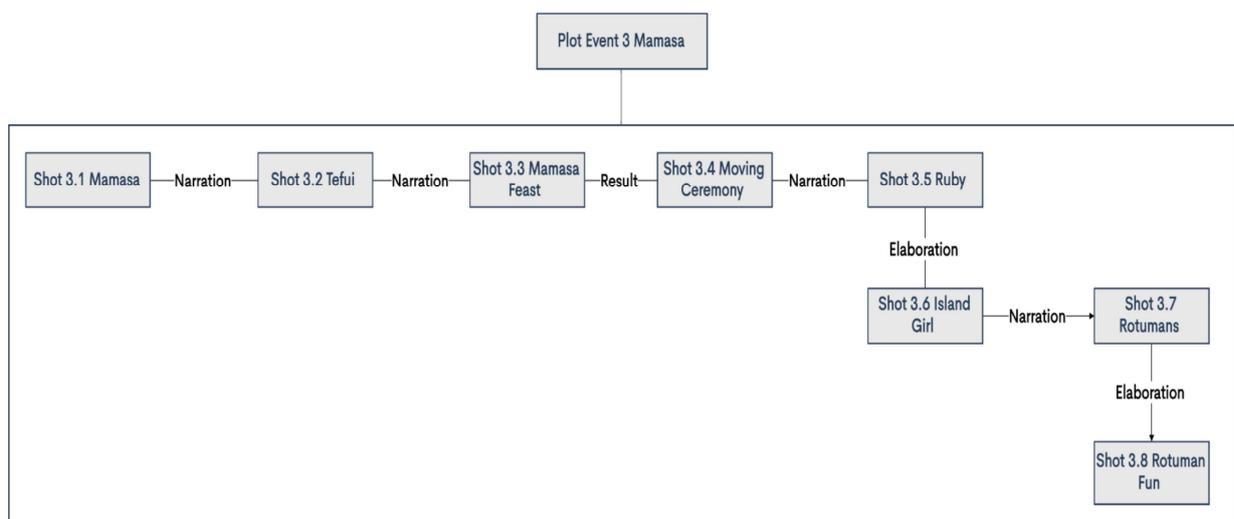
The structure of this plot event is dominated by the coordination relation of Narration. The reason are the changes of topics caused by Fuata's voiceovers. Based on the content

analyses of the film event shots, the coordination relations indicate the tight narrative control of Fuata's point-of-view and experience of the *mamasa*. Her voice is the only voice throughout the entire plot event. The actual ceremony is narrated by Fuata. The pivot film shot is Shot 3.5 where her daughter Ruby becomes a theme/topic, as described by Fuata. The Elaboration relation linking shots 3.5 and 3.6 imply an interesting aspect about Ruby's experience of the *Mamasa* – it is her initiation into the Rotuman world in which food is the door to that world. In enjoying the Rotuman food, Ruby is an island girl at heart i.e., she has shown her Pasifika roots. Ruby is given space in this plot event through Fuata's voiceover. The Narration relation between shot 3.6 and shot 3.7 steers the focus away from Ruby to the Rotumans, and it introduces the observations of Fuata based on participation in the *mamasa*. This gives Fuata the authority to talk about the *mamasa* and about Rotumans in general.

7.5 Summary.

In applying my adapted *Film Event Analysis Method* to *Plot event 1 First sighing of Rotuma*, *Plot Event 2 Ngaire and Ruby experience Fara*, and *Plot Event 3 Mamasa*, the analyses and discussions point to an extremely strict development and maintenance of Fuata's presence as the authoritative presenter. In these plot events, discourse space for the Rotumans to speak about themselves or their culture is minimal. She speaks for them through direct addresses to the camera or through non-diegetic voiceovers. The Rotumans, their environment and their culture are backdrops to Fuata's story, her point of view as a New Zealand-Pasifika, and her interpretation of Rotuman culture. However, Fuata does state in the opening prologue, "I'm Ngaire Fuata and this is my story". Thus, an expectation is that this programme is about her. But Parry makes the same claims when he states, "I want to know what it's like to be one of the tribe". This is the same narrative position as Fuata's position, yet unlike Fuata, the fluidity of the I-subject position is more evident in Parry's programmes in which sometimes he becomes the object as the Kombai and Anutans claim discourse narrative space. In the film shot events of the three key plot events in Fuata's programme, her extreme tight closeup shots, her voiceovers, and the montage of shots limit a Rotuman voice, even from the margins.

The *fara* and the *mamasa* are key cultural events and spaces in which Rotumans are less reserved. In Fuata's voiceovers of these events, gaps of information are present such as why use talcum powder in the *fara*, and what is the significance of *fara* season? These gaps are glossed over as a type of Rotuman equivalent to carolling. In the *mamasa*, its stages are not explained. Fuata provides a broad historical description of the ceremony, but explanations of the symbolism of the food and the *tefui* are missed in Fuata's experience. She discusses the *mamasa* as being very ceremonious which give a person a strong sense of belonging, but the images of the *mamasa* are of her receiving the *tefui* and of food. There is little indication of the ceremonial stages of the *mamasa* describe by Fuata, so a level of trust is required concerning Fuata's observation. Images of typical a Rotuman feast are typical images of feasts in Pasifika functions in general. These images along with the dancing and singing Rotumans are superficial accounts of a quite nuanced ceremony. The depth of the *mamasa* becomes a two-dimensional view of food, dancing, and singing and as such become archetypal of Pasifika functions.

The question of identity is important. For instance, Fuata emphasises that her daughter has never eaten island food before and, so was concerned about how her daughter would react. Yet, the daughter enjoyed the food indicating her inherent Pasifika roots. The implication is the relative 'ease' in which one who has grown up *fia palagi* (faux European) can claim Pasifika identity simply by visiting the islands.

Food at Pasifika festivals is a location. It is a space in which culture has been practiced and is rewarded. It is a location at which generations meet, where chiefs and commoners converge, and where oral histories are repeated through song and dance. Through such convergence, those at the feast are part of a social and cultural cosmology in which genealogies are confirmed, ancestors are present among the living through songs and dances which tell their stories, and where the social structures and social values are reaffirmed. The nuances are missed in the film representation of the *fara* and the *mamasa* because of the first-person dominance and strict maintenance of that dominance, eliminating other perspectives that could enrich understanding of these cultural events through forms of Pasifika ecoliteracy.

8. *The Last Hunter*. Leo Wambitman's Story

In this chapter, I analyse a short documentary film called *The Last Hunter* featuring Leo Wambitman. I include this programme as it is a Pasifika production from the Pacific, namely West Papua, featuring and produced by Pasifika peoples. I am interested in how the concepts of subject and object are dealt which in this short documentary film in comparison to ethnotainment programmes which are hybrid forms of documentary and reality television.

8.2 Programme Plot

In 1990, the Indonesian government turned Wasur wetlands into a national reserve for the purposes of maintaining eco-biodiversity and developing eco-tourism. Traditional hunting grounds used by endangered indigenous peoples are affected by this decision, as it has changed much of the cultural practices and social structures. Indigenous peoples can live on the reserve, but their cultural tradition of hunting certain animals and birds is severely impacted because of poaching from Indonesian soldiers who sell bush meat on the black market.

The Last Hunter is an eight-minute documentary. Leo Wambitman belongs to one of several endangered indigenous communities living in a national reserve called Wasur in Merauke, in the Indonesian province of West Papua. This programme follows Wambitman as he wanders through the park with his pack of hunting dogs looking for animals to hunt and how he earns a subsistence wage by cutting down trees to sell.

The main filming technique is the long take of a single action such as Wambitman walking through the reserve wetlands. The documentary's soundtrack consists of a non-diegetic music track of an acoustic guitar and the diegetic sound of the wetlands: cicadas, birds, wind through the trees, and water. Despite the minimal filming technique and sound, the narrative structure of this short documentary is complex. The shots include interview inserts with Wambitman in different locations and at different times within the wetlands or at his home. Wambitman tells his story. He is the only speaker in the film. His interviews are edited to act as voiceovers or actual interview moments. There is no clear method of organising the interviews and film events

according to a chronological structure. The structure of the film does not follow the traditional narrative arc of beginning, middle or end; it is organised according to themes. Linear narrative progression is unimportant. The film follows the structure based on Wambitman's oral narrative, in other words his own story within his own worldview.

The film develops the plot of exposing the effects of the Indonesian government's decision of nationalising indigenous lands. This short film is divided into the following thematic sub-events: *Sub-event 1 Man, Sub-event 2 The Park, Sub-event 3 Then and Now, Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences, Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gather, Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living, Sub-event 7 Affected peoples*, and *Sub-event 8 Relationship with the Wetlands.* (See Appendix 7 The Last Hunter for transcription of all sub-events). Analysis will focus on Sub-events 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The reason for choosing these sub-events is that they introduce the two protagonists: Wambitman, the Wasur Wetlands, and by implication the antagonists – the Indonesian military and poachers. These sub-events show the relationship between Wambitman and the Wetlands as well as how Indonesian actions of nationalising indigenous lands for the sake of protecting Wasur's biodiversity impact that relationship.

8.3 Sub-event 1 Man

The Last Hunter begins with a quick fade-in of a medium shot of an unnamed man standing in waist-high grass in an unnamed location preparing arrows and a bow (00:00:00 – 00:00:46). The diegetic sound is silence apart from the sounds of wind, a dog growling, and the sound of the man's wooden arrows knocking against each other. The camera is stationary as the man walks away carrying his bows and arrows across his shoulders. An ellipsis cut to an extreme long shot shows the man in a savanna. A fade in of the next shot is a tracking long-shot following the man and his pack of hunting dogs. At the same time, moderately paced music from a single acoustic guitar is added to the diegetic sounds of the savanna woods. This soundtrack is present throughout this sub-event and is it used for the rest of the documentary. An ellipsis cut moves to a long shot of the man surrounded by his pack of dogs walking across the screen. The title of the documentary *Pemburu Terakhir* (Translated: The Last Hunter) fades in. This shot, the title and the diegetic sound fades out to black screen. The only

sound is guitar music. Text fades in. The identity of the man as Leo Wambitman and location as Wasur Wetlands are revealed. The text is written Bahasa Indonesian and translated through subtitles.

The duration of this segmented event is 46 seconds. In this event, the only action is that of the man walking through grassy wetland. The dominant contributor to the diegetic soundtrack is silence. Figure 55 below presents *Sub-event1 Man.*

Figure 55 Sub-event 1 Man

Sub-event 1 Man	
[V]	Fade in mid profile shot of a man preparing arrows and bow. Walks away from camera (a)
[A]	Diegetic soundtrack of wind, dog growling. (b)
[V]	Cut to extreme long shot of the man in wooded and grassy wetlands (c)
[A]	Fade in to tracking long shot following the man and dogs walking through wetlands (d)
[V]	Ellipsis cut to long shot of the man and dogs walking across screen. Fade in film titles (e)
[A]	Fade in guitar music sound track to diegetic soundtrack (f)
[V]	Fade out visual mode (e) and fade in black screen and text (translated from Bahasa) Leo Wambitman lives in the Yanggandur village inside the Wasur National Park in Merauke. (g)
(a)- (f) |~ Man *(Sub-event 1)*	
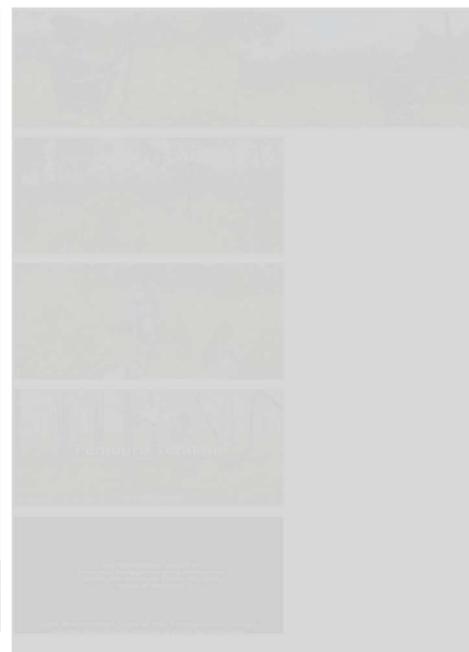
Programme analyses in the previous chapters are at the meso-level at which rhetorical relations between sub-events were identified. However, I analyse *Sub-event 1 The Man* at the micro-level to focus on identifying rhetorical relations between the audio and visual modes. The aim is to unpack the sub-event's structure which is basically a tracking long take with ellipsis editing transitions. In this sub-event, these modes are tagged *(a)*, *(b),* and so on.

Visual mode *(a)* is a mid-shot of a man (Wambitman at this stage is unnamed) preparing his bows and arrows begins his narrative. The point-of-view is third person. The man's mid-shot is the establishing shot to introduce the protagonist. Audio mode *(b)* is diegetic sound of dogs growling, and the natural sound of the park. This introduces the physical context of the man. There is little action, and no other sound. The rhetorical

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relation between the image of the man and the diegetic sounds is Parallel as modes *(a)* and *(b)* complement each other through their roles as establishing modes. Thus, *Parallel(Mid-shot of man(a), Diegetic sound (b))*.

Next, visual mode *(c)* is a cut to an extreme long-shot of the protagonist walking in his environment. This mode provides a wider perspective about the location given in the opening visual image of the mid-shot of the man *(a)*. In addition, the introductory diegetic sound of the park and growling dogs *(b)* are visually elaborated in mode *(c)*. The environment becomes visible. Therefore, the rhetorical relation expressing expansion of details is Elaboration linking *(c)* to both visual mode *(a)* and audio mode *(c)*. This rhetorical relation suits the spatial temporal condition in which aspects of mode *(c)* are already included in modes *(a)* and *(b)*. Therefore, *Elaboration(Mid-shot of man(a), Extreme long shot of man(c))* and *Elaboration(Diegetic sound(b), Extreme long shot of man(c))*.

The next visual mode *(d)* is a fade-in to a following tracking shot behind the man walking with his dogs through the wetlands. The editing transition in this visual mode does not introduce a new topic, but rather it is an ellipsis to take the viewer from the space of the extreme long shot of *(c)* to a social space of following behind the man through a tracking shot. In *(d)*, details are visible such as the type of grassland environment through which the man and his dogs are walking. This specific information is part of the expansive landscape shown in visual mode *(c)*. Therefore, the Elaboration relation between modes *(d)* and *(c)* is expressed as *Elaboration(Extreme long shot man(c), Following behind man(d))*.

Visual mode *(e)* is the man is walking through the same grassy environment but from a different camera perspective and filming technique. The filming technique of *(e)* is a stationary camera filming a long shot of the man walking across grasslands. This mode carries with it nuances which infer more than one rhetorical relation. At first glance, the only change from the tracking shot following behind the man in mode *(d)* to the long shot of man walking across screen in mode *(e)* is the camera angle and camera shot. A plausible inference is that mode *(e)* is a Continuation of already established action. However, in mode *(e)* the fade-in of the programme's title at the end of the man's action of walking weakens that inference and implies another possible relation. After 46 seconds of following the wanderings of a nameless man in a nameless location, the programme's title fills in these information gaps. The programme is about The (with

capital T) last hunter. A plausible argument is that a topic has been introduced implying a Narration rhetorical relation. Yet, the implication, while plausible, is also weak. The reason is the repetitive images of a nameless man walking through grassy savanna in a nameless location. Information about the man comes in mode *(e)* through the fade in of the programme's title. The implication is the second mode specifies the first mode, namely an Elaboration. Therefore, *Elaboration(Following behind man(d), Man walking across grass(e))*.

The other type of audio mode *(f)* is a fade in of music of an acoustic guitar. The lone guitar plucking and strumming of a moderately paced tune is simple; the rhythm while rhythmically up tempo has a sad pathos, as it is the only instrument providing background music. The music reflects the pathos of the protagonist as the last hunter, and it becomes the signature tune for The Hunter and the park. The rhetorical relation linking mode *(f)* to the long shot of the man walking across grassland (mode *(e)*) is Continuation as the acoustic guitar music maintains the theme that the man is The Last Hunter; hence *Continuation(Man walking across grass(e), Acoustic guitar(f))*.

Audio mode *(f)* as a transition to visual mode *(g)* which is the climax of this sub-event. Mode *(g)* is a fade to black-screen-with-text naming The Last Hunter as Leo Wambitman. The location of Wambitman is also identified as Wasur National Park. Mode *(g)* is the beginning of the plot of this documentary. This mode ends the namelessness of the man and the park. The rhetorical relation in which one event occasions another, in other words introduces a new topic, is Narration. Thus, *Narration(Acoustic guitar(f), Hunter and Park named(g))*. Figure 56 outlines the rhetorical relations that build the structure of this documentary's first sub-event, *Sub-event 1 Man*.

The structure of *Sub-event 1 Man* shows a dominance of the subordination rhetorical relation of Elaboration. A reason is that small details are incrementally added through the Elaboration relation to build to a climax of full information disclosure at the end of this sub-event. This is comparison to plot instances in the Anutan or the Kombai programmes where these subordination relations are used to subvert major narratives to bring forward minor or repressed narratives.

Figure 56 Structure for Sub-event 1 Man
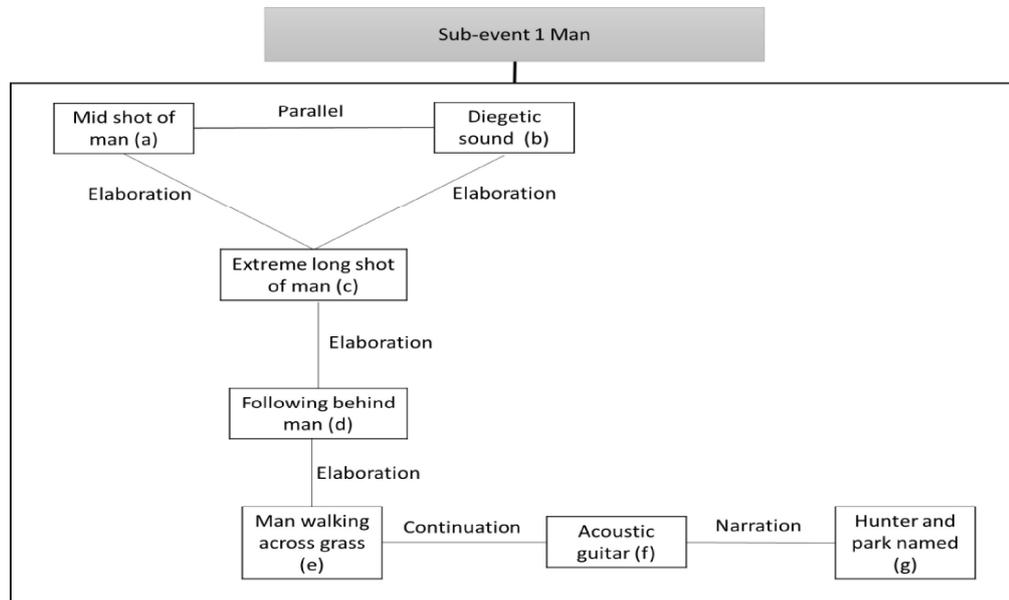
Absent in this sub-event are competing voices or stories. The Parallel rhetorical relation emphasises an important aspect which is continued throughout the short documentary. Visual mode *(a)* is the first introductory image of Wambitman and audio sounds of light wind through grass and Wambitman's dogs *(b)* are the first introduction to the voice of the environment. For a Parallel relation to hold between these two film modes, a level of semantic and structural isomorphism is required. The stronger the isomorphism, the stronger the Parallel relation. Initially, modes *(a)* and *(b)* are different types of modes, making inferences of structural similarity difficult. However, they develop a similar topic. The diegetic audio of *(b)* represents the environment, and it is consistent throughout the sub-event. Through the Parallel relation and through the Elaboration relation, the park, is both seen and heard. This interpretation can be applied to the visual shot of Wambitman. He is both seen and heard interacting with the environment. The isomorphism of the visual and audio modes is metaphysical. The Parallel rhetorical relation links the protagonist Wambitman with Wasur National Park. The Parallel relation introduces the park's voice as a co-protagonist alongside Wambitman, as the stories of these two co-protagonists are told in parallel of each other. This leads to the next sub-event which is Wasur National Park itself.

8.3 Sub-event 2 The Park

This sub-event is a visual montage of 10 shots of the biodiversity of Wasur National Park (00:00:47- 00:01:31. See Appendix 7 for transcription). The montage is accompanied by the acoustic guitar soundtrack. In some places of the montage, the images of the park fade to black-screens-with-text to provide background information as to when the Indonesian government nationalised the wetlands and turned the area into a nature reserve. This sub-event tells the story of the park. Figure 57 presents still shots of the montage for *Sub-event 2 The Park.*

Figure 57 Sub-event 2 The Park
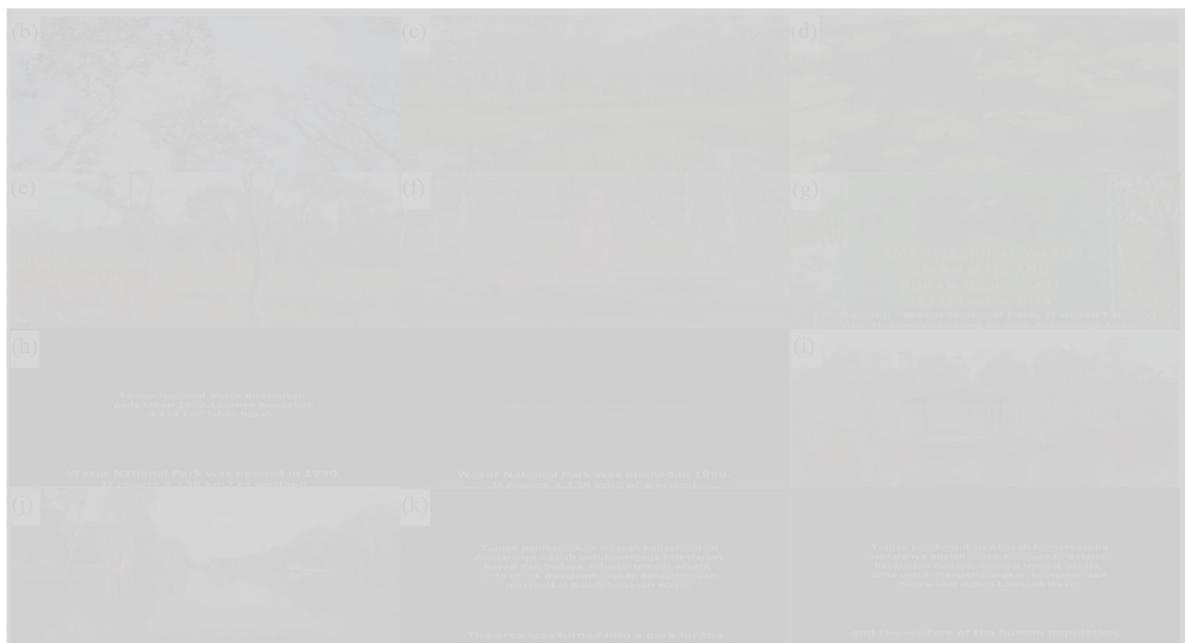
Sub-event 2 The Park	
[A]	Acoustic guitar music and diegetic sounds of the wetlands of the national park (a)
[V]	**[Start of montage]** Low angle long shot of the tree canopy and sky. Camera panning in a 360 degree circle. (b)
[V]	Fade in: extreme long shot of grassy wetlands surrounded by the trees shown in previous shot. (c)
[V]	Fade in : medium shot of a water way (from the grassy wetlands in previous shot) covered in lily pads (d)
[V]	Cut to an extreme long shot of termite hills in another part of the wetlands. (e)
[V]	Cut to long shot of solitary termite hill (one of the hills shown in (e)) (f)
[V]	Cut to green sign for park: Text translated as: Wasur National Park. It doesn't belong to me. It doesn't belong to you. It belongs to us. Fade to black screen (g)
[V]	Fade in text: translated as "Wasur National Park was opened in 1990- It covers 4,138 km^2 of wetland. (h)
[V]	Fade in shot of a boardwalk and derelict pagoda in middle of a river. (i)
[V]	Cut to extreme long shot of the boardwalk and derelict pagoda (j)
[V]	Fade in black screen and text translated as: " The area was turned into a park for the conservation of its biodiversity eco-tourism and the welfare of the human population." **[Montage end]** (k)
(a) – (k) |~ The Park *(Sub-event 2)*	

In this montage, the main editing technique from one film shot to the next is a fade-in or a cut. Audio mode *(a)* is the signature soundtrack of acoustic guitar music, and the diegetic sound of the park, and it plays throughout the entire montage. This audio mode does more than provide atmosphere. It is the park's 'voice. Visual modes *(b) – (k)* are images of the different environments of Wasur National Park.

The beginning of the visual montage is a low-angled extreme long shot of the sky and treetops (visual mode *(b)*). The framing of this shot communicates little, as contextual information is missing. This shot is disorienting as the camera movement is a slow 360° pan. This is the establishing shot for the montage. A fade-in transitions to a wide-angled long-shot at eye-level of grassy wetlands. In the background of this image is a wood grove. The background of this shot provides the context information missing in visual mode *(b)*. The low angle shot of the treetops in *(b)* form the wood grove in the background of the grassy wetlands in mode *(c)*. Mode (c) contextualises the treetops in mode *(b)* by locating them through circumstantial information, which is a condition for the Background rhetorical relation. Therefore, *Background(Tree canopy(b), Grass wetlands(c))*. These visual modes show the open savanna territories of the park. "Roughly 70% of the park is made up of savanna territories – open canopy plains that consist of a mixture of grasslands and woods" (savingwetlands.com)[29].

A cross-fade shifts to visual mode *(d)*. This image is a medium shot, from the perspective of looking down, of lily pads covering the surface of a pond. This is part of the grassy wetlands shown in visual mode *(c)*. Mode *(d)* is a closer look or specification of the grassy wetlands. Therefore, through specification, the rhetorical relation linking these modes is *Elaboration(Grass wetlands(c), Lily Pond(d))*.

A straight cut transitions from the lily pond to an extreme long shot of the savanna woods and surrounding bush in visual mode *(e)*. Mode *(e)* is a different environment setting compared to the grassy wetlands. Mode *(e)* is an image of an open canopy plain in which the dominant feature are patches of reddish-brown dirt and, in the background, tall termite mounds. Because of the substantial difference in environments shown in the visual modes, the straight cut becomes the film element to determine the rhetorical relation between visual modes *(d)* and *(e)*. The straight cut is an abrupt transition from one location to the next indicating a new topic or theme. The straight

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[29] https://www.savingwetlands.com/wetland-restoration/the-wasur-national-park/

cut signifies the end of the grassy wetlands and the introduction of a new and divergent location within Wasur (which is the common or shared location and, therefore, topic or theme). The rhetorical relation suited to this temporal and thematic conditions in which mode *(d)* occasions mode *(e)* is Narration. Therefore, the defeasible relation is *Narration(Lily pond(d), Bush(e))*

The transition from the extreme long shot of savanna woodland in *(e)* to visual mode *(f)* is a fade-in. Mode *(f)* is a medium long shot of a giant termite mound. Details not clearly visible in the extreme long shot in *(e)* is specified in mode *(f)*. Through the condition of specification, the inferred rhetorical relation is *Elaboration (Bush(e), Termite mound(f))*. The image of the giant termite mound (also known as village) is important. Giant termite villages are one of the visitors' attractions in the Wasur Wetlands. So far in this documentary, the termite village is the only visible sign of life. A straight cut moves the image from the termite village to a green information sign about the park, written in Bahasa Indonesian. This visual mode is tagged *(g)*. The message of the green sign, as given in the documentary's sub-titles, says: "It doesn't belong to you. It doesn't belong to me. It belongs to us". The statement "it belongs to us" reinforces the Indonesian government's nationalisation of the Wasur wetlands. The remaining statements "it doesn't belong to you. It doesn't belong me" become themes developed in the documentary. In *Sub-event 1 Man*, Leo Wambitman is introduced as one of the indigenous communities living in Wasur wetlands. The wetlands are traditional and customary lands. Yet, the sentiment of the information sign is defiant and definitive, and an assumption is the subordination of indigenous customary ownership by national ownership. Up until this point, the visual montage of *Sub-event 2 The Park* has showcased the biodiversity of Wasur National Park, and the last image of this biodiversity is a medium long shot of a giant termite village (mode *(f)*). The straight cut from the natural environment to a man-made fixture signals the end of Wasur's natural wonders to an artificial construct – an imposed element – as indicated by the green metal sign in the visual mode *Park sign(g)*. Visual mode *(g)* introduces the topic of Wasur's status as a national asset. The rhetorical relation demonstrating this is Narration, namely *Narration(Termite mound(f), Park sign(g))*.

Mode *(g)* fades out to the next visual mode *(h)*. Mode *(h)* is a black screen on which text about the Wasur Wetlands fade in. Mode *(h)* gives details as to when the wetlands were turned into a national park and its size. The black-screen-with-text is

used in this documentary to give information without the need to introduce another voice. This documentary tells the stories of Wasur and of Wambitman, and their voices, in the case of Wasur a conceptual voice, are the only voices in the film.

The use of the black-screen-with-text method in mode *(h)* leads to three possible inferences of rhetorical relations to link it with the image of the park sign in mode *(g)*: Background, Elaboration and Explanation[30]. Based on semantic conditions of the possible inferences of rhetorical relations, the strongest inference is Background.

Mode *(h)* is a post-production technique added to the story of Wasur's history as a national park. Mode *(h)* is not part of the montage story world of Wasur; rather it is an interruption. The conditions inferring a Background relation is that Event-2 provides contextual or circumstantial details about something in Event-1. The two events do not have to share the same location nor resemble each other in structure and composition, but they must share the same topic. The Background relation deals with the interruption of the visual montages of the park by a post-production addition as well as the different locations of the modes *(g)* and *(h)*. The topic shared by these two modes is Wasur. Information about Wasur's nationalisation and its size (mode *(h)*) is contextual information regarding the statements on Wasur's information sign (mode *(g)*). Therefore, *Background(Park Sign(g), Info Park Nationalisation(h))*.

Figure 58 illustrates the remaining visual modes *(i)* to *(k)* in this montage. I tag them: *Pier(i), River(j),* and *Info Conservation(k)*. In summary, visual mode *(i)* is a long shot of a pier. A straight cut from mode *(i)* to the next mode *River(j)* changes camera angle from a long shot of the pier to an extreme long shot of the same structure, but with more details about the surroundings. Visible in the extreme long shot is the expanse of the river and the artificial green of the sign see in the visual mode *Park sign(g).* The transition from mode *(j)* to the following mode *Info Conservation(k)* is a cross-fade to white text on a black screen stating, "The area was turned into a park for the

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[30] The first possible inference is **Elaboration** in that mode *(g)* specifies or expands information in mode *(h)*. *Specification* as a condition for Elaboration cannot be made here because of the temporal constraint in which the Event-B must be included in Event-A. Information in *(h)* is not part of the information shown in the visual mode *(g)*.

The second possible inference is **Explanation**. For this to happen, a *cause* must be present. Visual mode *(h)* must have caused visual mode *(g)*, which is a converse order of events (another condition for an Explanation relation). While Explanation is a plausible inference, the issue is that mode *(h)* is a post-production addition. For an Explanation relation to be inferred, the *cause* must be a part of the filmed story world or discourse context. The 'Black-screen-fade-in-information-text' technique is a post-production addition to Wasur park's narrative, but it is not part of the world of the park.

conservation of its biodiversity, eco-tourism and the welfare of the human population".
This summary indicates the visual order of the visual modes, but it does not indicate the
actual rhetorical structure of modes *(h) – (k)*.

Figure 58 Modes (h)- (k) of *Sub-Event 2 The Park*
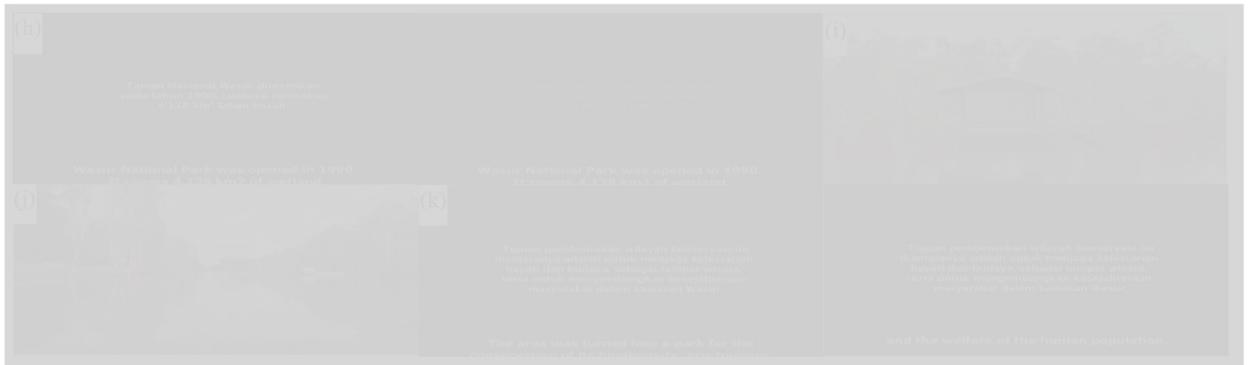
The images in visual modes *Pier(i)* and *River(j)* are of an artificial construction in the
pristine biodiversity of Wasur. The subject shared by visual modes *(i)* and *(j)* assumes
their natural pairing. These images are basically one scene shot from different angles.
Mode *(i)* is a long shot of the pier, while a straight cut leads to an extreme long shot of
the pier in mode *(j)*. The long shot introduces the pier's surrounding environment
revealing how far the pier extends into the middle of the river. This is visual movement
from a specific and limited context to a wider context. Visual mode *(j)* contextualises
the pier by emphasising its imposition in the pristine waterways of Wasur. A defeasible
inference is Background. While the visual modes deal with the same topic, they offer
different perspectives in viewing the pier. Thus, *Background(Pier(i), River(j))*.

This pier was built for the purpose of ecotourism as implied in the visual
modes of *Info Park Nationalisation(h)* and *Info Conservation(k)*. In these modes, the
text reads: "The area was turned into a park for conservation of its biodiversity,
ecotourism *(mode (h))*, and the welfare of the human population" *(mode (k))*. These
modes also form a natural pairing as they, first, develop the topic of the nationalisation
of Wasur and, secondly, goals for such a decision. This is a continuation in the
development of a single topic. Both pieces of information are of equal value. Therefore,
the Continuation rhetorical relation is inferred to illustrate this narrative progression, in
other words *Continuation(Info Park Nationalisation(h), Info conservation(k))*.

In the mode pair *(i)* and *(j),* the images show a derelict pier. Its condition contradicts the good intentions of nationalisation as described in the visual modes *(h)* and *(k)*. Dereliction indicates negligence rather than preservation. The extreme long shot of the derelict structure is a metaphor for the failed goals of nationalisation in that they are also an extreme long shot. A defeasible inference is that the Contrast relation links the two pair of modes. The Contrast relation requires a degree of isomorphism. In this case, isomorphism is achieved conceptually. Both the visual and text modes convey the topic of a national park which is topical isomorphism. The contrast relation implies differences in meaning in developing that topic in that the visual images in modes *(i)* and *(j)* do not match the literal aims of the information text in modes *(h)* and *(k)*. Instead, the derelict pier in the visual modes *(i)* and *(j)* adds a touch of irony to the communicative goodwill intention of the text in modes *(h)* and *(k)*. Given that each mode linked with a rhetorical relation to a partner mode, the rhetorical relation of Contrast links the two pairs of modes, and this is expressed as *Contrast([Background(Pier (i), River (j))],[Continuation (Info Park Nationalisation(h), Info Conservation(k))])*.

After identifying the rhetorical relations for the visual modes in *Sub-event 2 The Park*, its structure is presented in Figure 59. In sub-event's structure, the visual modes form the contents of the montage while the audio mode of acoustic music lies outside as a constant and continuous mode during the entire montage. Wasur National Park is introduced with its own story containing its own tensions and conflicts.

Figure 59 Structure for *Sub-event 2 The Park*
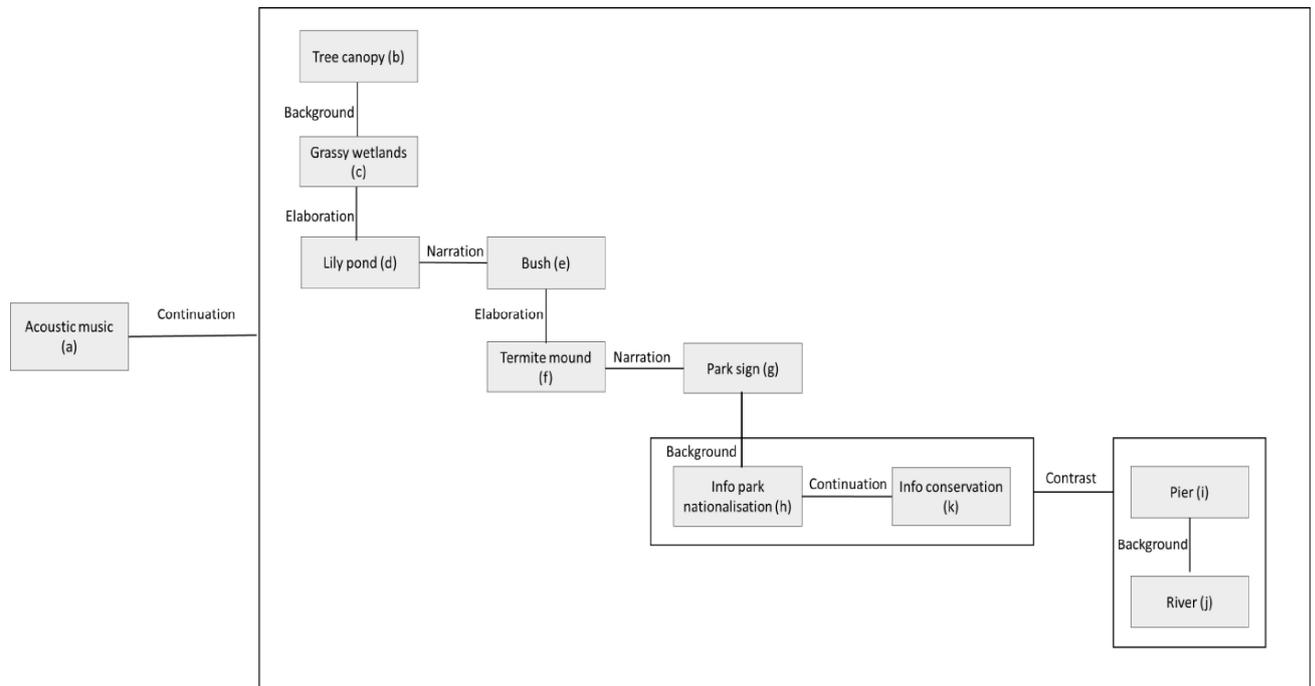
The Narration relation introduces the theme of the Park's biodiversity. The Elaboration relation, through its condition of specification, requires a closer look at certain aspects of Wasur Park to see what is present (and by implicature absent) in the park. The subordination relation of Background between visual modes *(b)* and *(c)* to provide contextual information to locate the treetop canopy to orientate the viewer, visually disorientated and lost from the 360-degree camera pan at an extreme low angle (particularly as this is the establishing shot). The Background relation between modes *(g)* and *(h)* deals with the shift from the park's biodiversity to the park sign. The Background relation indicates the image of park sign a foreign element in a montage showcasing the park's biodiversity. The subordination relations of Elaboration and Background suggest tensions in the narrative of Wasur National Park. The Contrast relation compounds and climaxes the tension by subtly showing the effects of nationalisation, and the façade of such an action.

Camera angles and filming techniques in *Sub-event 2 The Park*, based on camera angles and filming techniques, is important in visually telling the Park's story. As presented in the screen shot montage in Figure 56, the first visual shot is a low angle extreme long shot with a 360-degree pan. This shot is followed with an eye-level view

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of the wetland, which is, in turn, followed by a medium high-angle view of part of the wetland, and so on. Nominally, the point-of-view is third person. Yet, given that no one is present in the shots, the movement of the camera imitates the gaze of a person looking around the national park. The camera, through its lens, becomes an implied spectator in the story of Wasur Park. Thus, the camera is more than a mechanical box filming and recording an event, place, or person. The camera is anthropomorphic in that the camera is "used to simulate some feature of human embodiment" (Branigan, 2006, p.37).

The framing of the film shots, through camera movement or non-movement, imitates the human gaze of seeing and looking. The camera shots in this montage imitate the gaze for instance looking up and around, looking at something from a distance, drawing close to a particular object of interest for specific details, or looking down at something from standing level. The anthropomorphic camera is trying to see-as (Allen, R., 1993, 1997) the story of the park. To see-as is to choose a perspective which transforms that object. This goes beyond just seeing the park as a park (i.e., to see in). The camera seeing-as (Allen, R., 1993, 1997) the park gazes beyond what is present. It gazes at absence. The rhetorical relations of Elaboration and Narration support the anthropomorphism of the camera. Vivienne Sobchack (1992) takes the role of the camera in moving images further when she explains that the camera is more than a mechanical instrument simulating the human feature of the gaze, but it is in itself "a subject that sees and moves and expresses perception" (Sobchack, 1992, p.327). From this standpoint, the camera's gaze, and movement "appropriates the natural space of the world and makes it anthropological in shape" (Sobchack 1992, p.328). Sobchack's discussion of a camera's anthropomorphic gaze and movement is applicable given that the park is a conceptual protagonist with a story. Due to the lack of a human voice, the camera is the proverbial agent to show the story. The camera is immersed in the natural space of the park and from there becomes the park's anthropological eye. This anthropological eye notices that something is amiss in this park. Wasur Park presents the appearance of abundance biodiversity, but the reality of this park is there are no animals. The only sign of life is a termite mound. The clue as to the lack of biodiversity is found in the visual shots of the foreign man-made elements in the park.

8.4 Sub-event 3 Then and Now

Sub-event 3 Then and Now (00:01:37 – 00:02:16) has nine film shots (see Appendix 7 for transcription) and an accompanying voiceover soundtrack which is a monologue from Wambitman. Wambitman's audio is used either as a voiceover accompanying extreme or medium long shots of him and his dogs or used as diegetic audio in closeup shots of him speaking directly to the camera. In this Sub-event, Wambitman is walking through the park looking for prey to hunt, but apart from bird song, the park is devoid of animal life. Animals such as wild pig, the tree kangaroo, and other marsupials are extinct. Wambitman spends most of the day looking for prey but is unsuccessful. The last image is of him sitting on a log surrounded by his dogs and a small puppy on his lap. He is patting the puppy saying it is time to go home.

The label 'then and now' illustrates the relationship between the visual and audio modes. The monologue of Wambitman is in the past tense as he describes former times of plentiful hunting. The visual images are of the current situation of Wambitman wandering the wetlands in search of prey that are extremely scarce. The past is juxtaposed against the present; the visual modes are juxtaposed against the audio. The composition of each shot is similar in that most contain a shot of Wambitman and an audio of him speaking, either as a voiceover or through direct speech. Variation in the composition of each shot and the camera movement is minimal. Despite similarities in shot composition, the juxtapositions of opposites reveal a Contrast relation holding between the audio and visual modes in these sub-events. This is the 'grand' or macro relation contextualising the internal rhetorical relations binding individual shots to each other.

The nine shots of *Sub-event 3 Then and Now* are presented as a series of tables followed by a discussion of each table. See Figure 60 for the first five shots.

8.4.1 Shots 1 to 5 of Sub-event 3 Then and Now

Figure 60 *Shot1* to *Shot5* for *Sub-Event 3 Then and Now*

Shot₁ Out hunting
[V] Long shot of Wambitman walking through long grass. (a)
[A] Diegetic sound of Wambitman walking through grass, guitar music (b)
(a), (b) |~ Out hunting *(Shot₁)*

Shot₂ Old Days
[V] High angle shot looking down at dogs with Wambitman. (c)
[A] Diegetic sound of Wambitman walking through grass, fade out guitar music (d)
[A] Wambitman voiceover (translated): *In the old days, we only needed to walk a short distance before the dogs would bark because they saw animals* (e)
(c), (e) |~ Old days   *(Shot₂)*

Shot ₃ The Chase
[V] Head shot of Wambitman talking to camera . (f)
[A] Diegetic sound of Wambitman walking through grass, fade out guitar music (g)
[A] Wambitman voiceover (translated): "They would chase the animals and you could hear when the dogs managed to bite thei prey. "(h)
(f), (h) |~ The Chase *(Shot ₃)*

Shot ₄ Plentiful prey
[V] Tracking mid shot following Wambitman(i)
[A] Diegetic sound of him walking through water (j)
[A] Wambitman voiceover (translated): *It didn't take long to find animals to hunt. Just a short walk from the house.* (k)
(i), (k)|~ plentiful prey *(Shot ₄)*

Shot ⁵ Good Hunting
[V] Stationary low angle frontal mid shot of Wambitman talking to camera (l)
[A] Diegetic sound of him walking through water (m)
Diegetic audio: Wambitman talking to camera (translated): "The dogs were able to easily hunt". (n)
(l), (n) |~ Good hunting *(Shot ⁵)*
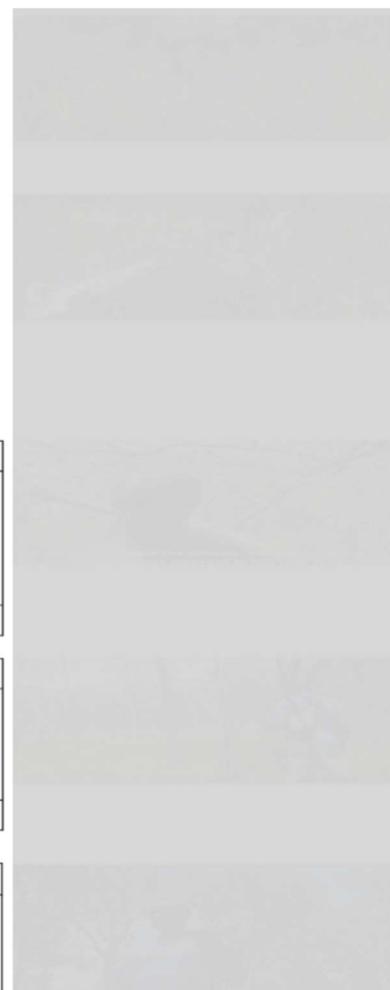
Shot 1 Out Hunting is a tracking long shot following Wambitman (visual mode *(a)*), making this an establishing shot. In *Shot 2 Old Days,* as the camera tracks Wambitman, the camera 'looks down' to capture a high angle shot of Wambitman's dogs (visual mode *(c)*). In these two shots, the image of Wambitman in *(a)* is developed by the image of the dogs in *(c)*. Visual mode *(c)* provides a reason or cause for visual mode *(a)*. Nonetheless, the visual modes do not establish the rhetorical link between shots; rather they set the scene for Wambitman's audio voiceover tagged *(e)* in Shot 2.

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In audio mode *(e)*, Wambitman's voiceover says, "In the old days, we only needed to walk a short distance before the dogs would bark because they saw animals". Through mode *(e)*, Wambitman's dogs become narrative elements. The story of Wambitman's past hunting days is also the story of his dogs' past hunting days, as assumed by his use of 'we'. Audio mode *(e)* is the dominant mode inferring the rhetorical relation linking *Shot1 Out Hunting* and *Shot2 Old Days,* which is Narration as it is the beginning of Wambitman's oral story. Therefore, *Narration (Shot1 Out Hunting, Shot2 Old Days)*.

A straight cut is the transition from Shot 2 to *Shot3 The Chase.* Audio mode *(h)* is his diegetic comment in which he says, "They would chase the animals and you could hear them when the dog managed to bite their prey". Audio mode *(h)* describes what the dogs do when they catch a prey. It adds further detail about the dogs introduced in Shot 2. Meanwhile, visual mode *(f)* is a closeup of Wambitman providing further details about him. Through the closeup*,* details of Wamtibman's face are finally revealed. Up until this point, the first shot of him is a medium profile shot, and subsequent shots of him are long shots. The closeup of Wambitman creates a space of familiarity through being able to see defining facial features and being able to read his face as he speaks. Therefore, visual mode *(f)* is an Elaboration of the physical presence of Wambitman established earlier and in Shot 2. Through this shot's visual and audio modes, the inferred relation between the Shots 2 and 3 is *Elaboration (Shot2 Old Days* and *Shot3 The Chase)*

The transition from Shot 3 to *Shot 4 Plentiful Prey* is a cut back to a tracking long shot following Wambitman (visual mode *(i)*). The filming technique in mode *(i)* can be interpreted as having the following roles: 1) it returns to the visual filming technique and theme in *Shot 1* in which mode *(i)* reiterates the topic of out hunting, or 2) mode *(i)* is visual link or transition between the closeup of Wambitman in Shots 3 and 5. Audio mode *(k)* in Shot 4 is of Wambitman saying, "It didn't take long to find animals, just a short walk from the house". This audio mode reiterates the point Wambitman makes about his dogs in *Shot2 Old Days,* and it continues the theme of his dogs hunting in Shot 3. Because of the ambiguity of visual mode *(i)*, audio mode *(k)* determines the rhetorical relation which is Continuation: *Continuation(Shot 3 The chase, Shot4 Plentiful Prey).*

Shot 5 Good Hunting is a cut back to a low-angle medium shot of Wambitman talking to the camera (visual mode *(l)*). The composition of Wambitman is unusual as the camera's low angle forces the view of looking up at Wambitman. A possible reason could be found in this shot's audio mode (*n*) in which he says, "The dogs were able to easily hunt". Therefore, the low angle in visual mode *(i)* can be interpreted as imitating the point-of-view of his hunting dogs. This is a defeasible interpretation as the dogs are part of his dialogue, and as already stated, Wambitman's past and present hunting experiences are also his dogs' past and present hunting experiences. Visual mode *(i)* continues and concludes the theme of good hunting days in the past. The theme of his comments in audio mode (*n*) continues the theme of his dialogue in *Shot 4 Plentiful Prey*. Therefore, the inferred rhetorical relation holding between shots 4 and 5 is *Continuation(Shot 4 Plentiful Prey, Shot 5 Good Hunting)*. Now that the rhetorical relations holding between *Shots 1 – 5* are given, analysis and discussion for the visual and audio modes in the remaining *Shots 6 - 8* for *Sub-event 3 Now and Then* follows.

8.4.2 Shots 6 - 9 for Sub-event 3 Then and Now

In *Shot 6 Looking for Prey*, the visual mode tagged *(o)* is a stationary camera filming an extreme long shot of Wambitman and his dogs walking across the shot. The point-of-view is omniscient. This widens the perspective to include and bring into focus Wambitman's hunting grounds which is Wasur. Wambitman, as the protagonist-actor, is minimised to give visual and discourse space to the park as a co-protagonist. The shift of focus from Wambitman to the Wasur Park is also illustrated in the audio modes of these shots. While closely related to the topics in the previous shots, the topic of Shot 6, has a different focus. Shots 1-5 focus on good hunting in the past; however, Shot 6 introduces the topic of the scarcity of fauna in the Wetlands as the present situation. Figure 61 outlines the visual and audio modes for shots 6 to 9 for *Sub-event 3 Then and Now*.

Figure 61 Shots 6-8 in *Sub-event 3 Then and Now*

Shot 6	Looking for Prey
[V]	Stationary long shot of Leo and dogs walking through wetlands (o)
[A]	Diegetic sound of him walking through water (p)
[A]	Wambitman Voiceover (translated): *You can't find 'tuban' [small native marsupial] anymore (q)*

(o), (p), (q) |~ Looking for Prey *(Shot 6)*

Shot 7	No prey
[V]	Stationary low angle frontal mid shot of Wambitman talking to camera (r)
[A]	Diegetic sound of him walking through water (s)
	Diegetic audio: Wambitman talking to camera (translated) "You can't fine 'saham' [tree kangaroo] or deer either" (t)

(r), (t)|~ no prey *(Shot 7)*

Shot 8	Empty
[V]	Stationary long shot of Leo and dogs walking through wetlands in direction of camera (u)
[A]	Wambitman voice over (translated): *It's empty now in the park. You can only see tree branches moving. Maybe birds.* (v)

(u) , (v) |~ Empty *(Shot8)*

Shot 9	Nothing
[V]	Profile mid close up of Wambitman talking (w)
[A]	Diegetic audio: Wambitman talking to camera (translated): "No more animals. Nothing". (laugh) (x)

(w), (x) |~ Nothing *(Shot 9)*

In Shot 6, audio mode (*q*), Wambitman states, "You can't find Tuban anymore". The long shot of Wambitman in visual mode (*o*) emphasises the expanse of Wambitman's hunting grounds as well as the emptiness of that expanse. The national park in its role as co-protagonist also performs a form of action. Wasur cannot do what it used to do in the past; it cannot give. Its imposed subjectivity as a national reserve is subverted by the emptiness of fauna. Wambitman's environmental surroundings are lush and green inferring fertility, but the only beings in this environment are him and his dogs. The introduction of a new topic strongly infers a Narration relation binding shot 5 to shot 6, namely *Narration(Shot5 Good Hunting*, *Shot6 Looking for Prey)*.

Audio mode *(t)* in Shot 7 is Wambitman talking to the camera saying, "You can't find saham anymore or deer either". His diegetic comment complements audio mode *(q)* in Shot 6 in which Wambitman states, "you can't find 'tuban' anymore". His comments in both two shots repeat the key phrase "you can't find...". As each phrase is uttered, additional details on what cannot be found in the park are given. A defeasible assumption is that a Continuation relation links shots 6 and 7 as he is listing animals he

used to catch, and which are, currently, scarce. A Continuation relation is a coordination relation in which the events in Shot 6 and Shot 7 are of equal value and that one does not subordinate the other[31]. In Shots 6-7, the repetitive structure of Wambitmans comments implies Continuation relation linking these shots: *Continuation(Shot 6 Looking for Prey, Shot 7 No Prey).*

In *Shot 8 Empty*, audio mode *(v)* is an interview excerpt from Wambitman used as voiceover: "It's empty now in the park, you can only see the branches moving, maybe birds". This mode accompanies visual mode *(u)* which is an extreme long shot of Wambitman wandering through a green grassy marshland absent of fauna. Rather than list information, Shot 8 establishes a consequential cause by the scarcity of animals. The consequence is emptiness. After listing the animals which have disappeared, Wambitman's comment in mode (v) is conclusive. The emptiness of the park is a result of the lack of animals. A Result relation is inferred if 'Event-1' leads to result or consequences in 'Event-2'. The condition to infer this relation is cause. Wildfeuer (2014) explains that the Result relation infers temporal succession of Event-1 followed by Event-2. The discourse context of the film events must provide evidence of a cause and the maintenance of the consequential succession of events. These conditions are met as Shots 6 and 7 evidence the conclusive consequence of emptiness in Shot 8. Therefore, *Result(Shot 7 No Prey, Shot 8 Empty)*.

Shot 9 Nothing is a declarative statement. Audio mode *(x)* reiterates and finalises Wasur's and Wambitman's current situation in that there is "No more animals. Nothing". This is equivalent to exclamation mark to punctuate the theme of Empty in Shot 8. Wambitman is repeating himself, but audio mode *(x)*, is a stronger expression of his comment in Shot 8. To state "no more animals. Nothing" infer little hope of animals returning to the park. Therefore, the rhetorical relation suited to this dynamic is *Continuation(Shot 8 Empty, Shot 9 Nothing)*.

Figure 62 outlines the structure of *Sub-event 3 Then and now*.

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[31] While the audio modes in Shots 6 and 7 suggest a Continuation relation, another possible rhetorical contender is Elaboration. For this relation to be inferred, 'Event B' must be part of 'Event A', in that 'Event B' is a consequence of 'Event A'. In Shot 6, Wambitman is filmed through a long shot. Shot 7, the closeup of Wambitman reveals his face i.e., specification. Also, the visual of Wambitman in Shot 7 also specifies the speaker of the voiceover comment in Shot 6. However, specification in an Elaboration relation is causal. There must be a cause for the specification. In Shot 7, there is no cause. The circumstances for the lack of fauna are not given. Therefore, this eliminates Elaboration as linking the two shots.

Figure 62 Sub-event 3 Then and Now
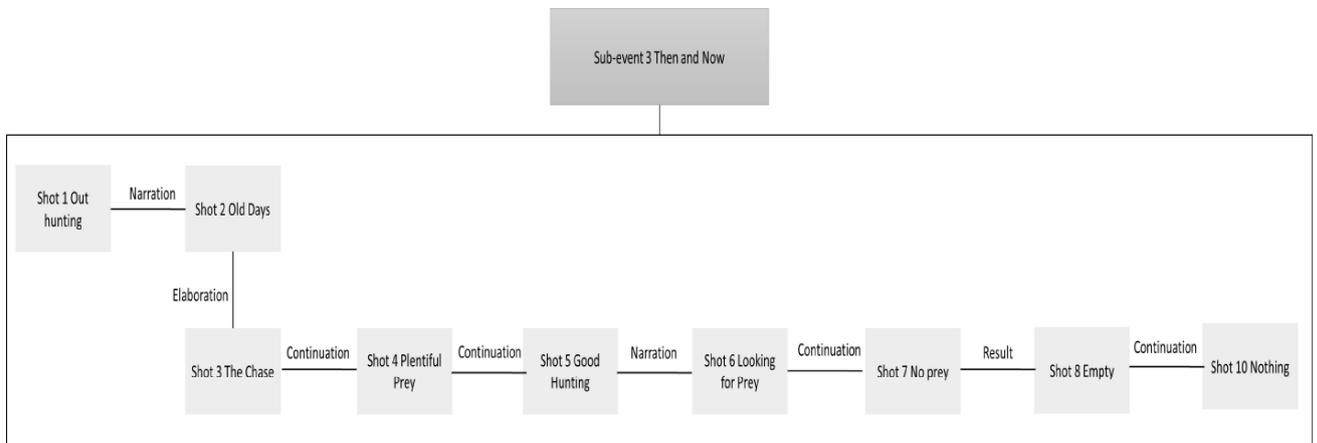
In *Sub-event 3 Then and Now,* the dominant rhetorical relations are the coordination relations developing a linear narrative trajectory of the two themes in this sub-event. Shots 1-5 establishes a context in which everything was good and plentiful. This topic is introduced in Shot 2 and expanded in Shot 3. The Elaboration relation between Shots 2 and 3 enhances the context of good hunting in the past, then the Continuation relation lists everything that made hunting successful. Shot 6 serves to subvert the good old days by introducing the second theme of the absence of fauna affecting Wambitman's ability to find animals to hunt. The Narration relation between shots Shots 5 and 6 signifies the end of the first topic which occasions or leads to the second topic.

In shots 7-9, Wambitman's dialogue of his past and present realities lends itself to issues such as the desire to find what is missing and wanting to understand what happened. The linear development of his stories emphasises that Wambitman is the only authoritative voice, the storyteller. However, Wambitman is not only the storyteller, but he is The Last Hunter. The capital letters emphasise that, like the park's animals, his subjectivity as hunter is endangered. Wambitman's story is the story of the park. The story of the park is Wambitman's story. The rhetorical relations this sub-event reveal a symbiotic relationship in which both did what they are meant to do in the past. Wambitman was meant to hunt, and his customary home, the park, was meant to provide. However, in the present, both are in a state of feeling absence which they share together. The park's appearance of lush fertility and the promise of fauna is misleading. Wambitman's wandering through the park with his dogs and spear, bow and arrows looking for prey is also misleading. Sub-event 4

develops this idea by bringing in the cause for the lack of animal life in Wasur and which affects Wambitman's role as indigenous hunter.

8.5 Sub-Event 4 Sad Consequences

Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences deals with the consequences of poaching for Wambitman. Through interview excerpts, Wambitman explains the main poachers are TNI Indonesian soldiers. According to environmental lobbying group Downtoearth-Indonesia.org, a military battalion was established in Wasur in 2005. According to the lobbying group, some indigenous groups from the Kanum community living inside the wetlands handed over 20 hectares to the military for compensation, despite protests from other indigenous communities also living in the national park. Downtoearth-Indonesia.org explain the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) was managing the national park, and WWF expressed concern about the impact military presence will have on an ecological area at risk.

Down to Earth has been working with environment and indigenous human rights issues in Indonesia for over 20 years. Down to Earth explains the livelihoods of Indigenous communities are based on sustainably managed hunting, trade in game, and sage cultivation, but these resources are already threatened from outsiders who illegally shoot game and steal timber (downtoearth-indonesia.org, 2005, para. 5). Down to Earth added that poaching in the area involved both police and the Indonesian military. It claims that "non-indigenous hunters use weapons and ammunition that are reported to be sold illegally, and are sometimes obtained from police" (downtoearth-indonesia.org, 2005, para. 6). In the documentary *The Last Hunter*, Leo Wambitman addresses the consequences of military (and transmigration) presence in his customary land. In sub-event 4, Wambitman pleads to the Indonesian military or TNI to stop poaching. Figure 63 below outlines the film shot events developing *Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences*.

Figure 63 Shots 10 -13 of *Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences*

Shot 10	TNI Poachers
[V]	Stationary long shot of Leo and dogs walking away through wetlands (y)
[A]	Diegetic sound of him walking through water (z)
[A]	Voice over (translated):*I'm just asking armed forces (TNI) soldiers to stop shooting in this conversation area* (aª)

(y), (aª)|~ TNI Poachers *(Shot 10)*

Shot 11	Loss of diversity
[V]	Cut to a head close up of Wambitman profile looking to the side out of frame. He is talking (bª)
[A]	Diegetic audio Wambitman talking to camera (translated) "It's hard to find 'tuban', kangaroo or even wild boars. It used to be easy to hunt wild boards at night. We can't find them now" (cª)

(bª), (cª) |~ loss of diversity *(Shot 11)*

Shot 12	poaching consequences
[V]	Front medium shot. Leo sitting with puppy on lap. Patting and talking to puppy (dª)
[A]	Wambitman to puppy (translated): You've taken a stroll, you swam. Are you tired now? (eª)
[A]	Wambitman Voiceover (translated): *Imagine that, the hunters shoot the animals form the helicopters* (fª)

(dª), (eª), (fª) |~ poaching consequences *(Shot 12)*

Shot 13	Extinct
[V]	Medium close up of Wambitman at is home talking to camera (gª)
[A]	'Diegetic audio Wambitman talking to camera (translated) "With guns they shoot the animals from the ground, and they shot them from above . How are we going to save the animals? They're gone. Extinct". (hª)

(gª), (hª) |~ Extinct *(Shot 13)*

To establish the rhetorical link between *Sub-event 3 Then and Now* and *Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences*, in Shot *10 TNI Poachers*, the dominant mode is audio mode *(aª)* where Wambitman states, " I'm just asking armed forces (TNI) soldiers to stop shooting in this conservation area". Visual mode *(y)* is a long shot of Wambitman and his dogs walking through the wetlands. Reducing the presence of Wambitman through an extreme long shot makes him part of the landscape. This visual image is important because of the topic of audio mode *(aª)*. This audio introduces a new topic which at first glance infers a Narration relation holding between *Shot9 Nothing,* (Sub-event 3) and *Shot10 TNI Poachers* in *Sub-event 4 sad consequences*. However, inference of a Narration relation can be overriden by inference of another rhetorical relation.

In shot 9 of Sub-event 3, Wambitman says," no more animals nothing". In *Shot 10 TNI Poachers* of *Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences*, Wambitman appeals to TNI soldiers (as outsiders) hunting in the area. This appeal gives a reason as to why there are no animals in the conservation area. There is "nothing" because, as given in audio mode *(a^a)*, the TNI soldiers are shooting in the area. Audio mode *(a^a)* infers a causal relation in which poaching from the TNI causes the loss of biodiversity. This is a reversed temporal order of events; the events in shot 10 in sub-event 4 occured before and is causing events in shot 9 in sub-event 3. This makes the case for a stronger inference of an Explanation relation holding between Sub-event 3, and Sub-event. Therefore, *Explanation(Sub-event 3 Then and Now, Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences).*

Shot11 Loss Diversity is driven by audio mode *(c^a)* in which Wambitman states, "It's hard to find tuban, kangaroos or wild boars. It used to be easy to hunt wildboars at night. We can't find them now". This audio mode reiterates similar comments in sub-event 3; however, in the context of his claims of TNI poaching, audio mode *(c^a)* infers an effect from illegal hunting in the conservationa area. This suggests a temporal order of events where the event in Shot 10 caused the effects given Shot 11, namely a Result. This inference is expressed as *Result(Shot 10 TNI Poachers, Shot 11 Loss of Diversity).*

Shot 12 Poaching consequence is an interesting event as it seems out of sync with the previous shots. Visual mode *(d^a)* is Wambitman sitting with a dog on his lap. This action signals an end to his hunt. This is maintained by the audio mode *(e^a)* where he is talking to the dog saying it is time to go home. Visual mode *(d^a)* is background and context for the audio mode *(e^a)*. These two modes confirm the sentiment of Wambitman's comments in Shot 11 where he laments "we can't find them [the animals] now". However in Shot 12, there is an additional audio mode *(f^a)* which is a voiceover of Wambitman saying: "Imagine that the hunters shoot the animals from the helicopters". This voiceover implies the comment was made in a spatial temporality or timespace outside that of Sub-event 4. This audio mode introduces a new topic. Therefore, there is an internal shift in topic constraint and spatial temporality within Shot 12. Audio mode *(f^a)* also acts to preview the visual mode in the following shot in addition to inferring a Narration relation expressed as *Narration (Shot 11 Loss of diversity, Shot 12, Poaching consequences).*

Shot 13 Extinct reveals the temporal and spatial context of Wambitman's voiceover in audio mode (e^a) in Shot 12. Here, visual mode (g^a) is Wambitman sitting outside his home speaking to the camera. Audio mode (h^a) is Wambitman explaining the extreme poaching methods the TNI use leaving the indigenous groups in the park powerless to protect the wildlife. He says "With guns, they shoot the animals from the ground, and the shoot them from above. How are we going to save the animals? They're gone. Extinct". This comment continues the topic of the voiceover of audio mode (f^a) in Shot12. Thus, the rhetorical relation holding linking this shot to the previous film shot event is Continuation, namely *Continuation(Shot 12 Poaching Consequence, Shot 13 Extinct)*.

Figure 64 presents the structrue of *Sub- event 4 Sad Consequences* according to identified rhetorical relations.

Figure 64 Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences
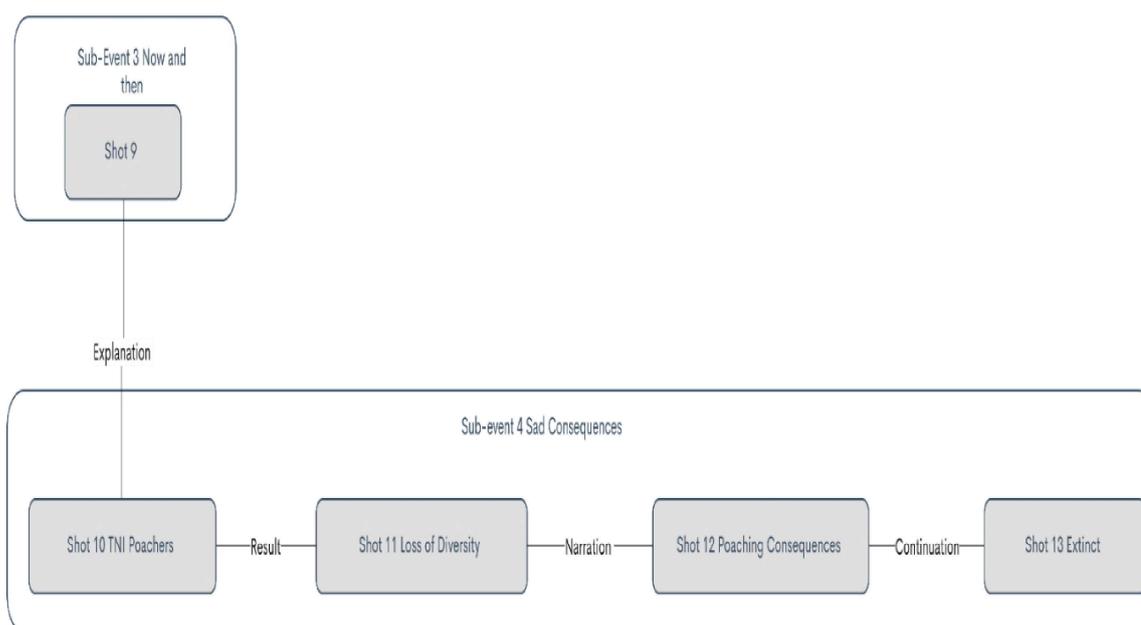
Within *Sub-event 4 Sad consequences*, the coordination relations dominate. Wambitman is telling the story of the TNI soldiers and what they are doing. This story is also his story as he is unable to hunt according to his tradition. The first shot is a plea to the TNI to stop poaching, and he justifies his plea by detailing the results of what they are doing. Then the Narration relation is fired as Wambitman criticises the TNI. The criticism is

maintain through the Continuation relation. This relation keeps an even focus on the main point of his criticism, the pathos of disbelief expressed in Shot 12, and the finality of the utterance Extinct in Shot 13. The subordination relations such as Elaboration or Explanation are absent. In this context, these types of relations would weaken the pathos of criticism, disbelief, and frustration. For instance, in Shot 13, Wambitman expresses helplessness; they cannot protect the animals. They are extinct. The Elaboration and Explanation relations requires clarification and expansion. The coordination relations maintain the vitality and potency of Wambitman's sentiments. His statements are propositions. Wambitman's comments can be placed in a wider discourse context of the nationalisation of Wasur.

At the time of nationalisation, Wasur was customary land for people who are considered to be endangered. Wambitman comes from the village of Yannggadur which is part of the Kanum community. There are 14 communities living inside the Wetlands. Based on reports from the Convention of Westlands or RAMSAR, the Indonesian government granted indigenous Papuans in Wasur customary rights, but not landowner rights. The Indonesian government, through nationalisation, became the landowner. However the allowance of customary rights is permissable as long as it does not interfere with national interests. The military presence was established to secure the West Papua-Papua New Guinea Border to stop illegal border crossings. Part of that border protection was protecting Wasur National Park. The coordination relations maintain a steady uninterrupted development of one discourse inference which is Result. This is the salient rhetorical relation which influences the topic introduced by the Narration relation and the Continuation relation.

8.6 Sub-Event 5 Hunter to Gatherer

Sub- event 5 Hunter to Gatherer, (00:03:59 – 00:04:54) has two film topics: survival and hunter-to-gatherer. The first film topic is *Shot 1 Survival*. This film topic forms a mini event. Figure 65 outlines *Shot 1 Survival.* In this event, Wambitman is on the hunt for animals. He begins by talking to the camera where he says, "As a hunter, when I'm able to hunt an animal, I feel happy and my body feels good, but if I come home empty-handed, I feel sick". The visual images are of Wambitman following his dogs looking for prey. An introduced voiceover accompanying these action shots explain he is forced to find another way of making a living as hunting is no longer viable. Wambitman's

comments in *Shot 1 Survival* also contextualises the second topic that form *Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gather* which develops how he currently makes his living.

Figure 65 Shot 1 Survival

(Translated) "As a hunter, when I'm able to hunt an animal, I feel happy and my body feels good. But if I come home empty handed, I feel sick."

(Translated Wambitman Voiceover) It's harder now being a hunter.

(Translation Wambitman Voiceover): I have to find means to survive
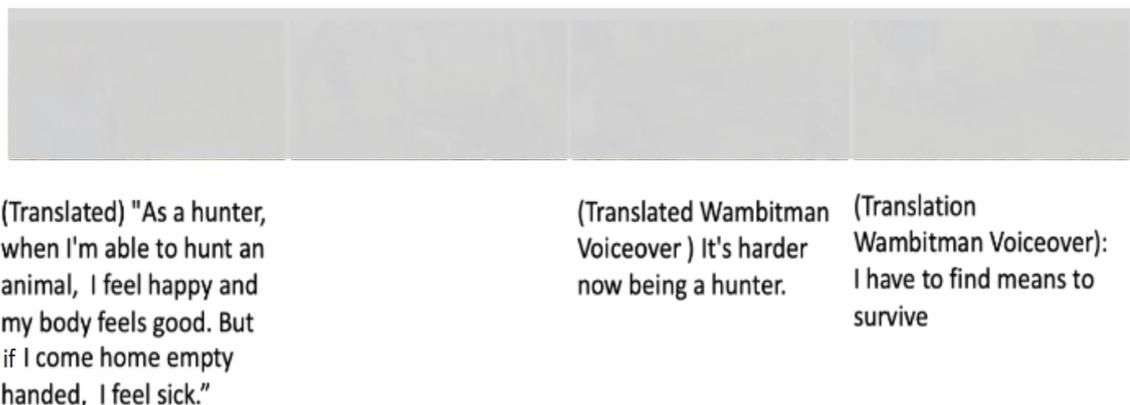
Figure 66 below presents the second theme which is *Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gatherer*. A straight cut is the transition from Wambitman wandering the in savanna to the first visual image in Sub-event 5 which is a medium closeup of Wambitman sitting outside his home speaking to the camera. The voiceover in Shot 1 smooths the abrupt transition and sudden change of Wambitman's location. The voiceover is from the interview excerpt in Sub-event 5. In Shot 1, Wambitman's voiceover is the statement "It's harder now being a hunter, I have to find means to survive". In Sub-event 5, audio mode *(b)* is Wambitman saying "I either work on the farm or log some wood". This is a specification to his having to find a means of survival. His voiceover and diegetic comments are the dominant modes inferring the rhetorical link between Shot 1 and Sub-event 5. The inferred relation is Elaboration. *Elaboration (Shot 1 Survival, Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gather)*.

Figure 66 Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gatherer

I analyse sub-event 5 at the micro level of the visual and audio modes. In sub-event 5, the audio and visual modes are tagged (a), (b), etc to indicate their order in the sub-event.

Visual mode *(a)* is medium closeup of Wambitman sitting outside his home. The visual mode is an establishing mode to set the context and location for his story. The change of setting indicates a new phrase in Wambitman's story, beginning with the diegetic audio mode *(b)* "I either work on the farm or log some wood ". At this stage, the visual mode is the dominant mode because of its narrative role. The rhetorical link best suited to this dynamic is Background: *Background(Wambitman mid-closeup (a), farm or log work (b)).*

As already mentioned, audio mode *(b)* is Wambitman describing how he makes his living. The following visual mode *(c)* is an extreme long shot of Wambitman followed by a medium shot of Wambitman. This visual mode exemplifies Wambitmans description, therefore *Elaboration (Farm or log work(b), Gather wood(c)) .*

In visual mode *(c),* the topic for both the extreme long shot and the medium shot of Wambitman is gathering wood. Despite the change of camera angle, I count these two perspectives as one shot event as there is unity of time, place, and person. The extreme

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long shot emphasises the environment which surrounds and envelopes Wambitman. He is almost indistinguisable. The change in camera angle shows what he is doing and, more importantly, the new relationship he has with Wasur. Rather than the traditional relationship of hunting animals in the park (which Wasur can no longer provide), Wambitman's relationship is as a gatherer of wood in the park (which Wasur can offer). These images work with his comment given in the audio mode *(d)* in which he says "I sell the wood for cooking or to make fences". This comment provides a reason for his backbreaking work. Selling wood is the explanation for his working in the woods firing a converse order of events. Thus, *Explanation (gather wood (c), sell wood (d)).*

The next mode visual mode is a medium close-up of Wambitman at his home talking to the camera, tagged *(e)*. This is a cut-back to the first medium closeup of him in visual mode (*a*). Visual Mode (*e*) is a transition shot to take the visual and audio narrative from the location of the woods back to his home. Therefore the rhetorical link suited to establishing a new narrative context is *Narration (sell wood (d),Wambitman mid-closeup 2(e)).*

Visual Mode (*e*) introduces a new topic which is also the climax of *Sub event 5 Hunter to Gatherer*, namely the declarative statement " I have stopped hunting now" in audio mode *(f)*). This is a definitive statement to summarise what is he doing now at the expense of what he desires to do but cannot, which is hunting. Therefore *Narration(Wambitman mid-closeup 2 (e), Stopped Hunting (f)).*

Figure 67 presents the structure for *Shot 1 Survival* and *Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gatherer*.

Figure 67 Structure for Shot 1 Survival and Sub-Event 5 Hunter to Gatherer
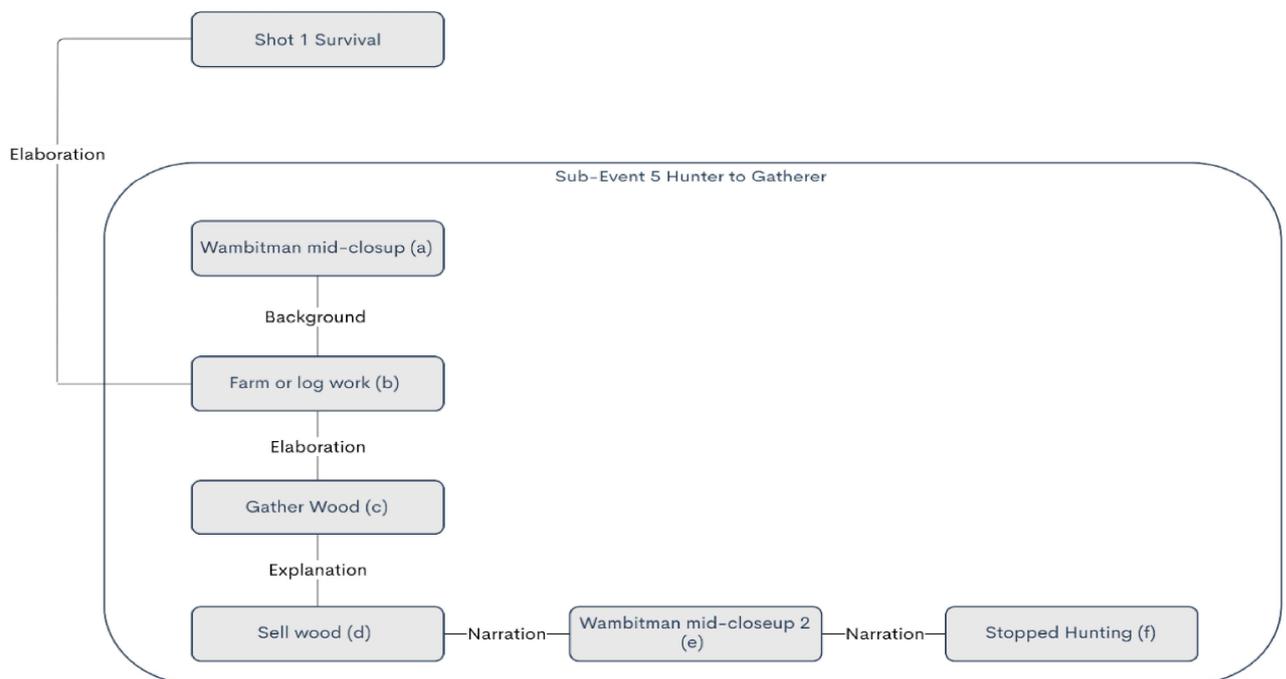
8.7 Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living

In the next theme, *Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living* (00:04:33 – 00:05:38), its film shots develop internal topics (see appendix 7 for transcription of extract). These are: *Shot 1 Montage Logs, Shot 2 Wambitman, Shot 3 Montage Carry Logs, Shot 4 Wambitman 2, Shot 5 Montage Income,* and *Shot 6 Barely Surviving.* Figure 68 outlines the film shot events developing sub-event 6.

Visual mode *(a)* in *Shot 1 Montage logs* is a series of screenshots of a long take, at an extreme long shot angle, of Wambitman swimming in a lake covered in lily pads. In the extreme long shot, Wambitman is almost indistinguishable in the water; a change in camera angle makes Wambitman more distinct. The location of the opening montage in Shot 1 is the same location of the lily covered waterway in the opening montage at the start of the documentary (see Figure 57, Sub-event 2 The Park). This visual point is significant and will be discussed further, but the composition of opening extreme long shot of Shot 1 suggests the idea of Wambitman being one with his natural surroundings. The metaphor of his indistinguishability in the water implies the symbiotic relationship between Wambitman and his traditional and cultural home of Wasur. This foregrounds

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comments Wambitman makes towards the end of the documentary; in the last part of his interview, he states, "the tribes can take care of the biodiversity. They can protect it from intruders [poachers]" (00:06:51).

Figure 68 Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living

Shot 1 Montage Logs	
[V]	Montage of action shots of Wambitman gathering logs surrounding a water way covered in lily pads (a)
[A]	Wambitman voiceover (trans). "I cut, knock off, and measure the logs" (b)
(a), (b) |~ Montage Logs (Shot 1)	

Shot 2 Wambitman	
[V]	Closeup head shot of Wambitman talking to camera (c)
[A]	Wambitman voiceover (trans). "I cut, knock them off, and measure the logs. Each measuring 1.5 metres" (d)
(c), (d) |~ Wambitman (Shot 2)	

Shot 3 Montage Carry Logs	
[V]	Montage of action shots of Wambitman getting ready to carry the logs he felled (e)
[A]	Wambitman voiceover (trans). "I put them in piles and wait for the buyers" (f)
(e), (f) |~ Montage carry logs (Shot 3)	

Shot 4 Wambitman 2	
[V]	Closeup head shot of Wambitman (g)
[A]	Wambitman voiceover (trans). "One pile here and another there, 100 logs each pile" (h)
(g), (h) |~ Wambitman 2 (Shot 4)	

Shot 5 Montage Income	
[V]	Montage of action shots of Wambitman getting ready to carry the logs he felled (i)
[A]	Wambitman voiceover (trans). "I put them in piles and wait for the buyers. 100 logs times Rp 10,000 for two piles I can get Rp 2 million" (j)
(i), (j) |~ Montage Income (Shot 5)	

Shot 6 Montage Barely Surviving	
[V]	Montage of action shots of Wambitman piling logs (k)
[A]	Wambitman voiceover (trans). "100 logs times Rp10,000 for two piles I can get Rp 2 million. I can use the money to buy rice, penang (betel nut), sugar and coffee. That's all. Just for eating" (l)
(k), (l) |~ Montage Barely Surviving (Shot 6)	

The rest of the montage in *Shot 1 Montage Logs* is of Wambitman choosing suitable logs, cutting them down and carrying them through the water to the shore. During this montage, the sound is the diegetic sounds of cicadas, the axe cutting into tree trunks, and Wambitman wading in water. Missing are sounds of animals, or even songbird. This creates a very tranquil and peaceful atmosphere, but this absence reflects the park's lack of wildlife. Towards the end of shot 1, Wambitman's voiceover is added. He says, "I cut knock off and measure the logs", audio mode *(b)*. This audio overlaps with *Shot 2 Wambitman* and smooths the abrupt straight-cut transition from Wambitman working to a closeup head shot of Wambitman talking to the camera in shot 2, visual mode *(c)*.

In *Shot 2 Wambitman,* visual mode *(c)* is dominant, but it is not the mode determining the rhetorical link with Shot 1. That role is given to audio mode *(d),* where Wambitman says "…Each measuring 1.5 metres". In audio mode *(d),* the last statement adds new information to his comment he gave in Shot 1, thereby inferring an Elaboration relation between shot 1 and shot 2 i.e., *Elaboration* (*Shot 1 Montage Logs* and *Shot 2 Wambitman)*.

Shot 3 Montage Carry Logs is also a visual montage of Wambitman at work. The montage is a Continuation of Shot 1. Nonetheless, Shot 3 has little correlation with the visual closeup head shot of Wambitman speaking to the camera in Shot 2; therefore, the audio modes in Shots 2 and 3 are the modes to infer a rhetorical link between them. In audio mode *(f)* in Shot 3, Wambitman says, "I put them in piles and wait for the buyers". This indicates a new stage in Wambitman's life as a gatherer of wood. This is about him selling tree logs. His previous comments outline how he gathers the logs. This is a nuanced shift implying a temporal relation of the topic of the second event (audio mode *(f)* in Shot 3) beginning after the topic of the first event (as described in audio mode *(d)* in Shot 2). The second aspect is that both audio modes develop the same narrative element of 'logs' but from different perspectives. The inference is a Narration relation, expressed as *Narration (Shot 2 Wambitman, Shot 3 Montage Carry Logs)*.

In *Shot 4 Wambitman 2*, visual mode *(g)* is a closeup head shot of Wambitman which directly continues the visual closeup head shot of Wambitman in Shot 2. So, visually, Shot 4 has little correspondence with the visual action montage of Wambitman working with and transporting logs in *Shot 3 Montage carry logs*. Thus, determining the rhetorical relation between Shot 3 and Shot 4 is again dependent on the audio modes.

In mode *(f)* in Shot 3 Wambitman explains, "I put them in piles and wait for the buyers". In audio mode *(h)* in Shot 4, Wambitman says "One pile here and another there, 100 logs each pile". Audio mode *(h)* details where he makes his pile of logs and how many logs per pile. These details indicate specification inferring an Elaboration relation. The temporal condition of Event B being part of Event A is met as the audio modes discuss the cutting down of logs and the preparation and piling of the same logs. Therefore, *Elaboration* (*Shot 3 Montage Carry Logs*, *Shot 4 Wambitman2).*

In *Shot 4 Wambitman 2*, audio mode *(h)* Wambitman explains where he piles his logs and how many logs per pile. In *Shot 5 Montage Income*, audio mode *(j)* is a voiceover in which Wambitman says, "…100 logs times Rp10,000 *[€0.57].* For two piles I can get Rp 2 million *[€114]* ". Audio mode *(j)* lists qualitative details about Wambitman's log piles described in Shot 4. Through audio mode *(j)*, information about where and for how much he sells his logs is given. This infers equal importance of the information in the audio modes of Shots 3 and 4 which is a condition for a Continuation relation. Therefore, *Continuation (Shot 4 Wambitman 2, Shot 5 Montage Income).*

Last is to determine the relation between shot 5 and *Shot 6 Barely Surviving.* In Shot 6, the visual modes continue the film shots of Wambitman working, while the audio mode is about the buying power of his income, which is little. Wambitman's labour outweighs the rewards he receives. The 2,000,000 Rp he earns is just enough to buy him basic food staples - hence subsistence living. Through both the visual and audio modes, the inferred defeasible relation is again Continuation: *Continuation (Shot 5 Montage Income, Shot 6 Barely Surviving)*

Figure 69 illustrates the discourse structure of *Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living,* according to the identified rhetorical relations between the sub-event's visual and audio modes.

In the structre of *Sub-event 6,* the coordination relations of Narration and Elaboration feature in this structure indicating a progressive linear discussion of Wambitman's current situation, while the subordination relation of Elaboration is used to clarify or emphasise a point needing more focus. All the rhetorical relations are determined by Wambitman's verbal comments indicating the importance of explaining his story in his own way. His narrative is strengthened with images of his working or interacting with Wasur and the backbreaking work of cutting down logs for sale. The money he makes is barely enough to make ends meet. This is the story of subsistence

living, and Wambitman's oral story of his life is unfiltered. The coordination relations maintain the struggle of subsistence living while the subordination relations underscore the key points of impact in his story.

Figure 69 Structure for *Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living*
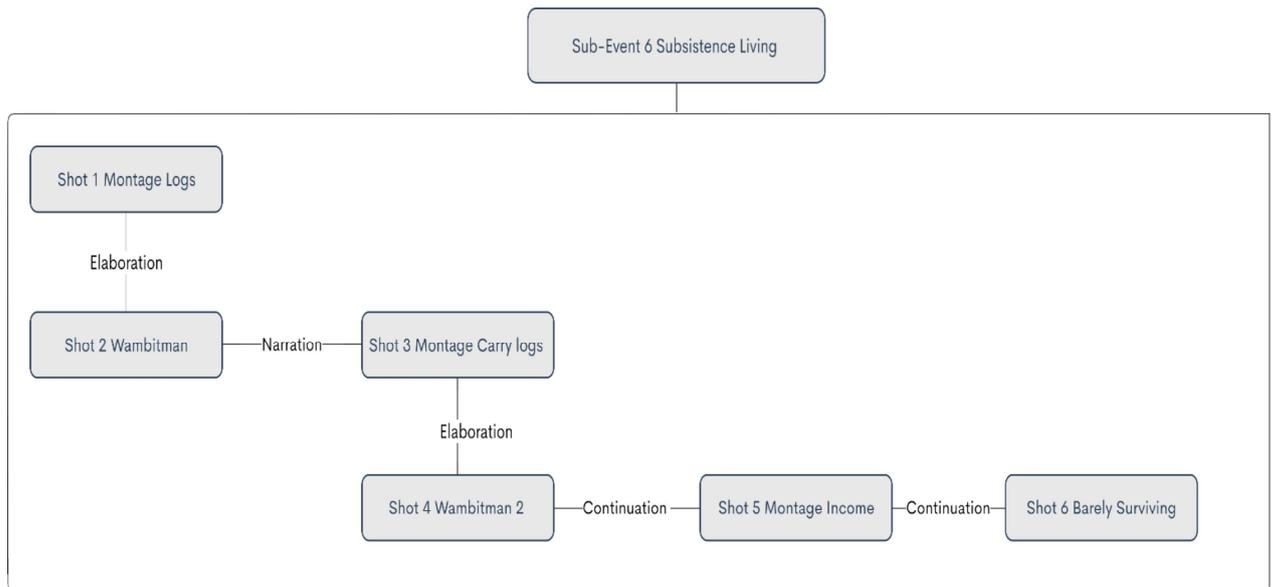
While the audio modes determined the topic and the structure of Sub-event 6, the visual modes illustrate a circular structure. As identified in the analysis, the montages circle back to each other, and the closeup head shots also self-reference each other. For instance,
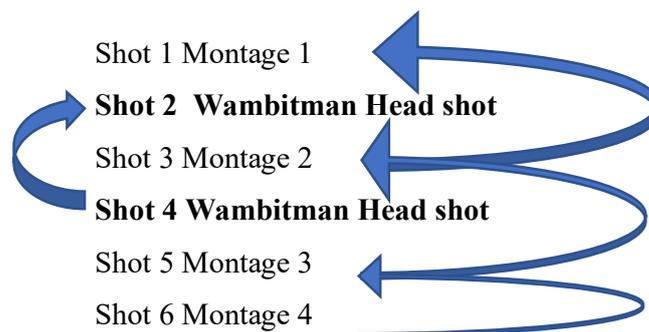
The cyclicality of the visual modes works in parallel to the linearity of the audio modes. The audio modes maintain the space for Wambitman's oral story about surviving in the absence of hunting while the visual modes add another story-telling space to include

another actor – Wasur National Park. The cyclical structure suggested by the visual modes can be interpreted as symbolising the natural cycle of Wasur Park and the symbiotic relationship between Wambitman and the Park. This interpretation can be facilitated through the opening shots of the topic *Shot 1 Montage Logs* in which Wambitman swimming in a lily covered pond is almost hard to distinguish because of the extreme long shot opening the montage. The impression is that he is part of the natural surroundings. In addition, this interpretation is made more plausible as the environment in which Wambitman is logging is one of the biodiversity landscapes of Wasur park shown at the start of the programme, as illustrated in Figure 70 below.

Figure 70 Extract of *Sub-event 2 The Park* (00:00:47- 00:01:31)
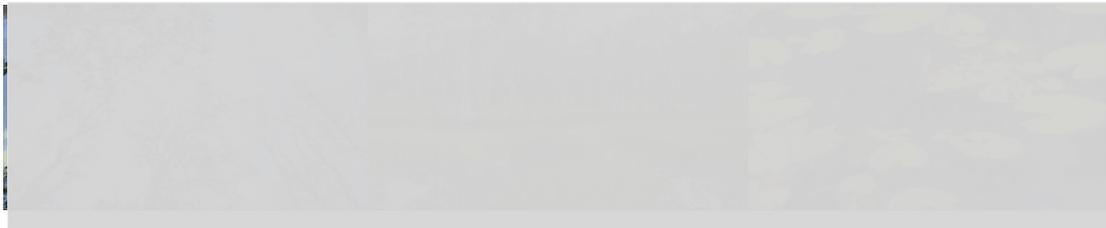
The park's flora is all that it has and which Wambitman can 'hunt' in order to survive, both are struggling to survive foreign imposition of nationalisation. The locations in which Wambitman collects his logs are the locations shown in landscape montages at the very beginning of the documentary. The stories of Wasur National Park and Wambitman have come full circle. The Indonesian government's decision to nationalise the Wasur wetlands and the illegal poaching of wildlife there affect a number of endangered indigenous groups. After *Sub-event 6 Subsistence Living* is a single shot of Wambitman on bike with a small child on the back cycles past (the camera which is stationary) leading to a fade to black screen in which white text fades stating:

> Translation (subtitles). The Kanume, Marind, Marori, and Yei tribes are the inhabitants of the Wasure National Park. (Fade out text, fade in new text) The tribes use local knowledge to live with nature in harmony.

8.8 Chapter Summary

Content and discourse analysis of the short documentary *The Last Hunter* reveal interesting aspects about the presentation and representation of Leo Wambitman. Wambitman's story is from the position of a colonised and ethnic minority. The analysis unpacked the dominance of the coordination relations which sustain a linear narrative progression of the story of Leo Wambitman as The Last Hunter. Analysis also reveals a cyclical narrative structure telling the story of the Wasur National Park, particularly in the programme's climax in *Sub-event 6 Subsistence living*. Both narrative structures of Wambitman and Wasur are contained within a macro-structure of both stories coming full circle in which they end where they began. However, the beginning and ending are not identical. The beginning is a pristine environment full of promise, but at the end of the programme, the environment's promise is spoiled by colonial imposition. Wambitman who lives in such an environment is denied a cultural tradition, and as such must rethink his cultural and personal survival. The narrative structure of this programme unveils the drama of cultural change and loss of tradition. The exonym of changing Wasur Wetlands from indigenous customary lands to a national park changed Wambitman's autonym as a hunter. His imposed and colonialised cultural exonym is gatherer.

The analysis also unveils the metaphysical story of the Wasur Wetlands. The subordination relations such as Elaboration introduce the 'voice' of the Wasur Wetlands which then is maintained through the coordination relations. The effects Leo Wambitman experiences are the same effects 'experienced' by the park. The analysis shows the symbiotic relationship that Wambitman and the park have with each other. Both are dependent on each other for their 'livelihood'. Wambitman relies on the Park's biodiversity to hunt for food. The Wasur Wetlands relies on indigenous peoples who live on the land to ensure that its biodiversity is maintained.

As in other ethnotainment programmes, the binarism of exoticism or as Stasch (2016) notes exoticising stereotypy is evident. Wambitman and the Wasur Wetlands, through the dominance of coordination relations, are established as having a particular aura in which Wambitman's cultural self as hunter and the Wasur Wetlands are transcendent and almost sacred. The long shots of Wambitman walking through lush green wetlands suggest abundant biodiversity, which is mythical: the reality is the opposite. Both Wambitman and the Wasur Wetlands are struggling to survive. The visual modes

suggest myths of purity and being untouched form modernity, but the performance of Wambitman going through the motions of hunting, even in the knowledge of animals being extinct, undermines this. Foreign elements in the park symbolise this. The analysis of the montage images of the park subverts this exoticising stereotypy through long shots of a derelict pagoda (a man-made structure). A change of focus in these types of shots evokes the Elaboration relation forcing a closer inspection of the impact of modernity on and in an area which is supposed to be pristine.

The voiceovers and interview excerpts of Wambitman in parallel with his 'act' of hunting in an empty environment implicitly introduces the Indonesian government and TNI military as the coloniser. Images and Wasur's diegetic sound of emptiness also attest to the signs of the coloniser. *The Last Hunter* presents an interesting interpretation of the binarism of primitive-civilised, centre-periphery. Wambitman's comments about TNI poaching indicate the primitivism of military's methods which are unsustainable. The rights of the indigenous communities and peoples in the park to sustainably care for the park's biodiversity are acts of the civilised. Wasur Wetlands is a contested location as the presence of a powerful centre (Indonesia) has usurped the marginal position of the Wasur Wetlands and Indigenous groups, making them even more marginal.

Sub-event 6 Subsistence living shows an interesting form of narratology. This sub-event reveals a circular narrative structure within the linear narrative structure maintained through the coordination relations. Other ways in which this circular structure is evident is through camera movements such as the 360 degree pan movement of the low angle shot in the opening montage of the park at the start of the documentary. An interpretation of the circular narrative structure is a form of oral story opening a glimpse of the cosmology or worldview involving the wetlands and Wambitman. This complements the linear story of the current situation both of the co-protagonists.

The 'I'-subject role of Wambitman and Wasur Wetlands is fluid. They are both subjects in that they both 'comment' (audibly and visually) and they tell their stories of the effects of colonisation. However, that I-subjectivity also moves into the role of being acted upon, i.e the position of the object, indicating the position of the implied coloniser as subject. This is seen through visual shots of foreign elements in the park, the lack of animal sounds in the diegetic audio of the park, and the voiceovers of Wambitman. Such fluidity is dependent on the role of the camera in this film.

The camera is the wetland's eye. The camera also reflects the point-of-view of Wambitman's dogs. The camera also reflects an observatory third person perspective, for instance long to medium shots of Wambitman and his interaction the wetlands. In such cases, the camera imitates the eye movement of looking and moving from one focal point to the next. The Elaboration relation comes to the fore when a wide third person point of view focuses on a narrower objective view through a zoom-in or cut-in editing techniques. Film event analysis of this short film introduces the issue of the phenomenology of the camera which in part becomes a character in the film. The character is the third person observer.

9. Discoveries and Findings

9.1 Introduction

In my research project, I analysed four programmes featuring Pasifika peoples using my adaptation of the linguistic discourse model *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Theory* or as I call it *Film Event Analysis Method*. Two of the programmes are transnational ethnotainment programmes featuring Bruce Parry, the Anutans, and the Kombai peoples. The third programme is *Selat Se Rotuma* (Return to Rotuma) featuring New Zealand-Rotuman Ngaire Fuata who travels to her father's homeland of Rotuma. This programme I consider a variation of ethnotainment called Pasifika-ethnotainment. The last programme I analysed is a short documentary called *The Last Hunter* about Leo Wambitman who is one of the endangered indigenous Papuan peoples living inside Wasur National Park in Merauke in the Indonesian Province of West Papua.

Ethnotainment programmes work within the in-between or liminal spaces between the media genres of documentary and reality television. They blend elements of documentary such as the voiceover and participant observation. They promote authority and authenticity as the commentary in these programmes are offered by experts who have experienced or are experiencing the events in these programmes. In addition, these programmes also incorporate elements from reality television. Most of the filmed events in these programmes are 'unscripted' and deal with 'real' people living their 'real' lives. The perception of realism and reality compounds perceptions of authenticity. Ethnotainment is a hybrid form or genre.

As mentioned earlier, in post-colonial contexts, liminal spaces are ideological spaces in-between presumed fixed identities and cultures. The liminal space is where differences are recognised through clash, ambivalence, and ambiguity. Out of this space emerges a third or hybrid culture. In Pasifika post-colonialism, liminal space has become a discourse and creative space for redefining Pasifika identities in a Pacific era of self-determination and through new generations of children of immigrant Pasifika parents residing in former colonial centres. Acknowledging the need for new Pasifika voices, Subramani noted that "reimagning Oceania means exploring new cultural paths through a multiplicity of tensions and contradictions" (2001, p.156). This is achieved by accepting

the nation-state as a site of contention, but also as a site in which Western ideologies can be incorporated and 'Pasifikafied'. This requires re-contextualisation and re-textualisation with one foot in Oceania. Working within the spaces in-between is room for the

> construction of a body of knowledge encompassing the kaleidoscope of Oceanic cultures and tracing diverse and complex forms of knowledge—philosophies, cartographies, languages, genealogies, and repressed knowledge (Subramani, 2001, p.151).

Such a body of knowledge blurs the boundaries between designated disciplines of oral and written literature, languages, visual images, performance, and music, as well as indigenous and canon knowledges. Discourse emerging from these blurred liminal boundaries are complex, multi-layered, contradictory, and complementary to form a new Oceanic imaginary. However, in the context of my research project, my focus programmes categorised as ethnotainment are also hybrid forms of imagination. They are hybrid products coming out of the liminal discourse spaces of media, identity, and cultural representation. Since they involve Pasifika peoples, they can even work in the same liminal discourse space as new forms of Oceanic imaginary and, thus, become part of this creative movement.

My interest in ethnotainment are the dynamics and tensions between the outside presenter and the filmed Pasifika peoples. One of the aims of Parry's programmes is to understand the feeling of becoming and, eventually, being 'one of the tribe'. An aim of Fuata in her programme *Selat se Rotuma* is to return to a cultural sense of 'home' by visiting a physical home: she has never actually visited. But by doing so she earns the right to be proud to have a Rotuman heritage because she has been 'home' and experienced an 'unfiltered' Rotuman culture in Rotuma. Wambitman's story in the documentary *The Last Hunter* is as a colonised person suffering the daily effects of Indonesian colonisation. His oceanic imaginary as envisioned by Subramani (2001) and Hau'ofa (2008/1993, 2008/1997) is disrupted by the Indonesianisation of his cosmology which is both literal and symbolic as evidenced by his home of the Wasur Wetlands. When Wambitman's story is juxtaposed against the programmes I label as transnational and Pasifika ethnotainment, questions arise regarding the forms of colonisation and resistance in these programmes.

9.2 The Surprise of Assumptions

As a discourse and content analysis tool, my adapted version of *Segmented Film Discourse Representation Theory (SFDRST),* namely the *Film Event Analysis Method* unpacks rhetorical relationships between film events in a programme. While the original intention of SFDRST is to map a spectator's meaning-making processes while watching film, I adapted the method to understand the dynamics between the filmed subjects and objects in my focus programmes. My adapted version uncovered unexpected levels of subversion of narration and assumptions regarding the roles of subject and object as fixed narrative elements in two focus programmes. This method also uncovered tight colonial maintenance of designated narrative roles in one programme while in the last programme, analyses provide a 'reality' window to the unfolding dynamics of *coloniser-colonised* on a transcendental level.

9.2.1 Findings of Analyses of Parry's *Tribes* Programmes

The discourse of Parry echoes colonial travel discourses of explorers and adventurers trekking through unknown environments, meeting so-called uncontacted peoples or peoples living in isolation from the modern world. His programmes demonstrate Stasch's (2016) dramas of otherness in which the differences between Parry and the filmed indigenous groups are emphasised. His programmes are as much about discovery and exploration as they are about his living tribal. Within Stasch's concept, Parry's narrative desire is a semi-divine wish to be the other as the other has what he wants, namely, to be tribal. Therefore, I expected a tight control over his role as the subject presenter and in the development of his narrative desire. Despite this context, the analyses of his Anutan and Kombai programmes show that the filmed indigenous groups occupied substantial discourse space, which was unexpected.

In Parry's programmes of the Kombai and Anutans, the majority of shot composition sees Parry either in the foreground or centre. In other cases, he is the centre of the action, making him visually dominant. However, his use of the voiceover and diegetic commentary to the camera does not necessarily concur with his visual dominance. At times, these documentary elements were used to gloss over subversive events in the discourse space of the indigenous peoples. The voiceover and diegetic commentary recalibrate focus on Parry as the narrative subject to re-establish his authoritative role of

presenter. In my analyses of his programmes, the discourse spaces of the indigenous groups are in the margins of filmed events, and these discourse spaces often contained micro-events. An assumption is that such marginal activities would have little impact on the narrative and plot goals of Parry as the subject presenter. This assumption is partially based on the generic format of the programmes which includes a prologue to set up the premises of the programmes. Prologues restrict the domains of knowledge which can be accessed by the spectator to make sense of the programmes. Parry, by providing in-depth information about the Anutans and the Kombai in the prologues establishes the knowledge base of his specific knowledge in which representative details are given. Such details may not be common knowledge (Wildfeuer, 2014), but they are provided in the prologue. Through his prologues, Parry steers his programmes by dictating the type of information he will emphasise in the actual programmes, whether it be cannibalism in the Kombai culture, or the Anutan ideal of *aropa*. The uniformity of this programmes are typical of media as transnational export productions of ethnnotainment within the genre of primitivism television.

However, the indigenous groups usurp discourse space by working along the margins. These margins could be along the border of the frame, in the background of a shot, through out-of-frame audio, language, the gaze out-of-frame, or small contradictory gestures. These micro-events or actions create moments of ambiguity and ambivalence which question or, even, parody Parry's performativity of being tribal. These micro-events are fragmented mainly through editing as well as through on-the-spot composition and filming techniques, but they cannot be edited out completely without affecting two aspects of ethnotainment: authenticity and reality. These micro-events are significant enough to disrupt the linearity of the programme plots as evidenced in the programmes' analyses through the vertical, subordination rhetorical relations. In some instance, subordination relations are also ignited by voiceover or diegetic commentaries to steer Parry's narrative back to the linear plot development of the programmes, indicating power dynamics and tensions in maintaining or regaining control over the layers of programme narratives. An analysed examples is the Anutan men's adaptation of a post-fishing rite of passage for Parry, the *Vai pa*. In this event, the gaze of Derek to his friends out-of-frame, the men's laughter, and their talking to each other in Anutan (all out-of-frame) or small gestures of Derek trying to stifle a laugh are moments that could not be edited out of the programme. One reason is the filming composition of the shot. Parry is in the centre being washed,

making him visually dominant. Even Derek, who is behind Parry to wash him, is visually marginalised in the shot. The diegetic audio is the laughter and voices of men out-of-frame talking in Anutan. Parry cannot speak Anutan, yet he is laughing with the men and talking to them in English. He does not know what they are talking or laughing about. Therefore, Parry's non-diegetic voiceover and diegetic commentaries during the *Vai pa* are important in dealing with the out-of-frame diegetic audio. These micro-moments along the margins of Parry's discourse space are moments of ambiguity and ambivalence. In another analysed example, the Kombai men perform an elaborate joke on Parry in which they persuade Parry to put sago grubs in his ears for cleaning. The composition is a medium long shot of Parry sitting between Bomari and Bofu Kwo who are showing him how it is done. This composition establishes the main narrative of Parry's experiencing an authentic practice, which he explains through non-diegetic voiceovers and diegetic commentaries. Meanwhile, the diegetic background audio infers a secondary narrative. The out-of-frame audio from women and children yelling and laughing as well as the action between Bomari and Bofo kwo behind Parry are micro-events which raises questions regarding the authenticity of the Kombai practice.

Micro-events along the margins of Parry's discourse space as presenter indicate what Chanan (2008) refers as a truth in "that there are *always* [author's own italics] other things which remain out of view, and this gives rise to a crucial characteristic of documentary" (p.124). Chanan emphasised the potential of documentary of filming the invisible – the things which remain out of view. These micro-events in Parry's programmes are indications of "tensions between the film we see and the unseen film it might have been" (Chanan, 2008, p.125). While the camera is pointing at one aspect, it does not actively film another aspect, but this uncaptured aspect is still present even through its invisibility. The invisible is an element which is hidden in plain sight. Invisibility does not mean completely missing; something is invisible because it lacks emphasis. Chanan writes that documentary and film comprise of

> 'known knowns' ('the things we know that we know'), 'known unknowns' ('things we know that we don't know'), and then there are 'unknown unknowns' ('things we don't know that we don't know'). In other words, the documentary is always built on structuring absences, which are normally suppressed in the process of editing, that is, of achieving narrative or discursive or poetic coherence (Chanan, 2008, p.124).

Something is unknown not because it is missing, but because is not seen nor understood. Documentaries are built on this concept to fulfil the basic Griersonian roles of educating and informing. Marginal micro-events of filmed indigenous groups are often relegated as atmospheric authenticity as they add colour and provoke a reaction from the presenter. However, not only are these micro-events potential moments of ambiguity and ambivalence, but they are also examples of the invisible within the visible. A micro event is "invisible because it's overlooked, or difficult to access, or it happened off camera. Or it can be invisible because it is heard but not seen" (Chanan, 2008, p.126). Analyses of Parry's programmes reveal that the invisible (as defined by Chanan) are influential enough to subordinate Parry's narrative aims to be 'one of the tribe', and this is achieved without the indigenous peoples holding the camera.

Part of the subversion from the filmed indigenous groups is to control the presenter's access to their cosmologies by controlling the type of activities in which the presenter participates. Examples illustrating this are Parry's first fishing trip with the Anutans, and his receiving the Anutan post-fishing ritual or *Vai pa* washing. The analysis of Parry's *Vai pa* revealed the limited admission of Parry into the worldview of the Anutans, through the dominance of the vertical, subordination rhetorical relations disrupting the linear development of Parry being honoured by receiving a *vai pa.* To mark, as he states, a man's first fishing trip. The subordination relations come into effect through Parry's non-diegetic voiceover and diegetic commentaries. They convey his interpretation of the laughter and talking of the Anutan men out-of-frame. Parry is excluded through language and as such is excluded from the discourse dynamics between the men. Visually Parry is the subject as the event is about him receiving the *Vai pa*. But as he is the one being washed, and from the Anutan's out-of-frame perspective, Parry is the object. They are gazing at him, and Derek who is doing the washing is gazing at the men out-of-frame and trying to stifle some laughter. The ambivalence of the out-of-frame audio and the gaze implies two aspects: they could be talking about Parry, or they could be talking about other things. Parry does not know. Significant is that he apologises to the men for their having to stand in the cold to wait on him as well as for the washing ritual which he feels he does not deserve (given that he did not catch anything). The voiceover technique glosses over this ambivalence. Excluding Parry through language is a micro-event limiting Parry's access to the Anutan cosmology. For instance, Hau'ofa writes,

Our landscapes and seascapes are thus cultural as well as physical. We cannot read our histories without knowing how to read our landscapes (and seascapes). When we realise this, we should be able to understand why our languages locate the past as ahead or in front of us...when we go through our own surroundings, as we do every day, familiar features of our landscapes keep reminding us that the past is alive (2008/2000, p.73).

An Anutan boy on his first fishing trip learns from the men about how to read the seascape. On a fishing trip, the boy learns by watching. In 'watching' or seeing-in (Hopkins, 2008) the boy learns to see-as (Allen, R. 1993/1997) the ocean to learn how to 'read' it. To see-in is an observatory or outside gaze in which there is medium-level conscious (Hopkins, 2008). To see-as is the equivalent to being drawn into and part of something which becomes "fully realized and… has all the presentness of immediacy of our own" (R. Allen, 1993, p.40). A young boy sees-in the ocean by observing his elders. He is aware that he is a on fishing canoe in an open sea and that he must learn to fish. This is his conscious awareness. But through experience, he begins to see-as. In other words, he experiences the ocean. It is no longer a body of water but a cosmology of maps, signs, symbols, that help him navigate when and where to fish. To begin the boy's journey to this knowledge, the boy's family and the fishing crew perform the washing ritual of *vai pa.*

Parry's level of admission to the seascape and the knowledge that this scape contains is at the level of a young apprentice seeing-in. Parry is aware of the mechanics of fishing and of the *vai pa*. The *Vai pa* of scented water and turmeric painting is the *aropa* (love or pity) the men give to the boy. The order of events of a traditional *Vai pa* and who performs the ritual is not followed in Parry's version. Yet in a voiceover, Parry explains a "mans" first fishing trip is marked by a washing ritual. In this event, the linear structure of the visual modes is the narrative Parry presents. However, the audio mode (most of which is out-of-frame) presents the narrative of the Anutan men. These parallel narratives demonstrate a subordinate and parallel sense of knowing among the men and the unknowing of Parry.

While I was surprised at the substantial moments of ambiguity and ambivalence in Parry's programmes, the analyses of plot and sub-events in Fuata's programme also raise interesting issues, in particular my assumptions about productions presented by Pasifika people that appear to represent Pasifika peoples and their cultures.

9.2.2 Findings of Analysis Fuata's *Selat Se Rotuma*

I regard Fuata's programme *Selat Se Rotuma* as a Pasifika form of ethnotainment, but that perspective did not come until after I analysed her programme using the *Film Event Analysis Method.* I originally chose her programme thinking it would work as a post-colonial counter to Parry's programmes which emulate colonial tropes indicative of Stasch's (2016) dramas of otherness. However, the result of my analysis of Fuata's programme shows the opposite. Compared to analyses of Parry's programmes, the analysis of Fuata's programme revealed tight control of her role as subject presenter which all but eliminated alternative voices or perspectives from the Rotumans about their own culture. Her programme demonstrates Spivak's (1988, 2005) criticism of elite subaltern speaking on behalf of the subaltern which silences them. However, the position of the subaltern in the context of Fuata's programme is not straightforward. In the physical context of Rotuma the Rotumans are the cultural norm. Fuata as a New Zealand-Rotuman visitor is the minority. Yet, in the media context of *Selat se Rotuma*, Fuata speaks for and about the Rotumans and their culture. She is the televised cultural norm of Rotuman. In her programme, there is minimal room for any other voice in programme. In the analyses of major plot events in her programme, the dominant rhetorical relations are the coordination (horizontal) relations from which most of the plot events follow the horizontal linear trajectory of her narrative. Digression from this linearity, as seen through the subordination vertical relations of explanation, or elaboration, are made by Fuata to explain gaps in knowledge, ambivalence, or for emphasis in order to sustain a single narrative.

While Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma* reflect structural similarities to Parry's programmes, *Selat se Rotuma* was more controlling in maintaining conceptually, visually, and audibly the subject presenter role. In the analysis of one of programme's main narrative events, the *fara*, the only rhetorical relation linking the film shots in this plot event is Narration sustaining a horizontal linear plot development. As indicated by the Narration relation, in this plot event, the introduction of a new topic for each film shot leaves little room for topic development such as elaboration, explanation, rising tensions and other voices. Nearly the entire programme consists of her non-diegetic voiceover and diegetic commentary establishing Fuata as the only voice of authority. Her observation and participation in cultural events such as the *fara* add authenticity to that authority. The

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non-diegetic audio of the Rotumans and the environment are colourful, fun, happy, energetic, laidback, and idyllic. These contribute to entertaining reality television as they evidence the quotidian moment of Fuata being there.

Just as Parry presents his story and his experience of being one of the tribe, Fuata presents her story and experience of being Rotuman. Shot composition in Parry's programmes are inclusive reflecting his narrative aim of 'to be one of the tribe'. These maybe tracking shots, long shots, or medium long shots. These types of shots include both Parry and his hosts. But unlike Parry's programmes, in most cases, Fuata's experience was mainly filmed through extreme closeup shots, medium closeup shots, closeup head shots, or medium long shots of her through balanced composition in which she is the central focus. Long shots of Rotumans become visual backdrops to her non-diegetic voiceover narrating or interpreting the event in the shots. Other film elements which maintain Fuata's role as the subject presenter is the straight cut or the shot-cutaway-cutback-shot sequence. Jump cuts and match cuts are also transition methods used to maintain the strict narrative of this programme. In Parry programmes, the only time the editing process played a role in strictly maintaining Parry's role as subject is in the event of Namufu's stories of cannibalism. Even though Namufu was the storyteller, the shot-cutaway-cutback-shot sequence blur the roles of subject and object. In addition, a voiced-over question assists in the blurring of roles.

Part of the reason for the tight control of Fuata's narrative lies in her sense of self. In the first part of the programme, Fuata describes herself as New Zealand-Pasifika or New Zealand-Rotuman. But the aim is for her to return 'home'; therefore, her subjectivity is Rotuman. In her programme, she is claiming a sense of place and belonging. This is seen in her descriptions and observations of the *Mamasa* welcome ceremony. Fuata provides a general overview, lending to her authority as a cultural insider. Nonetheless, complex nuances of this tradition are lost as her general description oversimplifies and flattens this ceremony to a focus on food. Parry also generalises cultural events which also simplifies their complexities, but unlike Fuata, and as shown in the analyses of his programmes, the Anutans and Kombai have more discourse space in the programmes, and therefore, more space for opportunities to present alternative or subversive narratives to counter his oversimplified versions. Another example of her claim to place and belonging is the introduction of a sense of home early into the programme. Fuata says, "I wish my Dad was here, I wanted him to take me home". Fuata has not been to Rotuma before and

the discussion of going home is ambiguous. Her use of 'home' is the pivot at which explanations and elaborations are activated to explicate Fuata's use of home. After which the narrative structure returns to a linear trajectory of her story.

These examples illustrate that Fuata's subjectivity is based on the position that she is Rotuman and is on a journey to have that identity confirmed. Parry, on the other hand, is on a journey of becoming to finally being one of the tribe. The issue with Fuata is that her subjectivity of 'I am Rotuman' is strongly located within the New Zealand context of Rotuman. Her conceptual rite of passage is to experience the identity of Rotuman in the Rotuman cultural context. It is a so-called 'authentic', unfiltered experience. At the end of the programme, she states she has always felt proud about being Rotuman, but now she feels she has earned the right to be proud about being Rotuman. This is a confirmation of her statement in the prologue "I'm Ngaire Fuata and this is my story". But Parry also expresses a similar statement: "I'm Bruce Parry, and I want to know what it's like to be one of the tribe". Both deal with a declaration of self and its egocentric position. However, the discourse difference is that Fuata maintains the declaration of self as her story. Parry's declaration of self is located within the consensus of the 'tribe' – one of many within the group.

Fuata comes into the programme with an already fragmented-hybrid self as she is born in England, has a Dutch mother, grew up thinking she was Maori only to find out that she was Rotuman through her father. Yet, she identifies herself as New Zealand-Rotuman. In Rotuma, her subjectivity is Rotuman, but that subjectivity is filtered through her 'Kiwi-Pasifika' subjectivity. For example, Fuata describes the *mamasa* as

> we're going to see a bit of traditional ritual and customs here, and of course, we're going to have a big feed and a bit of dancing apparently (00:00:00-00:00:55, Part 2)

Fuata's description of the *mamasa* is so generic it could describe any Pasifika event in any part of the Pacific, including New Zealand. The description reveals the basic exotic stereotypy (Stasch, 2016) of Polynesian people: large quantities of food and dance. This stereotypy is developed in her programme through the discourse pattern: voiceover or diegetic commentary-event-voiceover or diegetic commentary. This discourse pattern matches the visual editing pattern of shot-cutaway-cutback-shot. Events dominated by the linear coordination relations tend to demonstrate this discourse and image pattern. This

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'sandwich' approach not only establishes Fuata's subjectivity of 'I am Rotuman', but it also has the added consequence of silencing the Rotumans. This is in comparison to Parry who uses the voiceover to refocus the narrative to him as well as deal with ambiguities and ambivalences caused by micro-events of subversion by the Anutans and Kombai.

In Fuata's programme, the Rotumans, as the presumed culturally dominant, become narrative subalterns. They cannot speak; they have no discourse space to express themselves. However, the role of the subaltern becomes blurred. Fuata is a visitor to Rotuma, yet she assumes the role of an elite subaltern who feels she has the right to speak for the subaltern because they are subaltern. The Rotumans are doubly silenced by not speaking for themselves and for having their position as the culturally dominant usurped by a New Zealand visitor to the island. An issue with viewing the Rotuman culture through the lens of one coming from New Zealand is that descriptions of the Rotuman culture have the potential to be unrecognisable to the Rotumans, as their culture has been reinterpreted to suit a New Zealand and Pan-Pasifika audience.

As already mentioned, I did not consider Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma* ethnotainment until after I analysed it. Yet, my analysis of her programme brought into question post-colonial productions concerning the journeys of New Zealand-Pasifika to their cultural homelands. From a post-colonial position, I assumed New Zealand-born Pasifika on such journeys would allow discourse space for Islanders to teach them and to admit them into their Island cosmologies. But after watching and analysing Fuata's programme, I began re-evaluating this assumption as a given. Therefore, this raises questions about the concept of post-colonialism for Pasifika peoples in countries such as New Zealand in comparison to post-colonialism in other parts of the Pacific region. The question which I feel is pertinent is whether a New Zealand-Pasifika person who adopts a post-colonial position in a former colonial centre can become ideological colonisers in the wider Pasifika region. My analysis of the Fuata programme *Selat se Rotuma* seems to suggest this. Further study is needed to investigate this issue such as surveying and analysing programmes like Fuata's programme. Nonetheless in my study, colonialism is (re-) imagined through inverted subjectivity. Binaries which appear to be in play in Fuata's programme are Pacific—Pasifika or New Zealand-Pasifika—Island-Pasifika. This programme, like Parry's programmes, indicates the consequences of ethnotainment programmes operating within the liminal space of Pasifika post-colonial discourse. Hybridity, therefore, becomes a post which supports or upholds colonialism.

9.2.3 Findings of The Last Hunter featuring Leo Wambitman.

The last programme I analysed is a Pasifika short documentary film. I wanted to analyse programmes from the Pacific other than in former colonial centres. This film, while short, is an independent production. This programme, like Parry's *Tribe* programmes and Fuata's *Selat se Rotuma* programme, is a journey, but that journey is metaphysical. The point-of-view of this programme is first person; however, Wambitman's positionality is as the colonised protagonist. The other protagonist is Wasur National Park where he lives. The implied antagonist is the Indonesian military and, by extension, the government.

Wambitman's subjectivity is like Parry's in that Wambitman is in a state of becoming. Wambitman is The Last Hunter, and he is in a state of becoming one of many gatherers. However, analysis of *The Last Hunter* shows interesting aspects such as making visible the presence of absence in this film rather than emphasising what is seen. Wambitman's subsistence living, his attempts to hunt, the pristine and almost transcendental atmosphere of the park are all built on the absence of animals, of cultural tradition, and of self. For most of the analyses of *The Last Hunter*, the audio modes work independently from the visual modes producing two narratives of equal importance and which are interwoven: the narratives of Wasur National Park and of Leo Wambitman. In addition, the narratives of Wasur National Park and Wambitman share the same discourse space of colonisation. For instance, part of Wambitman's dialogue is the lack of animals in Wasur. In speaking directly to the camera, Wambitman is filmed and framed through medium shots or off-centred medium closeup shots. The composition of these shots give space for the visual representation of his environment. However, there are other visual images such as extreme long shots of Wambitman walking through Wasur. In these extreme long shots, Wambitman is reduced in size and presence, opening the visual discourse space of the park.

Part of Wambitman's monologue include nostalgia of abundant hunting in the past which has a strict linear trajectory of narrative development as seen through the coordination relations of Narration and Continuation. These relations demonstrate more than just past nostalgia. These relations indicate Wambitman speaking about his past subjectivity as a hunter. Hunting defined him. His hunting dogs, and his spears, bows and arrows are symbols of that subjectivity. Wambitman's nostalgia of plentiful hunting is also the past nostalgia of Wasur as a lush ecological environment. Wasur was a place of plenty.

Abundant animal life contextualised Wasur's own subjectivity as a lush fertile environment. The fact that Wambitman was able to sustainably hunt and provide for himself gave Wasur meaning as his customary and cultural homeland.

The linear narratives of past nostalgia of Wasur and Wambitman are subordinated through elaboration and explanation to clarify and emphasise emptiness and absence. This change in narrative topic not only subverts the good old days of hunting, but it also indicates a change in Wambitman's subjectivity and autonomy. He is no longer the subject doing the acting. Wambitman is reacting to an imposed action. Elaboration and explanation focus on the presence of absence caused by someone or something else.

Absence caused by an omniscient presence, which is unseen but felt, is the subject. In *The Last Hunter,* early images of the park's entrance sign and information text-on-black-screen explaining the nationalisation of the Wasur wetlands signify the presence of Indonesian government. As these early images infer, the Indonesian government, due to its colonisation policy of land nationalisation, is a dominant discourse partner in this short documentary. As the cause for the Wambitman and Wasur's current situation, the intimation is that the Indonesian government is the subject of the film, whilst Wambitman and Wasur National Park are the film's objects.

Wambitman and Wasur National Park are being acted upon and as such they react to this. This fits the subjective position of Wambitman as one who is colonised. Wambitman will always react to an implied subject performing the action of colonising. Wambitman's autonym as hunter is replaced with the exonym of colonised of which he is always in a state of becoming once again a hunter. Because of this, Wambitman demonstrates Spivak's point of a subaltern's inability to speak. Wambitman communicates his subjugation, but he is not heard. Parallel to the linear narrative of Wambitman as The Last Hunter is a circular narrative structure to further emphasise Wambitman's colonial subalternity. The beginning of the cycle is peaceful and calm, giving an impression of a pristine untouched world. But in coming to full circle, signs of decay caused by foreign elements subvert this premise. On the one hand, the circular narrative structure of the film reflects a cyclical cosmology grounded in the seasons of the park and by extension the cycles of Wambitman's life. But within the frame of Indonesian colonisation, this narrative structure illustrates being trapped in a cycle in which Wambitman has no voice.

The structure of this programme is deceptively simple regarding filming in that the long take, tracking shot, extreme long shots and the closeup shot are the main

filming techniques. Other techniques deal with composition such as off-centre closeup shots. This type of composition creates negative space showing the presence of absence. Straight cuts show the environment and Wambitman at different angles illustrating the sense of something missing as well as the performativity of Wambitman as *The* last (and futile) hunter.

The long takes, the lack of sound, apart from the single guitar soundtrack, the long spaces between dialogues are literally the voice of silence, emptiness or in Wambitman's words 'nothing'. These are narrative and filming techniques that create a "state in which one could, perhaps, start to see things that one would not otherwise see, feel things that one would not otherwise feel" (Knudsen. 2008, p. 117). Knudsen alludes to the need to look beyond the push-pull dynamics of reality and authenticity to develop the idea of filming the transcendental in documentary. Through the subordination relations and the circular narrative structure, this short documentary has 'filmed' absence which would otherwise be missed if the story of Wambitman was framed or filmed using different shots. The simplicity of the filming techniques brings in the omniscience of the colonial voice. Through the absence of action and of things that should be there, the dynamics of *coloniser-colonised* are developed. This dynamic is only made visible by "reducing the role of external actions...reducing conflict and dramatic events as an expressive tool...to create internal spaces" (Knudsen, 2008, p.117).

9.3 Liminality and Edgewalking

9.3.1 Narrative Hybridity of the Presenters

The main headline of this dissertation is 'to be one of...' and from that came the questions, is this real and what is going on in the programmes of focus? In Parry's programmes of the Anutans and the Kombai, Parry immerses himself in imaginary designated cultures containing perceptions and stereotypes of the tribal and primitive. Parry enters these cultures to learn how indigenous peoples connect to their surroundings and their contexts. Nevertheless, Parry also carries with him a designated culture. That culture may not necessarily be his national culture. Given his narrative aims in the programmes, his role as a programme presenter wanting to be one of the tribe is his designed self.

According to Bhabha (1994), the concept of fixed cultures is based on the idea of being settled in one's subjectivity upon which other cultures are compared and found lacking. The main designated subjectivities are Anutan and Kombai, and Parry's programme prologues establish exoticising stereotypies (Stasch, 2016) of the Anutans and Kombai which shape the programmes' plots. The other designated subjectivity is Parry as an explorer/adventurer. Parry brings with him the expectations and tropes of these roles. These are roles in which he is always on a journey, always on a point of discovery, or always on a point of arriving. Parry comes into the programme as 'one becoming'.

West Papua and the island of Anuta are Parry's cultural schoolyards in which he learns the art of 'becoming' and finally graduating to 'being'. The events, connections, observations, participation in activities, and finally the rites of passages become liminal spaces of negotiations of identity across differences (Bhabha, 1994). These threshold spaces reveal Parry's otherness of becoming as an artificial construction competing with the Anutan or Kombai's own subjectivities formed by relatedness within their cosmologies. The exchange of knowledges as part of the negotiation, decreation and recreation of self is unbalanced, as Parry's collective knowledge of his former experience in other indigenous cultures has little relevance in the cultural specificity of the Anutan and Kombai. Through rites of passages of belonging, Parry emerges with the hybrid identity of *becoming-being*. With Parry's aim to be one of the tribe, the hybrid sense of *becoming-being* indicates "cultural identities as always in a state of becoming, a journey which never arrives" (Hereniko, 1999, p. 138). Nonetheless, this hybrid subjectivity is framed within the hegemonic framework of transnational media. Through his filmed participation in the liminal spaces in-between the narrative roles of subject and object, the Kombai and Anutan's own subjectivities demonstrated through their speech acts of the indigenous *Khombaye-lu*[32] [who we sound] (de Vries 2012), and Anutan as *patagoni*[33] and *kainanga* (Freiberg 1988) are compared against the wider hegemonic contexts that Parry brings with him. Parry's narrative hybridity of *becoming-being* dragged the cultural and complex cosmologies of the Anutans and *Khombaye-lu* into a binary system associated with colonial tropes of race. Basu notes that,

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[32] See chapter 2. According to de Vries (2012), Khombaye-lu is the autonym name the Kombai give themselves in their language. Kombai is an Indonesian exonym or version of the term Kombaye-lu

[33] See chapter 2. According to Freiberg (1988), patagoni is the immediate Anutan family or extended family unit. Kainanga is an Anutan clan.

> Tribe thus reproduces a romantic fantasy of the modern Western mind, which idealizes and constructs indigenous peoples as being closer to the 'natural' state of humankind, and innocent of the moral corruption, which is perceived to blight modern, industrialized society. Connected still to their more authentic ways of life, their traditional customs and beliefs, the endangered tribespeople are portrayed as living in harmony with their environments, keepers of all that we have lost or destroyed. (2009, p.100)

Parry's narrative hybridity of *becoming-being* is the vehicle through which indigenous cultures such as the Anutans and the Kombai are romanticised to where the realities of their lives become 'unseen'. While Parry wonders at the paradisiacal lives of the Anutans and their concept of *aropa*, issues of daily survival such as being able to catch enough fish to eat, the lack of medical care, and a growing wealth gap are footnotes to the main narrative of Anutans living simply and sustainably. The Kombai move from savagery to living a laidback life taking from nature what they need back to savagery. Basu's comment emphasises the continuous re-imagination of colonial tropes. The analyses of Parry's programmes reveal the encouragement of these tropes through his voiceovers, shots of the indigenous peoples as smiling, playful, and almost childlike, as well as film shots of their environments which is both cruel but where the indigenous peoples live well. The rhetorical relations linking film events, the montage or the long take become important in maintaining the romanticised image of indigenous peoples as they provide an undisturbed shortcut of the worldviews and contexts of these peoples.

A potential consequence is that Parry's narrative hybridity within cultural liminal spaces of Pasifika peoples ignores or overshadows the creative production of Pasifika peoples negating such ideologies. Much of their creative production is within the liminal spaces of the designated identities of *Pacific(colonial)—Pasifika*. However, in a popular programme such as *Tribes*, Parry's aim to be Anutan or to be Kombai works within the same Pasifika discourse space. One possible effect is that contemporary Pasifika work that critiques their modern quotidian realities become evidence of indigenous peoples as, what Basu (2009) calls, the keepers of all that is lost and the need to return to basics.

Ngaire Fuata's narrative subjectivity is interesting from a different perspective. When Fuata arrives to Rotuma, she is home. Thus, her identity is Rotuman. But as I stated above that Rotuman identity is defined within the wider cultural context of New Zealand and New Zealand-Pasifika. Therefore, just as Parry carries with him the

cultural baggage of hybrid genres of transnational media, Fuata also carries with her (literally and metaphorically) the luggage of the New Zealand and the Pan-Pacific mediascapes. In Rotuma, Fuata's experience is to validate her own designated self as Rotuman. Events such as the *mamasa*, *fara,* or personal events such as visiting the graves of her ancestors are liminal spaces in which Fuata negotiates her identity through the Rotuman cosmology of relatedness and family links. While Parry's narrative hybridity is *becoming-being*, Fuata's narrative hybridity in the Rotuman cosmology is *New Zealand-Rotuman — Rotuman*. To go 'home' is to experience the Rotuman culture, land, and identity without the New Zealand-hyphen lens. To feel proud in being Rotuman is to earn that subjectivity without the crutch of the New Zealand-hyphen construct. Unlike Parry who permits the negotiation and stripping of his exploration presenter persona in his *becoming-being* hybridity, Fuata's strict narrative control over her subjectivity in the programme only strengthens the New Zealand-based cultural lens. Perspectives and other voices with the potential to challenge that cultural lens are marginalised to the point where they are nothing more than background shots as actuality colour. Therefore, the processes of decreation, recreation, negotiation in liminal spaces are lost.

The analyses of events in *Selat se Rotuma* identify certain camera angles and rhetorical relations which keep alternative perspectives in the margins. In terms of audio space in the programme, Fuata occupies most of that space through voiceovers and diegetic commentaries. The rest is actuality sound, music soundtracks. Fuata is telling the story not so much of her 'homecoming'; she is telling the story about how she interprets her homecoming. This may seem like semantics, but they are different perspectives which can be compared to the long shots of Wambitman in which a change in depth of focus produces a small change of seeing. To tell the story of her homecoming would create space for other voices as she is the one being acted upon i.e., the implied object. But an interpretation of her homecoming is an outside perspective in which she is the subject commenting on events in which part of the commentary are evaluations and assessments. A small change in semantic goals would widen the discourse space for people to speak for themselves.

Therefore, Fuata's narrative hybridity is the complex formulation of *New Zealand-Rotuman — Rotuman* in which Rotuman is the ideological other. The New Zealand-Rotuman label indicates being born in New Zealand and with Rotuman

heritage. The *mamasa* ceremony and the *fara* kindle relatedness and connections and are spaces where she could be stripped off her New Zealand-Rotuman self. But this does not happen as evidenced in the predominant use of closeups shots to emphasise her narrative dominance and role. The result is the entrenchment of the dominant New Zealand-Rotuman self which at the end of her film is the only self. The island Rotuman experience has been side-lined. Rotuman academic and writer Vilsoni Hereniko (1999) explains that in the Rotuman culture, a person is a location of shared histories, biographies, and stories of the origins of people's connections to each other. In the first part of Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma*, a substantial proportion is spent on her own biography followed by the biography of her father. She is trying to establish her Rotuman subjectivity by establishing her connections and stories. Hereniko (1999) also states, "outside one's island of birth, identity becomes variable and more susceptible to manipulation" (p.150). Fuata's father manipulated his identity (by omission) by not correcting assumptions that he was New Zealand Māori. Fuata is manipulating her identity of trying to turn an already hybrid New Zealand-Rotuman identity into a complete sense of Rotuman. Unlike Parry's narrative hybridity of *becoming-being* which seems straight forward, Fuata's definition of self is complex. She begins the programme with a fixed identity of Rotuman through the concept of going home. She desires that identity to validated. Potentially, she could have the same narrative hybridity as Parry's but her control over her subjectivity disintegrates that thought.

Wambitman's journey of self is a sad story of how his subjectivity is reduced to one which is foreign and one which is imposed. Wambitman's journey is also the metaphysical journal of Wasur National Park, his customary home. The only subjectivity Wambitman has is based on nostalgia and loss: namely past verses present. Wambitman's discourse is within the context of being colonised. He is an example of losing the ability speak and to be heard as his voice. His tradition and his self is Indonesianised. In juxtaposing the analysis of *The Last Hunter* against the analyses of Parry's and Fuata's programmes, Wambitman's experience of the colonised self and the marginalisation of that experience gives an insight into the dynamics of imposed marginalisation from the perspective of the marginalised. In Parry's *Tribes* programmes, the Anutans and Kombai must deal with the imposed marginal stereotype of tribal. In Fuata's programme, being Rotuman is a marginalised position against her New Zealand-Rotuman lens. The analyses of *Selat se Rotuma* and Parry's *Tribes* programmes unveil

these dynamics from the presenters' side of cultural interaction. In the short documentary film, *The Last Hunter,* Wambitman unveils the process of colonisation from his perspective as the colonised. Such a perspective is often theorised but to see this process filmed is incredible in the sense that quotidian colonisation is witnessed.

Wambitman's physical position as colonised is a metaphor for the possible ideological effects of the colonial (re-)imagining of transnational ethnotainment and Pasifika ethnotainment programmes such as Parry's *Tribes* and Fuata's *Selat se Rotuma*. For instance, the nationalisation of Wasur wetlands aims to protect indigenous peoples and their customary traditions while at the same time protect the pristine environment, used to promote ecotourism. The Park and its peoples become attractions of exotic primitivism, which is transcendental, pure, and uncorrupted. In Parry and Fuata's programmes, the filmed indigenous groups become export fodder feeding tribal popularity, of which such an appetite is also disguised as transcendental. In June 2020, Parry did a livestreamed Facebook interview with an organisation called Medicine Festival whose goal is to "inspire authentic connection and regeneration for people and planet" (medicinefestival.com). Modern tribalism is a popular movement in which people disillusioned with modernity imitate and appropriate principles of indigenous peoples' lifestyles to connect with the living environment. One viewer posted the comment during the interview,

> we've much to be thankful from these indigenous tribes sharing their plant medicine and knowledge with us...Bless them and save them all and their lands.

In juxtaposing Wambitman's colonised position against this comment, marginalised indigenous peoples have little choice. Opinions such as the one expressed above are naive, and they demonstrate Tuhiwai Smith's view in which good-willed people enter indigenous communities to

> gather traditional herbal and medicinal remedies... collect the intangibles: the belief systems and ideas about healing, about the universe, about relationships and ways of organizing, and the practices and rituals which go alongside such beliefs, such as sweat lodges, massage techniques, chanting, hanging crystals and wearing certain colours. (2012, pp.25-26)

Parry's narrative hybridity of *becoming-being* gives him the authority to speak on behalf of the indigenous groups he visits and under the guise that he is preserving their cultures

and sharing their knowledge to save his modern world. This is no different to the Indonesian's colonial policy of nationalisation in which customary lands are taken by the Indonesian government and turned into conservation parks for the purpose of protecting indigenous peoples and biodiversity.

I call my project the (re-)imagining of Pasifika peoples. Based on the discussion above, this is *present-perfect 'post'-colonisation.* My application of hybridity in Parry and Fuata's roles as programme presenters can be debated, but through the aim of 'being one of...' my application of hybridity is valid, given that Parry is in a state of identity limbo through the very act of being one of the tribe. In Fuata's case, her 'hybridity' is nuanced. She is going to a place she calls home. Conceptually, this is no different to Parry's 'being one of...' She is going home to be one at and with her 'cultural' home. She settles on an identity of Rotuman (as suggested by her journey home), but she is too much in control of the maintenance of that identity; instead, her New Zealand-Rotuman self becomes an imitation of Rotuman. In this context, it is of little wonder that Samoan writer and academic Albert Wendt heavily criticises and decries Bhabha's liminality and hybridity concepts of smacking of colonial racism. But what of the filmed indigenous groups? The following discussion looks the strategies the indigenous groups may use along the borders or margins of their filmed positions as objects.

9.3.2 Walking Along the Edges

In Parry's *Tribes* programmes of the Anutans and Kombai, these indigenous groups are far from passive in their filmed narrative roles as objects. Their activism is what I perceive as edgewalking. The filmed indigenous groups experience multiple cultural and social contexts in being filmed (and in not being filmed). These contexts interweave together to form a whole sense of self. The 'I' is not just a single statement, but one which comprises of complex knowledge systems and cultural sources (Nakata, 2007). The 'I' is based on common connections developed and sustained by stories and echoes of other stories (Mageo, 2001). Story-telling and other forms of memory creation such as dance and chants are practices which relates the self to a community, to private and public spaces, and to environmental contexts. The 'I' is less about egocentrism or individualism but about awareness of a person's place among a web of

connections and knowledge. The Anutans and the Kombai demonstrate this through concepts of *aropa* or through a family community in which decisions about that family's survival is dependent on its clan and territorial connections. Parry's desire to experience these knowledge cosmologies is actively challenged. Parry's immersion into their cultures and lives is an egocentric action. Parry has no connection or place in their cosmologies. He had never met them before, yet he wants temporary membership. My analyses indicate that the Anutans and the Kombai blur Parry's narrative goals by edgewalking their social and cultural contexts to perform being 'tribal', while at the same time maintain their subjectivities based on the autonyms of *Khombaye-lu* (Indonesian version: Kombai) or Anutan.

Heavy adaptation of cultural rites of passage such as the Anutan *Vai pa* ceremony or the Kombai ritual of genital inversion are examples of their performance in being 'tribal' in reciprocation to Parry's performance to be one of them. My analyses of this project's focus programmes show the extent of such performances and the contextual edges these indigenous groups manage. The *Film Event Analysis Method* can also indicate when they decide to stop performing tribal and live their identity as Anutan or *Khombaye-lu*, which are exclusive. For example, in Parry's programme of the Kombai, while resting from hunting wild pigs, Bofo Kwo notices how Parry performs in front of the camera; therefore, like Parry he also performs in front of the camera. In this moment, Bofo Kwo is performing the narrative role of object by acting tribal. Through this performance he is mocking the expectations of Parry's performance as a presenter, which in turn makes Parry the object and Bofo Kwo the subject. This questions Parry's aim to be Kombai and the authenticity of his experience of living as Kombai. Bofo Kwo's action reveals familiarity with the media context and with being filmed which puts into doubt the perceived primitivism and cultural purity of the Kombai. However, his performance as tribal is secondary to his role as a *Khombaye-lu*. For instance, when Bofo Kwo hears his dogs locate a pig, Bofo Kwo stops acting tribal and employs the act of *Khombaye-lu* subjectivity. This includes accessing tacit and intangible knowledge learned through forms of ecoliteracy such as oral histories, stories, and symbolic acts. Bofo Kwo reads the forest like a book in order to navigate unseen territorial paths to catch his prey. Parry is trying to keep up with Bofo Kwo in both a literal and metaphorical sense. This is an example of where Bofo Kwo is not performing Kombai; he is *Khombaye-lu*.

In Parry's programme of the Anutans, they also edgewalk the expected performances of being Anutan and their identity as Anutan. As indicated in the film event analyses, Parry's aim of Anutan manhood is subverted to the position of the feminine or child, according to the binary perspective of the Anutan cosmology (Feinberg, 1982). While humorous to watch, Parry's failures in activities such as deep-sea fishing, night bird hunting, or night fishing are failures in finding food to provide for families. Parry's inability to exercise the concept of *aropa* limits his access to the Anutan cosmology. Parry's status as a child in the Anutan community and culture is like his status as a child in the Kombai community.

Proximity to the Anutan centric position determines the level at which an outsider is admitted. Parry belongs to the *paparangi* or Western/European which is at the farthest periphery. Like the Kombai, the Anutans are aware of the media context Parry brings with him. The bastardised form of *Vai pa* exemplify their participation in being tribal, but there are moments in which the theatricality of that performativity ends, and they engage with each other in their language which excludes Parry. Their language is their identity and by speaking Anutan, Parry is no longer admitted into their world.

The Last Papuan Hunter also exemplifies edgewalking. Leo Wambitman walks the edges between his desire to hunt and the reality of subsistence living. However, in his interviews, his discourse unveils a maintenance of subjectivity and persona in that he is *The* last hunter. Wambitman is metaphorically on the cultural edge in which he balances the cultural urge to hunt, of which he performs the act, and his need to make a living doing farm work and cutting logs. The psychological stress of such a balancing act is explained in a comment where he states he feels sick when he does not catch anything and happy when he does. Based on the discussion up to this point, Wambitman also walks the edges of absence and presence. His cultural identity and the presence of that identity is founded in the cosmology he shares with Wasur National Park. Yet dominant in its appearance is absence which threatens that cosmology. Walking the edge of his connection with the park is maintained in that he assumes Wasur Park still has resources to offer, and that Wasur can fulfil those assumptions. This film deals with real issues metaphysically, but it does point towards the importance of Pasifika ecoliteracy and acknowledging the larger social and cultural contexts in which Pasifika peoples navigate. *The Last Papuan Hunter* demonstrates cosmological space as one that connects and separates.

The strict maintenance of the I-subject in Ngaire Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma*, as discussed already, limits the space and opportunities for Rotumans to edgewalk. Rather than unveil moments of edgewalking, I interpret my film event analysis of *Selat se Rotuma* as presenting a '*post'-colonial colonised* mindset reflecting *Perfect-Present 'Post'-Colonialism.* Inspired by Jorge Klor de Alva (1995) and writers such as Australian Aborigine Roberta Sykes, cultural *Perfect-Present 'Post'-Colonialism* implies post-colonialism as nothing more than a nominal state referring to the political end of colonialism. Despite this, 'present-perfect', as in the tense, notes an event occurring in the past, but the effect of that event is still felt in the present. 'Post'-colonial colonialism is a summative phrase to refer to the various meanings associated with 'post'. Apart from meaning 'after' or 'subsequent', 'post' can also mean support or a location in which "postcoloniality is contained within colonialism" (klor de Alva, 1995, p. 245) because of its dependency and existence with coloniality, if this dependency exists, the mindset is still colonised.

As a post-colonial New Zealand production in New Zealand, Fuata's programme reveal the complementary relationship between the visual and audio modes to sustain her narrative. Competing narratives offered by incongruent connections between these modes are resolved by the subordination rhetorical relations. *Selat Se Rotuma* could be interpreted as illustrating a particular mindset that supports and sustains the imagination and expectations of a dominant centre: the New Zealand socio-cultural lens. My film event analysis shows how the ecoliteracy of Rotumans is replaced with Fuata's own understanding of Rotuman events such as *Fara* or the welcome ceremony the *Mamasa*. Fuata recontextualises these events in the New Zealand or New Zealand Pasifika context with small references such as carolling or during her ferry trip to Rotuma, images promoting the homogenous stereotype of happy laidback Pasifika people who enjoy kava drink (which tastes the same everywhere in the Pacific).

To move to the point of being post or beyond the effects of colonisation as opposed to inadvertently supporting or working within colonialism is to decolonise the mind (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). For New Zealand-born Pasifika peoples, the issue is whether they can escape the New Zealand cultural perspective shaping their sense of Pasifika. Krebs (1999) and Tupuola (2004) says it is possible through edgewalking which reveal the multiplicity and nuances of identity. Wendt (1999) notes that Pasifika narratives can have

the same and parallel space as colonial narratives. They can complement or contrast, contend or correct colonial narratives to draw the 'post' colonial Pasifika body.

9.5 The Camera, Film Modes, and Frames

My film event analyses of my chosen set of programmes demonstrate aspects about programme/filmmaking affecting the (re-)presentation of the presenters and the filmed groups in ethnotainment. One aspect is the role of the camera as a filming apparatus or as an implied actor or spectator in a filmed world.

So-called action shots in my chosen set of programmes such as tracking shots convey authenticity and realism. But such filming techniques make ambivalent the first-person and third-person point-of-views. Examples are following tracking shots behind Parry as he treks through the jungle to reach the Kombai or as he greets the Anutans. One the one hand, this is a third-person point-of-view observing the action of Parry. On the other hand, the tracking shot simulates the gaze of someone who is a part of that story world and, therefore through this embedded perspective, the camera becomes an implied actor. The long take is also another filming technique which can also blur perspectives. In the underwater shots of Anutans fishing, the hand-held camera swimming around the Anutans simulates a gaze of a person underwater. Like the tracking shots, the first perspective layer is a third person point-of-view as the Anutans are being observed. However, in the discourse context of the event in the programme of the Anutans, this is an embedded perspective simulating a first-person point-of-view. Ambivalence regarding the role of the camera can encourage the view of seeing-in, i.e., a descriptive view of the indigenous peoples; thereby following the overall plot of the programme. The consequence is the reiteration of colonial mimetic capital that establish stereotypes of primitivism, nativism, and exoticism. Ambivalence can also simulate and guide the spectator's gaze through an embedded point-of-view in order to see-as the presenter which reinforces his/her interpretation of the filmed indigenous peoples. This creates an empathetic relationship with the presenter as the spectator experiences what the presenter experiences. This includes the presenter's perceived bias towards an indigenous group.

Framing or shot composition also has an impact on the (re-) presentation of the presenters and the filmed indigenous groups. In the case of the *Tribe* programme featuring the Kombai, the dominant camera shot is the third-person long shot. This is an objective

point of view indicating the camera's role as "machine at work" (Branigan, 2006). But the wide-angle long shot also has a significant effect on the concept of framing. In essence it extends the frame. This type of shot opens space for framing the invisible and which are captured by the camera. This includes out-of-frame audio which can become an important part of plot development. This could add a secondary theme or topic developed in parallel to the shot's main theme, or as a subtle form of subversion making the main topic ambivalent and ambiguous.

However, contrary to this, the third-person long shot can also limit discourse and image space within a shot's frame. This is noticeable in *Selat Se Rotuma* in events such as the *fara* in which the main camera shot is the long shot from a high angle (looking down as opposed to looking at). In this programme, this camera filming technique opens space for Fuata's voiceover which provides an overview description to match the visual 'description' of the event. This restricts the frame and its contents to emphasis a particular focus.

The use of the camera in the film of Leo Wambitman, *The Last Hunter*, demonstrates the phenomenology of the camera through the montage shot, in which the gaze is to see-as the Wetlands or to see-as Wambitman's dogs or Wambitman himself. This is to see beyond a medium awareness of the image as a representation and to see-as that image in order to be connected to that image. Therefore, montage shots of the Wetlands containing extreme long shots of a scene to closeup shots on an object within that scene forces a closer view. The effect is to see-as that object, to understand the symbolism of that object, to realise the meaning of the object's context, and to witness the reality of that object. The camera works as the transcendental eye/I subject. As the film deals with loss and absences, the transcendental eye/I forces the spectator to look at the absence and to see-as absence to understand its meaning. Slow long shots with a camera pan movement, low angle long shots, following tracking shots, and stationary camera long shots in *The Last Hunter* maintain the phenomenology of seeing-as.

9.5.1 The camera's I/eye as work in Ethnotainment.

Camera as a phenomenon affects framing events, and even further how a film frame is defined. For instance, film elements outside a frame are out-of-view and so are invisible but at the same time they are captured by the camera (Chanan, 2008). One

example are diegetic sounds. Diegetic sounds are normally categorised as atmospheric, but when included in the context, and inherently captured by the camera as a part of the framed event, sounds seen as superfluous can directly develop that filmic event and impact its discourse context and meaning. One analysed example is Parry is walking ashore to greet the Anutan children waiting there. One small piece of diegetic audio is a woman with the children telling them in Anutan not to be afraid of Parry. After which the children speak to Parry in English. This is a small piece of background diegetic sound, but it subverts Parry's premise of Anuta as the remotest place on Earth. The children are young, yet they demonstrate a good level of bilingualism inferring contact with the modern world. Other invisible out-of-frame elements can be visual such as the eyeline gaze implying out-of-frame dynamics that directly influence the filmed dynamics in a shot. These examples indicate the role of the camera being part of the story world as an implied participant with a point-of-view rather than an objective filming instrument.

A times, the camera is positioned outside the story telling world in the sense that it is an objective inanimate machine which records or films; in other words, a machine at work (Branigan, 2006). Ngaire Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma* is an example of the objectivity of the camera. Examples are the closeup shots of Fuata as she talks to the camera. The camera-as-outside-the-story-telling-world has a function which "continues to hold or centre a character or significant object in frame (i.e., continuously reframes)" Branigan (2006, p.26). This limits space for any other subjectivity and restricts opportunities for ambiguity or ambivalence. In Fuata's programme, the camera films her through tight closeup shots making her visually dominant. Parry is also visually dominant, but in difference to Fuata, the indigenous people in his programmes claim discourse space to form alternative narratives. Parry uses the voiceover to deal with this, but his voiceovers are unable to make invisible or absent marginalised elements which must be included without affecting the story of his experience. In the case of both Fuata and Parry, the camera demonstrates the concept of seeing-in (Hopkins, 2008) in the sense that the camera sees-in much in the same way Fuata, or Parry see-in the indigenous groups.

The camera in *The Last Hunter* is a phenomenon that is not only part of the story world but captures the transcendental reality of both Leo Wambitman and the Wasur Wetlands as subjects. This is in parallel to filming actual reality (Knudsen 2008). To achieve this, the camera demonstrates anthropomorphic qualities. The camera's eye sees-as as opposed to seeing-in. In the case of *The Last Hunter*, to see-as something is to

see the abstract, to see beyond the frame, and beyond the filmed event. To see-as is to see the psychological and the transcendental/metaphysical. *The Last Hunter* uses montages and anthropomorphic effects, and implied points of views. An example is the very low-angled long-shot looking up at treetops with a 360-degree pan and with little context to locate them. Another example is the straight cut which moves from one scene to the next imitating the movement of the eye as it changes focus from one object to the next. A last example is a tracking shot following Wambitman from the eye level of his hunting dogs. Wambitman and the Wasur National Park are co-protagonists as their survival are intertwined. The anthropomorphic qualities the camera employs make present the absent antagonist which is the Indonesian government and the military. Their presence is sensed through the absence of animal life in the park. The hunting of the poaching soldiers is present through the absence of hunting by indigenous people such as Wambitman. Wambitman's transcendental reality as a hunter is understood through his physical reality as a gatherer of logs.

The role of the camera has implications regarding to what I refer to as the power(less) role of editing. Editing maintains the dramaturgy of a programme. In programmes dealing with indigenous or minority groups, this focus can inadvertently minimise their voices, and thus threaten the potentiality of that voice from being heard (and seen). But as seen in the Parry programmes, editing does not eliminate the voice of the other completely. This voice cannot be eliminated entirely without affecting a programme's dramaturgy in developing the protagonist's narrative. However, when the role of the presenter is so strong (as in the case of Fuata), spaces for alternative voices or points-of-view are buried through transitions such as the shot-cutaway-cutback-to-shot sequence. Another editing transition which limited the indigenous voice in Fuata's programme is the straight cut. As indicated by Wildfeuer (2014) and Allen (1983), the straight cut signifies the end of one topic and the start of another. The straight cut is used to maintain narrative and plot linearity as well as the overall theme in Fuata's programme. However, as shown in the analysis of her programme, it stops the development of sub-plots and topics which could introduce different perspectives and bring depth to the main theme. The straight cut was used to complement the change of subject in her voiceovers or diegetic commentaries.

But in the Parry programmes, the narrative of Parry was at times contested indicating power dynamics through the eyeline match cut. This is suggested in the

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Kombai programme, in particular Namufu's stories of cannibalism. Close up shots of Namufu looking to Parry out-of-frame indicate Namufu as the subject. He is the actor-storyteller, and the story is his oral history. However, an eyeline match cut transitioning from Namufu to Parry infers interesting dynamics. A closeup of Parry (looking at Namufu out-of-frame) visually communicates Parry as the object of Namufu's gaze. However, through the closeup angle of Parry, Parry becomes the visual subject who is doing the action of listening. Namufu's storytelling is background audio to which Parry is listening. An eyeline match cut from Parry to Namufu recontextualises Namufu as the subject-storyteller. Namufu is the object is Parry's gaze and he is the object of Parry's action of listening. This back-and-forth dynamic through the eyeline match cut is significant as the recipient of the gaze is both subject and object.

9.5.2   Performativity in Ethnotainment: A question of who who is.

In the ethnotainment programmes of focus in this study, the presenters, Bruce Parry, Ngaire Fuata, Leo Wambitman, and the Wasur National Wetland Park are the "I" subjects. The Anutans, Kombai, Rotuman, and, by implication, Indonesian military, are the objects. While their narrative roles are theoretically clear, in practice and through ambiguous cultural interaction, the boundaries between subject and object are blurred in which the roles are inversed, or one and the same.

On reason is the level of performativity each group performs in the act of being 'native' within the theatricality of 'first and ongoing contact'. In the analysed programmes, groups decide when to perform being tribal and when to employ their autonymic subjectivity of "I am". The first decision reveals the mimicry of being tribal demonstrating knowledge of perceptions they and foreigners bring with them in cross-cultural interactions (Balme, 2017). The second decision is an exclusive declaration or speech acts of 'I am *Khombaye-lu*, Anutan, etc', according to their historical worldviews and values. This is a type of speech act which rejects the imposition of outside perceptions demanding performative acts of false tribality. The Kombai and Anutan's options confuse the narrative roles of subject and object. On the one hand, if the indigenous groups mimic being tribal, then they are either sustaining an expected narrative role of object and, thereby, upholding Parry's presenter role as subject, or they are changing roles within the dominant narrative in which Parry becomes an object of their mimicry. Thus, the

indigenous peoples employ the discourse of the double-voiced trickster. On the other hand, in their enactment of autonymic speech acts of "I am..", they are the ideological subject within their own narrative frames which parallel the programmes and Parry's narratives.

The subtle ambiguity and ambivalence of subject and object is visible through the gaze of the filmed groups evidenced through editing and camera techniques. One example is taken from Parry's programme of the Anutans. In one event, Parry is sitting in a circle with the Anutan women washing turmeric in the ocean. A cut to match his eyeline reveals a first-person point-of-view, while the return gaze of the women, illustrated by an eyeline match cut, follows their perspective, make him the object, yet at the same time, his visual dominance in a shot makes him the visual subject. At times, an embedded view belongs to neither the women nor Parry. Either this is an embedded implied third-person point-of-view represented by the camera as machine-at-work (Braningan, 2006), or an abstract first-person perspective (of the camera). In these embedded types of shots, Parry and the women are simultaneously the subject of the shot and the object of the gaze. In the same event, an objective long shot from outside the group is employed of which both the women and Parry are a single object unit. Parry is hidden among the women.

In Ngaire Fuata's programme *Selat se Rotuma*, performativity is expressed differently. In her programme of her cultural journey home, Fuata is enacting or performing the process of becoming Rotuman as she is coming from a perspective that she is Rotuman. Her performativity is to not be the hybrid New Zealand-Rotuman, yet, in her cross-cultural contact with Rotuman on Rotuma island, she surreptitiously enacts that New Zealand-Rotuman identity. This is because she performs being Rotuman, much in the same way Parry performs being tribal. Like Parry, she must be taught. For example, she goes to a cousin's home who explains procedure of the *mamasa* and expectations. Fuata's performativity of Rotuman restricts the fluidity and flow of subject and object in the programme, and as such, her subjectivity as Rotuman is strictly cultivated. In the composition of many shots in the programme, Fuata is centre or mostly in the foreground plane of a shot. Eyeline shots are from her point-of-view, particularly if she is looking towards something out-of-frame and the following shot captures what she sees as a New Zealand-Rotuman away from her New Zealand home.

The short film *The Last Hunter* of Leo Wambitman presents a different interpretation of subject, object and performativity. In the film, Wambitman is the

narrative subject. The film is about him as *The* Last Hunter. However, most of the film is about his experiencing the effects of poaching from outsiders. Wambitman is acted upon, and he reacts. Through this understanding, Wambitman becomes the object while the issue of outside poaching is the subject. In his interviews, he discusses these effects through the first-person point-of-view i.e. 'I'. At times he uses "we" while at other times the subject is the park. Through his own dialogue, Wambitman uses an inclusive perspective in his use of 'I' in which he, the indigenous peoples in the park, and the park itself are one. For instance, the peppering of interview excerpts within long-takes of him walking through the park, or voiceover techniques with montage shots of the park infer this. In these long shots, Wambitman wanders the park looking for prey to hunt. He is imitating the act of being a traditional hunter because he cannot 'be' a hunter. The imitation is to pretend and is based on nostalgia. In Wambitman's worldview, hunting and Wambitman are one and the same, yet he cannot enact and embody that subjectivity. In later shots, the act of his gathering wood as an alternative reveals a reluctant embodiment of that enactment which is he *is* a non-hunter, a gatherer.

9.6 Where to Now?

My film event analyses unpacked the interactions of visual and audio modes in film shots and between film shots to understand the dynamics between the presenters and filmed groups of ethnotainment programmes in this research project. The findings of my analyses show that the way a camera is used, the types of angles, the influence of audio (both in and out-of-frame) can create subsidiary topics which potentially subvert plot aims. My use of the *Film Event Analysis Method* suggests possible areas which can be developed in decolonising images of Pasifika and indigenous peoples in popular media. The rhetorical relations demonstrating moments of subversion, ambivalence, ambiguity, and imposition point to the importance of how shots are framed and the type of transitions between shots or filmed events. In the architecture of a programme, transitions are used to drive the action from one spatial temporality to the next. The main goal of editing transitions is continuity. However, the meanings inferred from point-of-view, composition, diegetic sound, and dialogue can be affected by editing. For example, the common structure used in Fuata's programme is what I refer to as the sandwich structure

of shot-cutaway- cutback-shot sequence. This affects the roles of subject and object, and the meaning of any dialogue.

Editing affects the architecture of narrative, the dramaturgy of plot, and the framing and composition of a shot. Research, such as Bordwell and Branigan, focus on the phenomenology of the camera, but one possible development from this project is to perhaps discuss the phenomenology of editing. In Pasifika film production which draw upon Pasifika ecoliteracy, one possible question of investigation is whether it is possible to discuss the idea of decolonising editing as a process in creating meaning and representation. The concept of editing would be regarded as a contested interface, and as such editing transitions are spatial temporalities of meaning. The rhetorical relations which link one film event to the next emerge from the contested interface of the edit.

Another area which needs further examination is how the role New Zealand-Pasifika production about Pasifika people affect their representation. I only focused on one programme, but preliminary or surface analyse of programmes with the same aim of Fuata's demonstrate early indications similar to the outcomes in the Fuata analysis. As mentioned above, I was surprised by the results of Fuata's programmes. Her programme demonstrated *present-perfect 'post' -colonialism* of other Pasifika peoples, which in turn relegated them as the *'post'-colonial colonial.*

New Zealand-Maori documentary maker Barry Barclay coined the term fourth cinema defined as a "'reworking' of the 'ancient core values' of Indigenous cultures" (Murray, 2008, p.17). Fourth cinema is a "point of address, an attitude towards film is in totality that constitutes the use of the camera by Indigenous filmmakers on their own terms" (Murray, 2008, p. 18). The short documentary of Wambitman is an example of fourth cinema as it demonstrates depth into Wambitman's culture and the endangerment of his culture through pace, filming technique, and silences to create a representation faithful to his story. Therefore, to conclude, documentaries and other vehicles of indigenous expression should be "like letters written to friends" (Barclay, 1990, 116).

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			Appendix 1 Plot Event1 Parry's Arrival		
Segmented Event	**Shot number**	**Shot**	**Shot Description**	**Audio**	**Dialogue**
Sub-event 1 Anuta	1		Extreme Long Shot Anutans waiting on the beach of Anuta for Parry's arrival	Sounds of ocean, distant voices of people on beach. Synthesised ambient sounds fade in when voice over begins.	**Voice over :** "The island of Anuta is surrounded by…
	2		Long shot of Parry's yacht in background and Parry in middle of an outrigging canoe paddled by two Anutans. Parry finishes the voice over from shot 1.	synthesised ambient music. Underneath sounds of lapping water.	…a shallow reef, so our yacht anchors off shore an' I'm paddled towards the beach."
Sub-event 1 Hello	3		Camera follows behind Parry as he greets the children. Third person point of view.		
	4		Camera following mid-shot behind Parry as he walks toward the children and greets them. This is a long take	Sounds of light drumming are added to the synthesised ambient music and non-diegetic sounds of the waves on beach.	
					Diegetic dialogue: One of the female adults to children ((Anutan language)) subtitled "don't be scared of him"
Sub-event 3 English	4		Close up of the children Parry is talking to. Parry's (1st person point of view) Cut back to next shot as Parry says "look at you guys"		BP: laughs
	5		Medium long shot in third person point of view of Parry talking to children		PARRY (to a child) What is your name?" LAURENCE: My name is Laurence. PARRY: Laurence!
					PARRY (to another child) And your name?
	6		zoom out to long shot of Parry and the children to establish the voice over. Third person objective	People talking. Sounds of ocean, distant voices of people on beach. Underneath, synthesised string and the light rhythm of Polynesian drums	**Voice over** Anuta's one of the Solomon Islands, which used to be under British rule, but even so, I didn't expect this many people
	7		Close up of the children Parry is talking to. Third person subjective. Jump cut to next shot		to speak English
Sub-event 4 Meet the Anutans	8		Parry is followed by the children as he walks towards the rest of the Anutan community waiting to greet him. Camera is tracking Parry. Third person objective. Jump cut to next shot.		Apparently many months can go by without a ship being sighted

Segmented Event	Shot number	Shot	Shot Description	Audio	Dialogue
Sub-event 4 Meet the Anutans	8		Parry is followed by the children as he walks towards the rest of the Anutan community waiting to greet him. Camera is tracking Parry. Third person objective. Jump cut to next shot.		so someone coming ashore is a big event
	9		Parry shaking hands with individual Anutans . Third person objective, medium shot		The entire community is here to greet me
	10		Mid-shot of Parry continuing to greet Anutans further down the beach		and I'm told I must shake hands with each and every one of them.
	11		Long shot of Anutans following Parry		
	12		Parry walking to meet all the Anutans. Camera following behind him.		**Diegetic dialogue:** Parry **to camera** This is really phenomenal. What a reception.
					Everyone is out, all smiling
			As Parry turns to look towards people out-of-frame, camera matches the action to transit to a cut away in the next shot.		ah just a warm feeling
	13		Cutaway shot of the three women are the objects of what Parry was looking at in previous shot. Also, camera is embedded in the crowd and it see what Parry is gazing towards		
	14		Cutback to main scene of Parry talking to camera.		and let's face it,
					look around. What an amazing place. I'm in paradise

Appendix 2 Plot Event 2 Parry 1st Fishing Trip					
Segmented Events/Shot #	**Shot number**	**Frames**	**Description of Shot /Event**	**Sound (diegetic and non-diegetic**	**Dialogue**
Shot 1 Anutan Fishing	1		Single long take of Derek (Parry's Anutan host) fishing. Underwater camera is moving around Derek.	sustained synthesised atmospheric music. Sound of lapping sea water	
					Voice Over: Parry. I've never seen fishing like this before. The trick is to hang in the water and drop weighted lines down to the reef below
Shot 2 Parry Anutan Fishing	2		Transiition is a cut away from Derek to Parry. Single long take. This is a long shot.	sutained synthesised atmospheric music Sound of lapping sea water.	
Shot 3 Parry Explains	3		Cut to single shot of Parry taking a break from is fishing attempt to address the camera . As part of his commentary, he show how the Anutans dangle below the water line.	Sound of Parry treading water.	Parry talking to camera: "You see these guys, their so skilled. They're just dangling like this... *(Takes deep breath before demonstrating fishing*
				sound of lapping waves	
				sound of lapping ocean waves.	…just looking down and, uh, (laugh) and it's all I can do, apart from trying kick my legs, to keep my head out of the water. "
Shot 4 Derek graceful	4		Single long take of Derek (Parry's Anutan host) fishing. Camera adopts Derek's point of view to watch the line being dropped to reef floor where a fish is caught. Follow Derek's point-of-view as he pulls his catch towards him. Camera moves to third person point-of -view to see Derek kill and store the fish he has caught in his fishing bag.	sustained synthesised atmospheric music. Sound of lapping sea water	**Parry Voice Over:** For such a big guy, Derek's so graceful in the water. The visibility is so good he could see fish swimming on the bottom. All he's got to do is drop his hook into the middle of the shoal. This is precision fishing
				sustained synthesised atmospheric music. Sound of lapping sea water	
Shot 5 Parry experience	5		Cut to Parry who has been above water . He talks to camera	sound of lapping sea water.	Parry talking to camera "You know I've had some bites, but no catches at all. And now that I've lost my hook and my weight, that's not going to happen today. So, I've been pretty useless really"
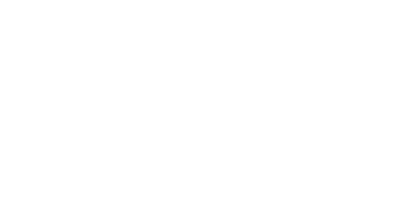
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Appendix 3 Plot Event 3 Rite of Passage

Segmented Event /Shot #	Frame	Event/ shot description	Sound (digetic/ non-diegetic)	Dialogue (diegetic/non-diegetic)
Shot 1.1 Ritual Washing		camera follows Parry and Anutan men as they leave their fishing canoes and walk towards the village. Jump cut to next shot.	light fast percussion of a high pitched slit drum. Non-Diegetic sound of wind, ocean, and rain continuously in background	
				Parry Voice Over. Even though it's pouring with rain, we can't take shelter just yet. A man's first fishing trip is marked with a ritual
Shot 1.2 Sorry		Derek washing Parry with warm ater. He is behind Parry pouring water over Parry's head, silently laughing and looking at others out-of-frame.		PARRY: "Thank---Woah! That's great." (after diegetic comment, **Voice over begins**) First, Derek washes me with warm water.
		Parry looks towards people out-of-frame. Action match cut		Parry: "I'm so sorry everyone else…
Shot 1.3 Cold Spectators		Action match cut to men Parry and Derek were looking at. Men from the fishing crew standing and watching. They are cold and laughing while they watch.		…everyone is standing there freezing cold and here I am really warm... Laugh." Anutan men laughing in reply
Shot 1.4 Parry		Match cut back to medium close up of Parry ie following men's gaze.	Parry laughing. Men talking to each other in Anutan . Percussion music in background	
Shot 1.5 Undeserved		Cut to a medium close up of Derek washing Parry, he is laughing as he does this.	Parry laughing. Men talking to each other in Anutan . Sounds of laughter. Percussion music in background	
				PARRY: "I don't feel I worked hard enough to deserve this."
Shot 1.6 Whoops		Derek pours water too fast over Parry. He laughs silently to others out of frame		PARRY: "Whoops" DEREK: "Sorry, sorry, sorry".
		Derek washing Parry.		DEREK: "Aw". PARRY: "yeah.That really does warm you up".
Shot 2.1		close up of tumeric paste being prepared . Jump cut to next shot	heavy rain . men talking to each in Anutan	
Shot 2.2		Parry being painted with tumeric paste. Cut away to montage sequence of Anutan men painting each other with Tumeric. Parry's non-digetic voice over divided and timed with shot changes		**Voice Over. Parry** Finally, we're all painted with tumeric
Shot 2.3		close ups of Anutan men painting each other with tumeric	Heavy rain. sounds of men talking and softly laughing underneath Parry's non-diegetic voice over	My new friends are shy and quietly spoken. Perhaps living on such a small island doesn't make for big personalities . But their smiles seem to speak of a deep contentment and happiness
		audio jump cut to Parry		(Parry's diegetic commentary begins after his non-diegetic voice over ends) PARRY:"They're all just brilliant"

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Segmented Event /Shot #	Frame	Event/ shot description	Sound (digetic/ non-diegetic)	Dialogue (diegetic/non-diegetic)
Shot 2.4		medium close up of Parry talking to camera		**PARRY:** "They really, really -- I mean it, really are. They're just -- proper smile every time you see someone, always a wave and always a big, heartfelt grin. Every time without exception. It's such a warm place, this. Lovely, lovely place to be".
Shot 2.5		cut away shot of Anutan painting each other with tumeric paste	Anutan men laughing and talking to each other	

			Appendix 4 Plot Event 2 Joke's on You		
Segmented Event	**Shot #**	**Description**	**Event/Shot**	**Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)**	**Dialogue**
Sub-event 1 The Grub Joke	Shot 1.1	Long shot of Bomari and Bofu Kwo showing Parry how they use grubs to clearn wax from their ears. Bomari Parry and Bofu Kwo are sitting on the trunk of a sago tree			Parry voice over: I've been told they also
	Shot 1.2	Close up of Bofu Kwo with a sago grub in his ear.			use the grubs to clean the wax from their ears.
	Shot 1.3	Close up of Bomari putting a sago grub in his ear			so, I've asked them to show me.
	Shot 1.4	Close up of Bofu Kwo with sage grup in ear		woman laughing, men talking to each other in Kombai	
	Shot 1.5	Medium Long shot of Bomari putting a sago grub in Parrry's ear. Bofu Kwo is standing watching		woman out-of-frame yelling	
	Shot 1.6	Bomari cannot put the sago grub into Parry's ear. Bomari hands Bofu Kwo who is standing behind Parry a grub. Parry shows Bomari another grub to try.		women in background speaking, muffled laughter	Parry to Bomari: here try this one it's different.
	Shot 1.7	As Bomari tries to put a grub in Parry's ear, Bofu Kwo slipped a grub in Parry's other ear.		Bomari laughing loudly, much laughter from others out of frame	oh he's already put it in my ear… that's a little but (unintelligble)..
	Shot 1.8	Bomari is laughing and looking at Bofu Kwo standing behind Parry. Bomari is speaking to Bofu Kwo		Bomari laughing uncontrollably, woman in background watching and speaking to Bomari and Bofu Kwo. Laughter in the background	Parry: Ah Bomari (imitating Parry) Ah … laughs. Parry: Nah that's just weird
	Shot 1.9	Medium shot at eye level of Bomari laughing uncontrollably and Parry trying to take the grub out of his ear.		Bomari laughing till he is crying, Bofu Kwo dancing in the background. In background is a woman watching this. She speaks to the men in Kombai	Parry: ow .. Ah I've been bit, they have quite big pinchers. Parry laughing
	Shot 1.10	Close up of one of the men holding the real grub they use to clear their ears			Parry Voice over. The joke's on me. They tell me it's an entirely different grub they use to clean their ears.

Appendix 5 Plot Event 3 Initiation Rite					
Segmented Event/Shot #	**Segmented event**	**Description**	**Event/Shot**	**Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)**	**Dialogue**
Stage 1 Dressing Parry		First part of Kombai initiation. The men tie a band around his foredhead and tie a pig tooth's necklace around his neck.		sounds talking	
				Parry - wow. (as one of the men puts a pig tooth's neclace on Parry's neck) That's great. Woman speaking in Kombai Parry: wow what a great honour	
				sound of talking, light laughter.	**Parry Voiceover**. They hang, a pig's tooth necklace around my neck and tie a cord around my head, the simple adornments of a Kombai man. But then something.
Stage 2. Genital Inversion		Mid shot as Parry strips for the next part of his Kombai initiation rite			much worse. For reasons I'm not entirely clear about, Kombai men invert their penis, somehow pushing it back into their body, and wrapping what's left in a leaf.
		Close up of Bofo Kwo as he prepares Parry's genitals for the inversion ritual		Bofu Kwo laughing	And, with the polite reserve of an Englishman abroad,
		cut away Medium close up of Parry undergoing penis inversion			I don't quite know how to refuse
		cut back Close up of Bofo Kwo inverting Parry's penis		Bofu Kwo talking to Parry and lightly laughing	without causing offence.
Extract for Analysis	Shot 3.1	cut away to medium close up of Parry who not feeling well		BP – Just, er.. (BOFO KWO who will invert Bruce's penis speaking in Kombai and laughing) BP – ooh, ooh…Fuck. No, I'm feeling faint. (Bofu Kwo speaking Kombai)	
	Shot 3.2	Cut to a medium close up of Bomari who is watching and assisting Bofo Kwo		Men speaking in Kombai	
	Shot 3.3	Mid shot of Parry talking to camera. Bofo Kwo is still trying to go through the ritual. Bomari in background has fetched a large leaf for Bofo Kwo		Parry – their trying to like wrap it up and ah or stick it back in, which... culturally sensitive as I wanna be, ah just not getting there. It's kind of weird having this happen, to be honest.	
	Shot 3.4	Mid shot of Bofo Kwo as he tries to carry out the ritual		Parry : Ooh . Light, muffled laughted from Bomari in background.	
	Shot 3.5	Mid shot of Parry trying to walk away from Bofo Kwo who is working with the ritual		Wait, wait, wait, wait, wait. I gotta lie d- Fuck. That is very strange. Ah. Fuck.	
	Shot 3.6	From eye level, shot of Parry doubling over as he tries to stop himself from throwing up			

Segmented Event/Shot #	Segmented event	Description	Event/Shot	Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)	Dialogue
Extract for Analysis	Shot 3.7	Cut away to a mid shot of Bofo Kwo as he watches Parry.			
	Shot 3.8	Cut back to mid shot of Parry as he talks to the camera about what has happened			Parry to camera: Ah, I just went really faint then, like I was about to fall over, and I still can't quite hear my own voice. They rolled my foreskin and then... did a sudden movement with a hand and the thing went back in and, uhm... it was really very unpleasant and I nearly fell over.
		Cut away to Bofo Kwo who is speaking to Parry		Bofo Kwo speaking in Kombai to Parry	
		Cut back to mid shot of Parry as he replies to Bofo Kwo		Parry: No, no, that's not happening.	
		Long shot of men heading back to the clan treehouse.			Parry voice over: Finally, wrapped in a leaf but without the inversion, I realise I'd found my limits in living like a Kombai.

| Event	shot #	Description	Event/Shot	Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)	Dialogue
		pan shot to show passengers on deck before ending shot with Ngaire		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	**Ngaire voice over:** What was originally supposed to be a 36 hour boat ride…
Passengers on Deck		cut away to a long shot of passengers looking out to sea		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	…has turned into 3 days…
		cut to a low angle shot of passengers looking out to sea		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	…and 2 nights….
Sub-event 1 Rotuma	Shot 1.1 Rotuma	match eye line cut to extreme long shot of Rotuma on the horizon		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	…But all of a sudden there it was.
	Shot 1.2 Ngaire's That's Rotuma	cut to a medium shot of Ngaire pointing towards Rotuma while addressing the camera. After finishing talking to camera she turns to look at Rotuma		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	**Ngaire:** "That is Rotuma"
	Shot 1.3 Rotuma 2	Action cut to match Ngaire's eyeline of extreme long shot of Rotuma		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	Ngaire: " 48 hours after we set off... "
	Shot 1.4 Ngaire sees speck	cut back to mid shot of Ngaire pointing towards Rotuma and talking to camera.		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	Ngaire: " …. we finally see speck on the horizon…yes...."
	Shot 1.5 Hope	action cut to match Ngaire's eyeline of extreme long shot of Rotuma		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	Ngaire: " …. Let's hope we get off the boat tonight."
	Shot 1.6 Rotuma bigger	cut to an extreme close up of Ngaire talking to Ruby		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	Ngaire: "Ruby it's getting much bigger now isn't it". Ruby: "yeah"
	Shot 1.7 Rotuma smaller	match cut to medium shot of Ruby leaning against the ferry rails		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	Ngaire: "It's a lot smaller than I thought it would be."
	Shot 1.8 Ngaire disbelief	cut back to a close up of Ngaire as she talks to the camera and expresses her thoughts		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea	Ngaire: "I'm still in a bit of disbelief. I can't quite believe that we're here."
	Shot 1.9 Long	action match cut to a long shot of Rotma		synthesised atmospheric soundtrack, sounds of people around Ngaire talking, sound of the sea. Fade in orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Fade out earlier soundtrack and background diegetic sounds	Ngaire: "It's just taken so long…"
	Shot 1.10 Middle of Nowhere	cut to an extreme long shot of Oinafa Harbour of Rotuama		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack	Ngaire: "…and its in the middle of nowhere. "

Event	shot #	Description	Event/Shot	Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)	Dialogue
Sub-event 2 Finally Home	Shot 2.1 Close to home	montage of passengers all looking out towards Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Fade in diegetic sound of people talking	
Sub-event 2 Finally Home		montage of passengers all looking out towards Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	
		montage of passengers all looking out towards Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	
	Shot 2.2 Home	match cut to Oinafa Harbour on Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	
	Shot 2.3 Ngaire Emotional	cut to close up of Ngaire who is becoming emotional at getting closer to Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	
	Shot 2.4 Ngaire Wish	cut to close up of Ngaire who is becoming emotional at getting closer to Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	Ngaire "I wish Dad was here…"
		cut to close up of Ngaire who is becoming emotional at getting closer to Rotuma		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	Ngaire "I wanted him to take me home"
	Shot 2.5 Entering Port	fade in to Rotuma's harbour. Fade to black screen		orchestral atmospheric soundtrack. Background sounds of people talking as they look towards Rotuma	
		Black screen fade in to ferry docking in the harbour		fade out orchestral atmospheric soundtrack.	
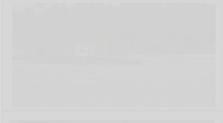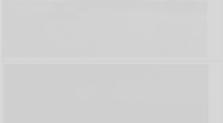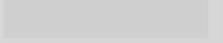
Appendix 7 The Last Hunter				
Segmented Events	**Description**	**Event/Shot**	**Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)**	**Dialogue**
Sub-event 1 Man	quick fade in from black screen to a profile mid - shot of a Papuan man standing in waist deep grass preparing his bows and arrows to go hunting		sound of wood knocking against each other, diegetic sound of wind through grass. Dog growling	
	man walks away from camera.		whistling and acoustic guitar mushc	
	cut to a long shot of the man walking through bush looking for animals to hunt		acoustic guitar music, diegetic sounds of man walking through long grass, bird calling	
	fade in to a tracking long shot following the man and his dog		acoustic guitar music, diegetic sounds of man walking through long grass, bird calling	
	ellipsis cut of man and a pack of dogs walking through grassy wetlands		acoustic guitar music, diegetic sound of man walking through water.	
	cut away to a long shot of man and his pack of dogs walking across the marsh. (walking across the sceen). Fade in the title		acoustic guitar music, diegetic sound of man walking through water.	
	long shot of man and his pack of dogs. Camera pans to follow the man walking Fade out the film's title		acoustic guitar music, diegetic sound of man walking through water.	
	fade out to black screen, fade in white text in Indonesian about the identity of the man. The text is translated as subtitles: *Leo Wambitman lives in the Yanggandur village inside the Wasur National park in Merauke.*		acoustic guitar music	
Sub-event 2 The Park	fade in to a montage beginning with a low angle long shot of the tree tops and blue sky. Camera movement in a circle		guitar music	
	fade in an extreme long shot of the grassy wetlands surrounded by trees		guitar music	
	fade in to a high angle long shot of water lillies in a pond		guitar music, diegetic sounds of environment	
	cut to an extreme long shot of termite hills in sparse wood		guitar music diegetic sound of environment	
	cut in to a long shot of a solitary large termite hill		guitar music, digetic sounds of environment	
	cut to a green sign for the park. The language of on the sign is translated as : Wasur National Park. It doesn't belong to me, It doesn't belong to you, It belongs to us. Fade out to black screen		acoustic guitar music	
	white text in Bahasa Indonesian on black screen. Text is translated as subtitles as : "Wasur National Park was opened in 1990,. It covers 4,138 km^2 of wetland" Fade out		acoutstic guitar music	

Segmented Events	Description	Event/Shot	Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)	Dialogue
	Fade in long shot of a boardwalk and derelict pagoda in the middle of a river		acoustic guitar music	
	extreme long shot of the derelict pagoda and boardwalk in the middle of river fade out to black		acoustic guitar music	
	fade in black screen. White text in Bahasa Indonesian faded in. Translation as subtitles: *The area was turned in to a park for the conservaton of its biodiversity eco-tourism and the welfare of the human population*		acoustic guitar music	
Sub-event 3 Then and Now	fade into a tracking mid shot following Leo Wambitman carrying bows and arrows on his shoulder as he walks through wetlands of the park - He has his pack of dogs with him		acoustic guitar , digetic sounds of Leo walking through grass and environment sounds.	
	tracking mid shot following Leo and his pack of dogs as he walks through the wetlands		acoustic music faded out for Wambitman's voice over	Diegetic speaking used as Voice over (translated) *In the old days, we only needed to walk a short distance before the dogs would bark because they saw animals*
	stationary shot of frontal mid-close up of Wambitman carrying his bow and arrows on one shoulder. He is speaking to camera. Camera gradually zooms in when Wambitman is speaking		sounds of water of the wetlands. (Translated) *"They would chase the animals. And you could hear when the dogs managed to bite their prey".*	
	tracking mid shot following Wambitman and his pack of dogs as he walks through the wetlands		sounds of water of the wetlands	Diegetic speaking used as a Voice over (translated) *It didn't take long to find animals to hunt. Just a short walk from the house.*
	Stationary low angle frontal mid shot of Wambitman holding spears on one shoulder. He is talking to camera		sounds of water of the wetlands. (Translated) *"The dogs were able to easily hunt."*	
	cut so a stationary long shot of Leo and his hunting dogs walking through the wetlands.		sounds of water of the wetlands.	Diegetic speaking used as a voice over: (Translated) *You can't find 'tuban' (small native marsupial) anymore*
	Stationary low angle fronter mid shot of Wambitman holding spears on one shoulder. He is talking to camera		sounds of water of the wetlands. (Translated) *You can't fine 'saham' (tree kangaroo) or deer either*	
	stationary long shot of Wambitman carrying his spears and his dogs walking through the wetlands			Diegetic speaking used as a voice over: (Translated) *It's empty now in the park. You can only see tree branches moving. Maybe birds*
	mid shot profile shot of Wamtibman carrying bow and arrows on his shoulder. He is talking to camera		Wambitman: (Translated) *No more animals. Nothing. (laugh)*	
Sub-event 4 Sad Consequences	Cut to a straionary long shot of Wambitman and his dogs walking away through the wetlands looking for prey		sounds of water	Diegetic speaking used as a voiceover. (Translated) *I'm just asking armed forces (TNI) soldiers to stop shooting in this conversation area.*
	Cut to a head close up of Wambitman profile looking to the side out of frame. He is talking		water sounds. Wambitman (translated) *It's hard to find 'tuban', kangaroo or even wild boars. It used to be easy to hunt wild boards at night. We can't find them now*	
	long shot of Wambitman sitting on a log with one of his dogs on his lap. He is patting and talking to the dog. In one hand he is holding his bow and arrows.		sounds of wind through the grass. Wambitman talking to his dog (translated) *You've taken a stroll, you swam. Are you tired now?*	diegetic audio used as voice over after the diegetic speaking (translated) *Imagine that, the hunters shoot the animals form the helicopters*

Segmented Events	Description	Event/Shot	Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)	Dialogue
	Shot of a mid or chest shot of Wambitman sitting down. Speaking to the camera		digetic outdoor sounds: wind, birds, cicadas, sounds of people out of frame. Wambitman (translated) *With guns they shoot the animals from the ground, and they shot them from above . How are we going to save the animals? They're gone. Extinct.*	
Shot 1 Survival	Medium (waist) shot of Wambitman standing and sharpening the tips of his bows		digetic outdoor sound of him sharpening his bows	
	medium shot of Wambitman standing and talking to camera.		(Translated) *As a hunter, when I'm able to hunt an animal, I feel happy and my body feels good. But is I come home empty handed, I feel sick.*	
	long shot of Wambitman and his hunting dogs. His dogs have found something under a fallen log. He whistles for the dogs and they begin to walk away.			
	high angle shot of the dogs following Wambitman			(Translated) *It's harder now being a hunter.*
	tracking long shot following Wambitman and his dogs. The angle of the camera is tilted (Dutch angle)		sounds of cicadas	Translation: *I have to find means to survive*
Sub-event 5 Hunter to Gather	cut to Shot of a mid or chest shot of Wambitman sitting down. Speaking to the camera		sounds of cicadas and people out-of-frame. Wambitman (Translated) *I either work on the farm, or log some wood.*	
	cutaway to extreme long shot of Wambitman in the parks woodland, cut in to mid-shot of him picking up dead wood		sounds of cicadas	Wambitman (translated) *sell the wood for cooking or to make fences.*
	cutback to cut to Shot of a mid or chest shot of Wambitman sitting down. Speaking to the camera		sounds of cicadas and people out-of-frame. Wambitman (Translated) *I have stopped hunting now .*	
	cut to a long shot of Wambitmans home a man carrying a child walking towards the home. Trucks speeding past		sounds of trucks going by	
Sub-event 6 Subsistence living	fade into a long shot of Wambitman's head above water as he is swimming in a lake full of lilly pads		cicadas and water.	
	long shot of Wambitman reaching other side of lake. Looks for trees to chop down. He finds one and begins chopping the tree down			
	long shot of Wambitman carrying a log in each hand as he wades through the water.		water and cicadas	digetic speaking used as a voice over: *I cut, knock them off and measure the logs.*
	Cut to a close up of Wambitman talking to camera		water and cicadas. Wamtibman (Translated). *Each measuring 4.5 meters.*	
	long shot of Wambitman in knee deep water. He is bent down trying to guide floating logs he cut down. He drags the logs on the lake's shores		sounds of Wambitman walking through water.	
	medium closeup of Wambitman talking to camera. He is off centre.		water.. Wambitman (translated) *I put themtogether in piles and wait for the buyer. One pile here and another there. 100 logs in each pile.*	

Segmented Events	Description	Event/Shot	Sound (diegetic/non diegetic)	Dialogue
	cut to Wambitman trying to hoist logs on his shoulders (one on each shoulder) He shoulder carrys the logs		Wambitman (translated) *100 logs times Rp10,000, for two piles I can get Rp 2million*	
	cut to medium close up of Wamtibman talking to the camera.			
	cut to a long shot of Wambitman walking with a log on each shoulder. He dumps the logs onto of a pile of logs			diegitic speaking used as a voice over: *I can use the money to buy rice, pinang (betel nut), sugar and coffee. That's it*
	Close up of Wambitman talking to camera, Fade out		diegetic sounds of environment. Wambitman (translated) *Just for eating. (laugh)* Fade in acoustic guitar music sound track.	