

Whakamā: The Truth in White Lies

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This article explores the deeper meanings of the term whakamā so it is understood as a fundamental inhibitor of Māori potential, particularly in relation to rangatahi (Māori youth). The kupu (word) whakamā has a number of distinct meanings; firstly, whakamā comprises 'white' and 'clean',¹ and together literally mean to be whitened clean. Secondly, to reflect the process of the blood draining from the face, whakamā is also to be 'embarrassed' or 'ashamed'. As I will show through one of my tribal pūrākau (stories) and a close-reading/analysis of characters in recent feature *White Lies* (2013, dir. Dana Rotberg), whakamā is far from a straightforward concept. The analysis of *White Lies* in particular demonstrates and underlines some of the subliminal elements of whakamā in the characterisations of Marāea (Rachel House) and Rebecca (Antonia Prebble), particularly in terms of landlessness. As a Māori film scholar who is generally focused on what cinematic representations of Māori in film history get wrong, I was taken by *White Lies* for what it gets right in terms of whakamā, particularly in terms of the contribution of whakamā to the clarity – or lack thereof – in decision-making. For the most part, whakamā is a feeling that cannot be easily expressed, and this essay contemplates some of the difficult qualities necessary to explain the effects of whakamā



Poster for *White Lies*

White Lies (2013) is an adaptation of Witi Ihimaera’s novella *Medicine Woman*, set in early settlement New Zealand. It centres around Paraiti (Whirimako Black), an orphan who was groomed in Māori medicine by her koroua (grandfather) and grew into a tohunga rongoa (traditional/expert healer). She is called upon by Marāea, the domestic servant to her mistress, Mrs Rebecca Vickers, a cold, callous Pākehā woman who recently moved to the area with her extremely wealthy businessman/entrepreneur husband. Marāea’s request is that Paraiti, using her gift as a tohunga, discreetly abort the child Rebecca carries before her husband’s return from overseas. Paraiti refuses, assuming Mrs Vickers is removing evidence of an affair. A pregnant teenage girl Paraiti treated for labour anxiety struggles while giving birth at the hospital. When she arrives to help, a despicable Pākehā charge nurse shuns Paraiti before she can present the teenager with the rongoa Māori (traditional treatment) to contain profuse bleeding. When the girl and the baby die, Paraiti feels responsible and the guilt forces her to reconsider Rebecca’s request to expel her baby by the time Mr Vickers returns from overseas business. The pregnancy and the environment are far more complex than the affair Paraiti suspected; Marāea is Rebecca’s mother, and since a small child, she has routinely whitened her daughter’s skin using a lemon-paste concoction in the hopes of distancing her from Māori impoverishment and landlessness, by attracting a rich and powerful Pākehā husband. Mr Vickers ‘does not like savages,’ thus the baby threatens to expose Rebecca’s whakapapa and end the extravagant life to which she and Marāea have become accustomed. As promised, Paraiti induces the labour, and following days of excruciating toil, the baby is born. Rebecca slowly falls in love with her new daughter. News of her husband’s return expels her from her momentary joy. She changes into her husband’s favourite yellow dress, and commits suicide in the bathtub, ending the insurmountable choice between the love of her child and financial stability. Paraiti raises the baby as her rongoa Māori protégé.

TE TAHINGA-O-TE-RĀ

Primarily because of the stories I heard as I grew up, I have always considered whakamā something that is passed down generationally, like a makutu (curse). One story in particular shaped this thinking. To contextualize my understanding of whakamā, I begin with a brief

version of the story that strongly influenced me. The story is about a tohunga, a person who reads signs with the senses. His name was Te Tahinga-o-te-rā (Te Tahī), from the Ngāti Awa, the iwi in the Whakatāne region in the Eastern Bay of Plenty from where I hail and grew up. Te Tahī was renowned and feared for his supernatural powers, and his direct relationship with the gods. With that came unfathomable spiritual knowledge. Because of this, Te Tahī was extremely tapu, and consequently excluded from the rest of the hapū, all of whom had desperate anxieties about him. Their fears were so dire that on several occasions, members of the hapū devised ways to get rid of him. But every time, they were too petrified by potential repercussions to follow through with any of their plans. One day, the men invited Te Tahī out to Whakaari (White Island) for a fishing trip, telling him that because he had favour with Tangaroa (god of the sea) he could help them find the best fishing spots around the island. Te Tahī had never been invited out before, so was quietly excited by this sign of acceptance. As Te Tahī was unaccustomed to travel, when they reached Whakaari he was extremely tired, and decided to take a nap while the others hauled in the grand catch. When he arose sometime later, Te Tahī searched the island for the fishermen, but they were nowhere to be seen. Far in the distance he saw the men ferociously paddling their waka, halfway back to the shores of Kākāhōroa.² They had abandoned Te Tahī on a volcanic island in the middle of the ocean! Te Tahī was twisted with fury. He turned to Tangaroa, and used his supernatural powers to call upon Tūtarakauika, an enormous whale, from the ocean's depths. The whale bowed so Te Tahī could embark on his back. Soon, Te Tahī rode past the men in their waka on the back of Tūtarakauika.³ On seeing Te Tahī eyeballing them from on high, the men froze in horror, certain to feel his wrath. When they alighted their waka on shore, Te Tahī simply turned his back on the men and returned to his whare (house). Later, someone asked him why, despite then men's treachery, he chose not to put a makutu on them. Te Tahī replied, "waiho mā te whakamā e patu," which means 'shame will be their punishment'.

I chose to open this essay with the story of my tīpuna (ancestor) Te Tahī, firstly because it contextualises myself as the author from the Ngāti Awa. Secondly – and more importantly – by framing this essay in a pūrākau, a story passed down to our generation, I want to explore whakamā as a generational makutu, and take the learnings at the centre of the story as guidance, particularly for those who deal with rangatahi in classrooms, sports teams and other groups they may frequent. Unlocking keys to whakamā is fundamental to understanding



Paraiti inside the whareniui where she treats the local community with rongoa Māori

Māori, and ensuring they reach their potential rather than squandering their many skills and talents. Looking closely at Te Tahī, what might the learnings about whakamā be? Hearing different versions of these stories from childhood to now, I have always believed that spoken words are exponentially powerful, perhaps a hangover from our oral histories and tradition-centric culture. Te Tahī may not have used his supernatural powers to curse the men on that day per se, but the words "waiho mā te whakamā e patu" did torment the iwi for their ancestors' treachery for some time. Severe historical events indeed took place in the Ngāti Awa, which could be construed as punishment by whakamā. A most cruel punishment was the Raupatu Whenua, where at least 100,000 hectares of land and resources were confiscated for the slaying of Ngāti Awa Crown representative James Fulloon. Despite warnings by chiefs not to divert from tikanga (correct procedures) during a hui,⁴ Fulloon bared his buttocks (whakapohane) in the presence of the chiefs, women and children. Later, Chief Te Hura of Te Rangihouhiri followed him back to his ship and killed him. Ngāti Awa kept silent about Te Hura's whereabouts, 36 men – including my great-great grandfather – were prosecuted, literally for saying nothing, and sent to Mount Eden prison. Meanwhile, the entire iwi was labelled rebels of the Crown.⁵ Very soon after, Ngāti Awa were landless.

Hirini Moko Mead's extensive archival research presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in *The Ngāti Awa Raupatu Whenua Report*⁶ conveys whakamā clearly. Kaumatua Hudson confessed his grandfather experienced deep-seated "shame and worthlessness" as a consequence of not being able to fulfil his duties as the tribe's rangatira. Ultimately, with no whenua, the rangatira,⁷ iwi or hapū cannot practice their mana whenua; no whenua means no mana. Hudson continued that Ngāti Awa languished in a sea of hopelessness for over 120 years (ibid) illustrating the endurance of whakamā, through many, many generations following Te Tahi. Kairau claimed Ngāti Awa descendants would deny their whakapapa,⁸ a most extreme demonstration of individual collective whakamā. In the early 2000s, the Crown eventually apologized to the iwi for labelling Ngāti Awa as 'tangata hara', sinners or rebels. For me as a Ngāti Awa person – bought up with pūrākau such as Te Tahi, and a descendant of a man illegitimately imprisoned for rebellion – I am acclimatized to believe that we are products of our ancestors, and that Te Tahi's words were indeed powerful, affecting those who abandoned him on Whakaari and generations after.

WHAKAMĀ

According to mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), the first known whakamā was when Hinētītama hid herself in Rarohenga (the underworld) on discovering that her husband was also her father. Whakamā is generally understood as 'shame', 'inadequacy' or 'embarrassment'. More specifically, it is considered an inferiority induced shyness, excessive modesty and self-doubt.⁹ Whakamā is increasingly investigated at the level of reo Māori acquisition.¹⁰ There is a particularly high level of anxiety for many Māori to know their native language or to quickly progress to fluency because of their whakapapa. A good proportion of whakamā associated with limited reo capacity is a feeling of guilt.¹¹ Increasing the proficiency in te reo increases the individual's wellbeing and cultural efficacy¹² and is therefore an intrinsic and fundamental element to navigating away from whakamā. Whakamā differs from typical



Rebecca (Antonia Prebble) is introduced to the narrative as a wealthy, cold, callous Pākehā woman

embarrassment or shame in that whakamā is a mate Māori, a Māori sickness, known to blight the body and decision-making. It can lead to whakamomori, the all-encompassing depression prior to suicide.¹³ Increasingly, whakamā is seen as a contribution to comparatively high rates of Maori suicide.

WHITE LIES CHARACTERS

Several whakamā components discussed in the literature are demonstrated in *White Lies* and I will loosely unpack some of them here. The mistress of the house character, Rebecca, is a recluse. When Rebecca appears, she is either in the parlour, her bedroom, in the bath, or in the basement. At no stage is she shown outside the house admiring the beautiful property she owns or engaging with people in the community. This is dissimilar from Marāea who regularly runs errands in town and is shown cleaning the house's exterior, and from Paraiti who literally lives in the bush and seems restricted by the walls in the hallway where she (and her dog) is stationed for the duration of her stay at the Vickers' house. As Rebecca has incredibly pale, porcelain skin, at this early part of the narrative, it could have been due to a lack of exposure to sunlight, despite the décor in the house indicating that

overseas travel is part of the Vickers' lifestyle. It is soon realized that in spite of the ability to travel, Rebecca prefers to stay home particularly since moving to the new locale. She openly criticizes their new settlement and indicates she would have preferred not to have moved to such a "hideous" location. Opting to hide herself away might be seen to reflect Hinetītama hiding herself in Rarohenga. There, she transformed from Hinetītama (Dawn Maiden) to Hinenuitepō (woman of the dark), hiding herself in the perpetual night from the intense whakamā that everybody – except her – knew her husband was also her father. As a businessman, who viewers only see in a wedding photo, Mr. Vickers would have to possess people skills, distancing Rebecca from the need to connect with people. Marāea's role as a domestic worker also detached Rebecca from having to consider, or be considerate of, people. Mid-way through the narrative, it is revealed that Rebecca is not concealing her own secret but Marāea's. Marāea's whakamā effectively detains Rebecca inside the house.

The Vickers' house too, is a character. Immediately prior to Rebecca's introduction, the exterior of the immaculate house characterizes the potential inhabitants as wealthy through the immense driveway, fence, exceptionally groomed gardens, and (Māori) grounds-men. The front door is wide and pristine. Once inside, the décor is well-curated; embellishments are knick-knacks from overseas, intimating



Marāea (Rachel House) enters the film as a suppressed housemaid.

that the inhabitants are well-travelled and have experienced other cultural terrains. Paraiti assesses the curios as Marāea leads her into the parlour to wait for 'her mistress'. Notably, despite walking to the house with her horse and supplies, Paraiti is not extended any manaakitanga or refreshments by Marāea. Not tendering manaakitanga is the height of rudeness for Māori, as is Marāea's continual lack of eye contact with Paraiti which I will unpack further on. Moments later, Paraiti is interrupted by Rebecca's cold, stern voice, instructing Paraiti to put the objects she may have put in her pockets "back where they belong", an accusation of theft. Clearly, Rebecca's understanding of Māori is a need to steal due to impoverishment. Initially, the house is Rebecca's priority as a representation of her choice to continue Marāea's façade. However, it is noticeable throughout the narrative that as Rebecca's priorities change, she declines down the levels of the house, from the upper floors where the bath (and bleaching space) is situated, down to the dark, dinginess, and dirt floored basement. This again ties into the whakamā that lead to the flight of Hinetītama from the arms of Tānemahuta – her lover and father – away from the shame of being the only one not to know of their dual relationship, and into the depths of Rarohenga.

Through Marāea's lived experience of the Raupatu Whenua, Rebecca understands being Māori as something that is inferior, a fundamental element of whakamā. In a discussion with Paraiti, Marāea connects this with Māori landlessness. Looking at Paraiti's face for the first time in the film, Marāea says:

All I did was provide a better life for my daughter...
[I'm] not good enough for some, not pure enough for others [...] But at least my daughter has a life. A house; she has land. That is more than I ever had... It's more than you have.

Here, Marāea justifies the two decades of actions leading them to now preparing to abort her mokopuna (grand-child), demonstrating that her whakamā fuelled the drive to stop at nothing to ensure Rebecca's whakapapa is suppressed. However, a key element in this passage of kōrero is that

Rebecca has title to a mansion and land, unlike herself who lives in the servant quarters, and Paraiti who lives primitively in a forest with a dog and a horse. Where the land is, which iwi or hapū belong to it, and who holds the mana whenua are irrelevant. Rather, owning the land autonomously, and having the ability to say one owns it, carries more significance, which has passed into contemporary New Zealand society. Presently, land, and house ownership remains a challenge to many Māori. The concept of individual ownership of land instead of collectively belonging to it removed the ancient model of mana whenua. Ultimately, chiefs could not fulfil their rangatiratanga (chieftainship). Again, losing the whenua reflects the loss of mana.

Implicit in Marāea's short dialogue is the loss of her unnamed tribe's whenua and the mana attached to it as an important component of her decision-making; bleaching Rebecca's skin, absconding from her people, and constructing a performance denying Rebecca's whakapapa for over two decades. Having one's mana – a supernatural force in a person – taken away is a source of whakamā.¹⁴ To have the tribe's mana whenua, the prestige and authority afforded by belonging to the land, is an all-encompassing relationship to the land. Importantly, from mana whenua emanates the ability to feed and sustain the hapū from their own food sources. Manaakitanga is an exceptionally important facet of te ao Māori as it pivots on the tangata whenua (people of the land) urging the mana of the manuhiri (visitors) forward. Fundamentally, by impelling the manuhiri, the tangata whenua also intensify the mana of their own hapū. This element is generally omitted from definitions of manaakitanga, but it is a most important aspect to understanding what it is, and why Māori must exercise manaakitanga. When hapū do not have mana whenua, they are divorced from exercising customary manaakitanga on and from their own whenua. Neither being able to exercise the rangatiratanga nor provide manaakitanga from their own gardens, seabeds and forests, adds other layers to whakamā, and why the rangatira spoke from a place of mamae (hurt) in Mead's¹⁵ report to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Marāea's primary role was to keep Rebecca's whakapapa concealed. The lemon-paste concoction Marāea used to bleach Rebecca's skin goes beyond simply ridding her

of the exterior traces of Māori lineage. By regularly whitening – e whakamā ana (the act of whitening) – of Rebecca's skin, Marāea continues in the conspiracy to suppress her own transgressions and estrangement from her people. Here in lies the double-edgedness of whakamā: Marāea essentially uses whakamā – whitening – to cover her whakamā, shame. Although she claims the skin whitening process was for Rebecca's benefit to have land and a house, it also obscures the whakapapa connection between them, and essentially releases Marāea into her performance as the instruction-taking housemaid. Midway through the narrative, Paraiti hears murmuring somewhere upstairs. Knowing there are only three people in the house, she investigates, ascending the stairs, despite Marāea's earlier instruction for Paraiti to stay in the kitchen, and blanket-banning her from the rest of the house. A low voice echoes through the hallway and Paraiti realizes the voice accompanies a soft cry coming from the bathroom. Paraiti peeps through a slight ajar in the door and witnesses the extreme role reversal between Marāea and Rebecca; Marāea sternly instructs a whimpering Rebecca – usually a powerful, cold and controlling woman – to stop crying or she will need to “start all over again”. Rebecca, wet and trembling, sits in the bathtub with her back to the door, covered in a thick white paste. She turns her face to Marāea who paints more paste over the tracks of Rebecca's tears, clearly fearful of repeating the bleach painting process again. What is disruptive about Marāea's characterisation in this scene is the closeness at which her face is from Rebecca's coupled with the intensity of Marāea's stare into Rebecca's eyes. Until this scene, Marāea has avoided making eye contact with any other character, which could initially have been perceived as the inferiority element of whakamā. But in this bath scene, the first of three, Marāea's glare shows her control of the wider performance that implicates Rebecca, Mr. Vickers – who although absent likes Rebecca's skin to be ‘white and smooth’ – and now Paraiti. This extends beyond the ‘simple’ bleaching the skin of the mistress which is still withheld for several more scenes. The extent to which Marāea was prepared to mask the depth of her role is more pronounced in the second bath scene.

It takes place during the middle stages of Rebecca's labour, where amid the contractions, she begins lambasting



Still of Paraiti, Rebecca and Marāea (from right to left) in the second of three bath scenes, where the tohunga is exposed to the whakapapa relationship between the women.

Marāea for bleaching her ever since she could remember. With this dialogue the history between Marāea and Rebecca is exposed, although the whakapapa connection still remains a mystery. After Rebecca delivers the hurtful taunt Marāea appears injured. Pity for the abused caregiver however, is fleeting. Rebecca's next dialogue delivers a blow to Marāea's façade where she addresses her as "Mother", a far cry from Rebecca's earlier reference to her as "Mariah". At the moment Marāea is identified as Rebecca's mother, Paraiti and viewers are forced to retrace the preceding story detecting elements in the mother/daughter relationship they have missed. Paraiti and viewers experience a paradigmatic shift between feelings of sympathy for the housemaid Marāea to loathing her, and a disdain for the bossy, controlling Rebecca to compassion for a child, damaged by her mother's whakamā. Paraiti tries to leave the bathroom, but Marāea steps in to the doorway to physically obstruct her exit from the abortion, emphasising the whakapapa connection, and Marāea's function as the ring-master. While she blocks Paraiti, Marāea says "No, you can't leave... you're part of this now" implicating the tohunga as the third contributor in the cover up of her whakamā.

Although disconnection from mana whenua is identified as an important component of Marāea's whakamā, another is that Marāea chooses never to engage in te reo Māori. The only reo she uses is Paraiti's name. It is clear at their first

engagement at the cinema house that Marāea comprehends te reo because she replies to Paraiti's questions and engages in a conversation. However, in all of their exchanges, Paraiti speaks te reo and Marāea speaks English. The exception is one passage where Paraiti chooses to be clear about her intentions of saving the baby and is not concerned with Rebecca's welfare, so there is no potential loss in translation. Early on, Paraiti prompts a conversation with Marāea about why her mistress does not allow her to speak Māori. Marāea admits here that it is in fact her own conscious decision not to speak te reo. She replies, "it isn't forbidden. I just don't want to speak it". The dialogue exemplifies the tragic reality of te reo not being transferred from generation to generation, coupling with the denial of one's whakapapa. Forbidding te reo, as Paraiti assumed, from being spoken and the refusal to speak it were major causes for the near death of te reo.¹⁶ Clearly, colonisation's impact on te reo Māori has been, and continues to be, exponential. But here, Marāea's brazen admission that it was her choice not to speak te reo – not her Pākehā mistress' instruction – is another key to understanding her level of whakamā when she chose to give her culture away. Marāea had consciously estranged herself and Rebecca from their people as a means of disconnecting from the hapū, ashamed of their landlessness. However, refusing to use the language, a most important cultural manifestation, is an act of resistance illustrating Marāea no longer wished to belong to her people, reflecting the moment in history where descendants of Ngāti Awa would deny their iwi as a symptom of whakamā.

As indicated earlier, up until the first bath scene, Marāea avoids eye contact which could be perceived either as inferiority or to show humility to Paraiti from whom she needs help. When Marāea makes her initial approach to Paraiti, she is in the cinema waiting for a call for tickets. She sits on the couch next to Paraiti and begs her audience. Although their heads are in a position where their eyes could meet, Marāea's eyes are kept very low, and any gaze at Paraiti's face is averted. A known physical response to feeling whakamā is the drop in the eye-line. The action to look elsewhere is typical of whakamā, connecting with Sachdev's¹⁷ feeling of disadvantage or inferiority. In this case, to show humility is likely, but if one retraces the scenes once the whakapapa relationship between

Marāea and Rebecca is exposed, it could well be to avoid being 'read' by the tohunga, many of whom are matakite (seers, visionaries) in addition to other areas of expertise, such as healing/medicine in Paraiti's case. When engaging in banter, Māori do connect using eye contact to show respect and acknowledgement to the speaker. However, this is not the case for direct eye contact for extended periods of time particularly with those who are not known to them.¹⁸ In fact, holding the gaze for too long can be considered a form of intimidation across Polynesian cultures. For Marāea to appear whakamā in these establishment scenes is important because it is necessary for her to be perceived as a humble, downtrodden house servant to contrast with the mastermind character she is revealed to be further into the narrative. Averting eye-contact then, is a two-edged mechanism; to show humility, and to avoid potential conflict. When Marāea is introduced, not making eye-contact could be interpreted as either of these in the context of her characterisation. However, the latter is strongly symbolic of whakamā.

The final aspect I will briefly address is whakamomori, the deep sadness immediately preceding suicide, the worst potential outcome of whakamā, conveyed in Rebecca's final scene. Public Health research has made a strong connection between indigenous suicide and cultural alienation, hopelessness, despair and social disintegration as a consequence of the swiftness of colonisation.¹⁹ Here, losing mana whenua reappears as a key component of the deep feelings of depression amongst Māori. In terms of Rebecca's final scenes in *White Lies*, after an extremely traumatic labour to bear her premature daughter in the dust and dirt of the basement, she initially rejects the baby. In doing so, she chooses to uphold the pretence of a happy marriage to continue Marāea's secret, to simply forget the baby, and erase evidence of their whakapapa. However, as the days continued, Rebecca becomes unexpectedly besotted with the baby and enjoys the small delight of watching her. On the news of Mr Vickers' return, Rebecca makes the decision to end her life, so as not to choose between her mother, husband and baby. Instead Rebecca chooses to empower herself and end the insanity that Marāea's whakamā bought to three generations. Rebecca ends the whakamā, in this case a generational

makutu, to give her daughter the opportunity to live a free life with Paraiti, not restricted by a house, freedom to speak her language, and without the punishment of whakamā.

When Rebecca receives the news that Mr. Vickers will return, she is admiring the baby below the bay window in her bedroom. Soon after, Rebecca kisses the baby and hands her to Paraiti, and asks Marāea to iron out every wrinkle from her/her husband's favourite yellow dress. However, choosing between the mask of a happy Pākehā marriage with a Māori housemaid who is – in actuality – her mother, over a child is enough to force Rebecca to kill herself and Marāea's lie with her. For the first time, the possessions, house, and land-ownership are insignificant. Instead, the fundamental factor is that the child belongs somewhere, unlike Rebecca and Marāea. The child will not be punished for her grandmother's whakamā like her mother was.

CONCLUSION

Te Tahinga cursed the men who abandoned him on Whakaari, and their descendants lived with shame as their punishment as he prophesied. After this makutu, many generations of Ngāti Awa lived in a state of whakamā, as a result of landlessness, and as descendants of an iwi with no mana whenua, and no mana. Since the Raupatu Whenua Report, and over the last decade in particular, Ngāti Awa have begun rebuilding our reputation, lifting ourselves with activities for the unity of the iwi via strengthening our hapū. Ngāti Awa Te Toki, a tribal festival and vision, focuses on what we want Ngāti Awa to look like in 2025. After several generations following Te Tahī, the whakamā is over, and Ngāti Awa's future looks bright.

In this essay, I explored some of the unexplainable aspects of whakamā utilizing the film *White Lies*. The surreptitious Marāea character conveys a number of whakamā indicators which I investigated in a very preliminary analysis of *White Lies*. The film shows that whakamā is deeply embedded in the Marāea character and passed onto Rebecca, who in the end ceased the whakamā seeping into her daughter's generation, and potentially beyond. If we concentrate on New

Zealand films where Māori have featured roles, we see there are a number of characters throughout history who display elements of whakamā, and if explored, may be identified as a screenplay norm. Future New Zealand film history analysis might identify whether whakamā has been a conventional attribute in Māori cinematic characterisations or not. If such analysis was undertaken, perhaps non-Māori could identify when whakamā was being experienced by Māori, and maybe understand Māori in the classroom, in sports teams, or at work better. There is much room for future research on whakamā in New Zealand feature film history and indeed beyond. This essay is only the beginning.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Importantly, whaka- is a prefix, and whatever particle it suffixes is converted into a verb or in state of motion. Mā is both the colour white and to be clean.
- 2 Kākāhōroa is the original name of Whakatāne.
- 3 Ngāti Awa believe that soon after the ordeal between Te Tahi and his hapū, Tūtarakauika swam out in the bay as a kaitiaki. Eventually he turned into an island, now known as Moutohorā, Whale Island.
- 4 Fulloon was of the Chief Te Mautaranui line in the Ngāti Awa on his mother's side, and Pākehā on his father's. A promising academic as a child, Fulloon was sent to a private college, and was soon recruited as a translator and cultural advisor to the Crown. Prior to this meeting, he had been warned to observe the au kāti, a borderline that indicates a tribe's mana whenua. The warning was for Fulloon to keep the Crown out of the region following a disagreement. He ignored the au kāti and made his way to Whakatāne. The chiefs decided to give Fulloon audience to respect his direct link to Te Mautaranui. Fulloon did not return the respect extended to him and was killed for it.
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- 7 Ibid, p.111.
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