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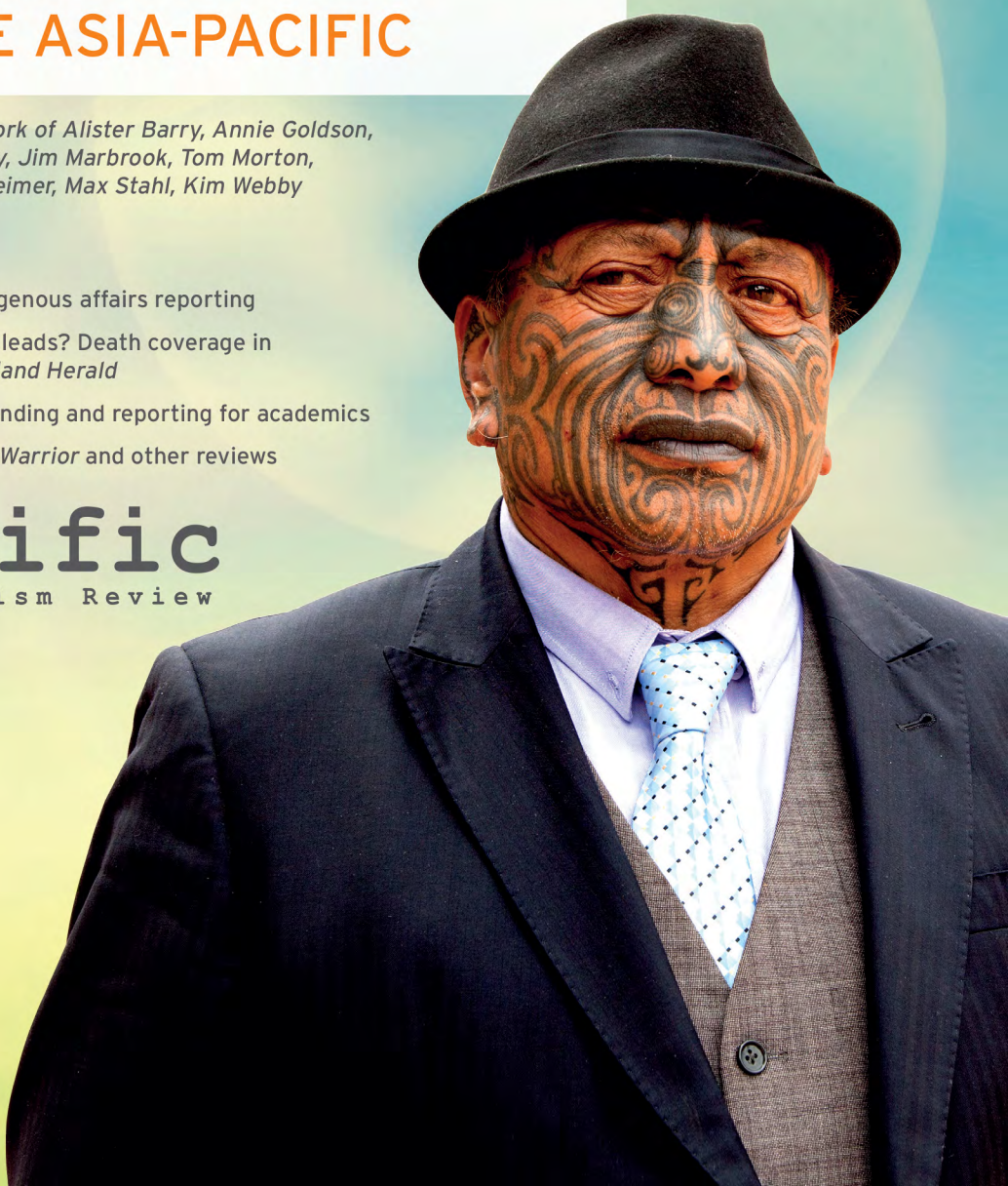

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EDITORIAL: A complicated post-documentary era

SINCE early in the first decade of this century, the concept of documentary—never beyond contestation—has entered into a state of generic uncertainty. Reflecting on these developments, John Corner, in an influential article, dubbed the current context of production as 'Post-documentary' (Corner, 2002). In his view, the documentary tradition has always encompassed a range of approaches:

1. Documentary as social commentary seeking to inform audiences as citizens rather than consumers.
2. Documentary as Investigative Reporting, once the most extensive use of documentary methods on television.
3. Documentary as Radical Interrogation and Agit-Prop as found in the practices of independent cinema.
4. Documentary as popular 'factual' entertainment driven by ratings and box office.

The latter approach has become dominant in broadcasting, bringing with it new demands. Documentary programmes on broadcast television have been progressively replaced by lavish series, formulaic docu-soaps or Reality TV. In these circumstances those seeking to preserve the breadth of the documentary tradition are either abandoned or, if accepting (however reluctantly) the new situation, find their projects watered down, diverted into niche channels and controlled by programmers demanding certain strict formulas.

Another troubling implication is that post-documentary forms threaten the legitimacy and credibility of the documentary tradition as a whole. If objectivity is merely one approach to actuality then it becomes just a matter of opinion, fracturing the possibility of rational agreement. Then there is a privatising impact of the ideological focus of post-documentary programming which, forsaking the exploration of collective issues, tends to claim that the paramount realm of social life is the subjective and personal (Palmer, 2002). Under these pressures, the civic mode of documentary, once seen as the hallmark of good documentary practice, ekes out a half-life at the margins of broadcasting with the ever-present possibility of extinction.

One potent ideological impact of popular factual television is that it threatens the key claim of documentary practice:

> the demise of the 'claim on the real' that has sustained documentary to date. It has gone, over, finished with. Documentary and factual TV now exist in a space that is neither wholly fictional nor wholly factual, both yet neither. (Dovey, p. 11)

This statement, however, rather misses the point. Rather than being 'finished with', the problem of the 'real' continues to exert a greater fascination as cultural and political questions of identity, of authenticity and truth have become nodes of contestation at the individual, communal and national level. Other observers are more sanguine:

> For all the many attempts to commodify the real through the apparently endless stream of performance-oriented reality shows, there remains a tangible public appetite for the type of cutting-edge documentary which attempts a serious engagement with real-life events and concerns. (Kilbourne, 2004, p. 31)

One symptom of this tangible appetite can be found in the rise of citizen journalism, which, however evaluated, still answers to a civic impulse. Adding to the surveillance of authorities—as in the case of racially motivated attacks by white police in Ferguson on African-Americans—this eyewitness function can supplement professional forms of reporting (Outing, 2005). On the other hand, it can become merely a form of self-promotion, as in the case of the selfie and celebrity-centric Twitter.

On the positive side, some documentary makers are welcoming the opportunities offered by digital media to significantly reduce production costs and open up new means to distribute their work online. This means that the strategy of aggregating niche audiences (rather than the one-off, usually short-term capture of a mass audience through broadcasting) has become the new channel for traditional documentary practice. After all, even in broadcasting, the engaged and attentive audience for documentaries is comparatively small.

It is worthwhile acknowledging that digital technologies have created new opportunities for niche production via new forms of fundraising, such as crowd funding and crowd investment, as well as online distribution. The key problem for many documentary makers is, however, the multiplicity of demands that such opportunities present. The documentary maker must assume the roles of PR person, salesperson, fundraiser, public speaker and distributor. Alongside necessary production-focused skills and talents, skills in networking and pitching are now required, and these become a drain on energy and stamina (Sorensen, 2012). *The Act of Killing*, one of the documentaries considered in what follows, took ten years to complete—in part because of political resistance but also because of the time-consuming efforts involved in putting together a loose and shifting consortium of funders.

Nor is the 'safer' broadcast route without its problems. In the New Zealand case, though this is a general phenomenon, it has been observed:

> Whether or not publicly subsidized programming can deliver public service goals in the broadcast marketplace depends on the accommodation of priorities other than revenue and ratings. Continued subsidy for social documentary as a discrete genre is a key element in preserving television programme diversity for as documentary past truths and reality claims become untenable only social purpose remains to differentiate the genre from the ragbag of social programming. (Debrett, 2012, p. 20)

In the New Zealand and Asia-Pacific region, the problems of funding are particularly acute for two broad reasons. The first of these is the modest scale of local funding and its built-in criterion of telling national stories. As Peter Thompson from Victoria University

observed in his address to the *Pacific Journalism Review* 20th Anniversary Conference in November 2014, New Zealand Film Commission (NZFC) funding criteria (matched by similar criteria used by New Zealand On Air (NZOA)) struggles to be inclusive under a set of criteria:

> Did the funded projects a) provide pathways and careers for people, b) did they increase economic activity, c) did more people watch the funded projects d) were they culturally significant, e) and show creativity and originality?

In principle, Thompson noted that none of these criteria were undesirable, but they may not always be internally compatible and are certainly hard to define. Despite some investments in documentary productions over the years by the NZFC and NZOA's roll-out of a digital fund—discussed in **Anna Jackson's** article—the overall trend is to prioritise ratings and marketability. Evidence from the United States, a much wealthier funding environment, suggests that broadcast funding tends to inhibit creativity and exploration, thereby drawing documentary markets and government agencies into an approach that celebrates nationhood (Handley & Rutigliano, 2012). Having acknowledged this, it would be unfair not to recognise that funders such as the NZOA and the NZFC have, in the past and present, provided modest support for projects with no immediate market appeal. But as Alister Barry, producer-director of a series of well-regarded documentaries, *Someone Else's Country, The Hollow Men* and, most recently, *Hot Air*, indicated:

> **Q.** *You began making this documentary in 2009. Why has it taken you so long?*
>
> **Alister Barry:** The short answer is money. If you have no money then you have to substitute your own time and effort for a proper budget, doing much of the work yourself. There is also the fact that there has been no book written on this subject in New Zealand so I had to do a lot of reading and research and then write that up before condensing it into a documentary script.

Nonetheless documentary makers are placed on the horns of a dilemma: to go independent or accept prevailing political and government agendas.

All creative endeavours face constraints but there remains the possibility, through a 'poetic' approach, to enliven the most mundane narrative or at least the commonly accepted records of the 'real'. In this regard, the article by **Laurence Simmons** explores some of the formal methods for transvaluing a sense of inheritance and history.

Against issues of production funding, there is the pipeline problem of training aspiring documentary makers. This is limited even in the rich metropolitan centres of Australia and New Zealand, but for smaller nations throughout the region, the tendency for wealthier nations to invest in their national film and television culture, undercuts the development of local forms of cultural expression.

Such local forms of cultural expression, including but not limited to documentary making,

are also under threat in the intensifying political and cultural conflicts of post-colonialism and neo-colonialism in the Asia-Pacific region. In Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea and Timor-Leste, for example, political elites have sought, and still seek, to suppress popular movements for democratic change. Documentary makers, exemplified by **Max Stahl'**s account of events in Timor-Leste or **Jim Marbrook**'s work on *Cap Bocage*, have an important role as witnesses to political events virtually invisible in the mainstream media.

Finally, New Zealand and Australia (albeit in different and sometimes conflicted ways) are themselves caught up in a similar set of tensions between the logic of neo-liberalism against the maintenance, if not extension, of democracy. As **Kim Webby**'s documentary, *The Price of Peace,* about the police raids on the Tūhoe people in Te Urewera, demonstrates it is not just in the 'periphery' but at the centre that civic freedom is under threat.

Caught inside the Matryoshka doll of the new geometry of power, New Zealand and Australian have their own struggle for autonomy. As weaker and more junior players in the New World Order, propelled by the global hegemony of American corporate capitalism, there is a need to address issues of national identity and sovereignty—typified by the ongoing, primarily secret, negotiations for a Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement.

In New Zealand and the Asia Pacific region, particularly, there is a clear and present need for the practice of documentary in the tradition of civic activism. The following articles in this themed section explore the aesthetic and cultural dynamics of capturing popular struggles and how documentary makers respond in the field to rethink how to represent objectively new struggles and new contexts of real life.

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EARLIER versions of three unthemed articles in this edition were presented as papers during the *Pacific Journalism Review* 20th Anniversary conference in November 2014. They continue from Volume 1 of *PJR* 20 Years on 'Political Journalism in the Asia-Pacific' (Robie, King, Cass & Bacon, 2015). In the first article, **Chris Thomson, Dawn Bennett, Michelle Johnston** and **Bonita Mason** urge collaborations so that journalists can transform the way they conceptualise their careers and help secure a 'sense of place' for Indigenous people in the media. Assessing a project involving student journalists with Noongar community organisations in Western Australia, they make a compelling argument for re-emphasing the 'where?' question in journalistic investigation in response to globalisation.

Lyn Barnes and **Elesha Edmonds** analyse changing death coverage in *The New Zealand Herald* over a 40-year period in their article entitled 'If it bleeds, it leads?'. Selecting three sample periods in 1973, 1993 (when the newspaper was a broadsheet) and 2013 (after becoming a 'compact' publication), the authors examine the 'increased visibility of death stories' and the reasons for it.

The rapid advances with social media can be used by academics to develop and retain links with their students and alumni and two early adopters of Facebook and Twitter in Australia for communication with students argue strongly in favour of social networking. **Nasya Nahfen** and **Alex Wake**, whose industry and research expertise is in the Asia-Pacific region, have researched 'tweeting, friending and reporting' over a five-year time frame and also draw from their experience as media educators.

Professor David Robie
Managing Editor
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1. Zones of silence

Forensic patients, radio documentary, and a mindful approach to journalism ethics

Abstract: This article explains a collaborative and critically reflective journalism research project stemming from the wish of an incarcerated forensic mental health patient to be named in public communication about his case. The authors are academics and journalists who embarked upon a combination of journalism, legal processes and academic research to win the right to name Patient A in a radio documentary and in academic works—including this journal article and research blogs. As a case study, it explains the theoretical and ethical considerations informing the journalism and the academic research, drawing upon traditions of documentary production, the principle of open justice and the ethical framework of 'mindful journalism'. It concludes by drawing lessons from the project that might inform future practitioners and researchers embarking upon works of journalism and research involving vulnerable people and a competing set of rights and public interests.

Keywords: Australia, documentary production, forensic patients, journalism research, journalism ethics, mental health, mindful journalism, privacy, open justice, secrecy

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IN April 2014, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's *Background Briefing* programme broadcast *The Man Without a Name* (Morton, 2014), a 40-minute radio documentary on the story of Patient A. Patient A is a forensic patient: someone who has committed a criminal offence, but has been found not guilty by reason of mental illness (Pearson, 2011). In 2002, Patient A set fire to an office building where he had previously worked in the Sydney suburb of Ashfield. One of his former colleagues, Radmilla Domonkos, died of smoke inhalation in the fire. In March 2004, Patient A was found not guilty of murder, and not guilty of manslaughter, by reason of mental illness.

Since then he has been incarcerated in the Long Bay Prison Hospital in New South Wales (NSW), and more recently in the Forensic Hospital, a high-security facility | adjoining the prison.

Under the law in NSW, Patient A cannot be identified and the media cannot report details of his case. However, Patient A has taken the highly unusual step of seeking to have these legal restrictions lifted and his identity disclosed in the public domain. He and his supporters have campaigned through the NSW Mental Health Review Tribunal and the Supreme Court for what he calls 'the right to his own name'. The *Background Briefing* programme documented that campaign and raised questions about whether current restrictions on the reporting of forensic mental health cases are in the public interest and in the best interest of the individuals concerned.

That documentary grew out of collaborative research by the authors of this article: one an investigative journalist and radio documentary producer who is also a journalism academic, the other a journalist and journalism academic whose research had focused on media law and journalism ethics. In our view, Patient A's story was a case study with much wider implications: an example of the growth of what we call 'zones of silence' within the justice system and other government bureaucracies. These zones of silence are the product of laws that prevent reporting by journalists, and thereby conflict with principles of open justice.

What follows is an academic reflection on the process we followed in attempting to puncture one of these zones of silence: fulfilling Patient A's wish to be named and have his case discussed in the public arena. As we will show, the broadcast of *The Man Without A Name* created a significant legal precedent, and was a milestone in the reporting of forensic mental health cases in Australia. We also explore the theoretical and ethical considerations informing our journalistic investigation and our academic research, drawing upon traditions of documentary production, the legal concept of open justice, and the ethical framework of 'mindful journalism'. We conclude by drawing lessons from the project that might inform future practitioners: journalists and researchers seeking to shed light on the workings of the forensic mental health system, who must consider a complex and competing set of rights and public interests.

Open government and zones of silence

Journalists in liberal democracies have traditionally argued that they, and the media institutions for which they work, play a central role in scrutinising the processes of government and holding politicians to account (McChesney & Pickard, 2011; Lewis, 2014). Over the last decade, politicians and government officials in many countries have embraced the rhetoric of open government, arguing that the workings of democracy should become more transparent to citizens.[1] The judiciary, separated in powers under the Australian Constitution from the executive and the parliament, has long endorsed

transparency and public scrutiny of its processes via the principle of 'open justice'. In recent decades, however, there has been a tendency to develop exceptions to the open justice principle in certain areas where transparency, scrutiny and free expression are deemed to be outweighed by other public rights and interests. In this article, we focus on a particular outcome of this tendency: the use of privacy laws to create zones of silence within the justice system in processes related to mental health. The case study we explore occurred in Australia, but it has resonance with cases in the United Kingdom and the United States. Jeremy Taylor, a reporter with *The Independent,* was closely involved in a series of court cases that successfully sought to allow reporting of cases in the British Court of Protection. According to Taylor (2012):

> …some of the decisions that judges were being asked to make were extraordinary, both in medical and legal terms, and often involved requests to breach some of our most fundamental human rights (Taylor, Neary & Canneti, 2012, p. 43). Journalists, however, were excluded from the Court's hearings, and relatives of vulnerable individuals whose cases were before the Court faced contempt proceedings if they spoke publicly about what they believed were its failings. Ostensibly, this was to safeguard the privacy of those people whom the Court was intended to protect; in practice, says Taylor, it 'too often […] feels like local authorities and primary care trusts are trying to shelter their own—often controversial—decisions from public scrutiny' (Taylor et al., 2012, p. 44).

In the United States, the Center for Investigative Reporting took legal action in the California Supreme Court against the Department of Public Health to force it to reveal details of abuse, malpractice and neglect in state-run homes for people with developmental disabilities. In this case, too, the Department of Public Health fought against the disclosure on the grounds that it would breach patient privacy (Bale, 2015). Pearson (2012) compared and contrasted the competing interests of patient privacy and public accountability in case studies of mental health publication restrictions in the United Kingdom, Victoria and Western Australia.

Patient A's case shares a fundamental similarity with these examples from different countries and legal jurisdictions. It involves a clash between government's responsibility to act in the best interests of vulnerable individuals in their care (protecting them from unwanted intrusion by the media) and the public interest (ensuring that the processes involved are open to scrutiny). As Jeremy Taylor expressed it:

> Usually the argument used to deny the press access [to the Court of Protection] is that having journalists present would not be in the best interests of the person who seeks the court's protection. … But there is a strong public interest to name the local bodies that are in charge of the person. People have a right to know what decisions are being made by officials in their area. (Taylor et al., 2012, p.44)

It is this 'right to know', and the complex legal and ethical questions which surround it, that our investigation set out to illuminate.

Research collaboration and ethical practice

Prior to commencing this project, the authors of this article had common research interests and had published academic research on the ways in which privacy laws restricted journalists' capacity to report on matters of public interest (Pearson 2011; Morton 2012).

As outlined above, we believed that Patient A's case raised important issues that should be debated in the public domain. We decided we could best contribute to such debate through an 'action research' or practice-based approach, using the methodologies of investigative journalism and radio documentary production to explore his case. It was clear to us from the start that this would require us to negotiate some tricky legal issues, and some even more complex and challenging ethical issues as journalists and academic researchers.

Our investigation would potentially involve breaching the privacy of our principal subject, as it required discussion of his case in the public domain: an action in potential conflict with the non-identification provisions of most university codes of ethics and the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (National Health and Medical Research Council [NHMRC], 2015), and also problematic with regard to NHMRC guidelines on using mentally ill people as research subjects.[2] We debated at some length whether or not to separate the journalistic investigation from the academic research process, and only commence the latter once the lead author had completed the journalism part of the project, thus—potentially—bypassing the need for formal approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the institution of the lead author who would be undertaking the interviews for the study.

We ultimately decided to put the project through that ethics approval process, since part of the aim of the project was to demonstrate how practice and research could be part of one process which both complement and inform each other.

It also became clear to us early in the research process that existing codes of journalistic ethics had little to say about how we should approach Patient A's case. The *Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance Journalists' Code of Ethics* requires journalists to 'respect private grief and personal privacy' (Media Entertainment Arts Alliance [MEAA], 2015), but gives little further guidance, other than to state that 'Ethical journalism requires conscientious decision-making in context' (MEAA, 2015).

At the same time we were grappling with these ethical dilemmas in the early stages of the project, co-author Mark Pearson had become interested in developing ways of aiding this 'conscientious decision-making in context' by exploring the secular application of the principles of Buddhism's Noble Eightfold Path. He coined the approach 'mindful journalism' (Pearson, 2014). This was later developed into a book co-edited with US and Sri Lankan scholars (Gunaratne, Pearson & Senarath, 2015). We decided to apply

the basic principles of mindful journalism to our ethical deliberations as the investigation proceeded.

There is insufficient space here to elaborate on every element of the mindful journalism approach, but it is premised on basic Buddhist principles such as the acknowledgement of the inherent suffering in life (particularly in a mental health context), the need for kindness and compassion (*metta*) in one's dealings with others, and the fact that one's actions inevitably have implications and repercussions both for oneself and others (*karma*) (Gunaratne, 2015, p. 43). The Noble Eightfold Path offers a system for moral reflection with useful secular application to ethical dilemmas encountered in journalism. While denoted as separate steps of this path, each is co-dependent on the other, and most operate in combination when applied to an ethical dilemma. According to Pearson (2014), those eight steps (and their secular application to reporting) are:

Right Intent—What are the journalist's motivations in reaching an ethical decision? To what extent are ego or commercial rewards driving the decision? To what extent is the journalist motivated by compassion and a desire to ease the suffering of others?

Right Livelihood—How is the decision informed by the most worthy aspects of journalism as a profession?

Right Understanding—To what extent is the decision informed by knowledge of the issue at hand and understanding of the ethical dynamics at play? Is further research needed to understand it better?

Right Thought—Are the journalist's thoughts right-minded and morally based here? Do those thoughts offer further understanding of motivations? Is there a sub-stream of thought giving insight into a journalist's concerns and prejudices?

Right Action—Is each behavioural step in the reportage morally sound? Have all stakeholders been consulted and given a fair hearing? Have appropriate permissions been sought when there is a moral or ethical obligation to do so?

Right Speech—What phrasing is being used to pose questions and to frame the reportage? Is the choice of words fair, accurate, kind and beneficial? If it casts others in a bad light, is that necessary or can it be handled in a different way?

Right Mindfulness—What process for reflection has been built into the reporting process? Is there opportunity for both formal reflection and a conscious 'reflection-in-action'? (Schön, 1987).

Right Concentration—To what extent has there been attention to detail—important details that might affect the interests of stakeholders? What space and time has been allowed for journalists to achieve this concentration—to indeed enter 'the zone' where their performance is maximised.

We will return to each of these elements throughout this article as we document our navigation of key ethical decision-making points (or, as Hirst and Patching describe them, 'fault lines' [2007, p. 3]) throughout the research and reporting process.

The right to a name: Privacy, open justice, and the case of Patient A

The mindful journalism element of 'Right Understanding' invokes a journalist to have conducted enough background research on a topic to inform the ethical decisions inherent in the story. This principle is inherent to other approaches to responsible reporting, including peace journalism (Lynch & Galtung, 2010) and inclusive journalism (Rupar & Pesic, [Inclusive journalism and rebuilding democracy], 2012).

The authors had already undertaken considerable research on related topics but appreciated that to do justice to Patient A and other stakeholders in this story they also needed a high level of familiarity with mental health legislation in NSW and, to some extent, with the key psychiatric terminology and institutional processes of the forensic mental health system. They also needed a close familiarity with Patient A's background and 'index offence'—the criminal act on which he had been found unfit to stand trial, which had triggered his detention and psychiatric treatment.

We learned from court and tribunal records and from Justice Action sources that Patient A was born in 1959 and came to Australia as a refugee from Iran in 1983.[3] He became an Australian citizen in 1986, and worked for some years for the Community Relations Commission in Sydney. He spent some time living in the United States in the 1990s, and returned to Australia in 2000. In late 2003, some months before he lit the fire in early 2002, which caused the death of one colleague and critically injured two others (Carr & Chikarovski, 2002), Patient A had begun writing letters to State and Federal politicians in Australia. In those letters he claimed the then Prime Minister, John Howard, had signed an 'assassination order' to have him killed. The letters went unanswered. Believing that no one was listening to his concerns, Patient A wrote more letters to the New South Wales police, warning that he would set fire to himself or to a government building. Those letters also went unanswered (Morton, 2014).

Late in the afternoon of January 19, 2002, Patient A doused the offices in Ashfield with petrol and set them on fire. Media reports at the time described clouds of 'heavy, dark, acrid smoke' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation [ABC], 2002) issuing from the building, reducing visibility in the area to 'absolutely zero'(ABC, 2002). Patient A was arrested at the scene and charged with murder. It is worth noting that, in his subsequent trial at the NSW Supreme Court in 2003, he and his counsel asserted that he was not mentally ill. It was the presiding NSW Supreme Court judge, Justice Peter Hidden, who declared him unfit to stand trial.[4] As a result, he was found not guilty by reason of mental illness, and became a forensic patient.

At the time we began our investigation, Patient A was fighting a legal battle with the NSW Mental Health Review Tribunal for what he describes as the right to his own name. The Mental Health Review Tribunal reviews the cases of forensic patients periodically, and determines whether or not they should continue to be incarcerated. Under Section 162 of the *NSW Mental Health Act 2007*, without the consent of the Tribunal, it is an offence to publish or broadcast the name of any person:

a. To whom a matter before the Tribunal relates, or
b. Who appears as a witness before the Tribunal in any proceedings, or
c. Who is mentioned or otherwise involved in any proceedings under this Act or the Mental Health (Forensic Provisions) Act 1990.

In New South Wales, the Tribunal's hearings are, in principle, open to the public. However, they cannot be reported or publicised in any way that might identify either the patient, or members of his or her treating team—the nurses, psychiatrists and other health professionals who are responsible for their care. The President of the NSW Mental Health Review Tribunal, Professor Dan Howard, argues there are strong reasons for this:

> We discuss intimate psychiatric detail, personal detail about persons who may have in their illness created a complete train wreck for their lives and for their loved ones. And rather analogous to the health privacy rules and regulations that we have in Australia, the policy view is that it's proper that we take a similar approach to these patients, to these forensic patients, to enable these things to be discussed openly at our hearing without concern that they will be reported, that they will be named and shamed and have this ongoing trauma which they're trying to recover from. (Morton, 2014)

This 'policy view' is in stark contrast to one of the fundamental principles of the common law, namely that courts should be open and legal proceedings should be reportable. Former NSW Chief Justice Jim Spigelman has argued that the principle that justice must be seen to be done is 'one of the most pervasive axioms of the administration of common law systems' (Spigelman, 2005), while Justice Kirby stated in the Raybos case that:

> Widespread publicity, through the modern media of communications, may do great harm. Sometimes quite unjustifiable damage can be inflicted on individuals... However that may be, a price must be paid for the open administration, particularly of criminal justice. The alternative, of secret trials, where important public rights may be in competition and individual liberty may be at risk is so unacceptable that courts of our tradition will tend to avoid the consequence. (*Raybos Australia Pty Ltd v Jones [1985] 2 NSWLR 47* at 60)

Cases of forensic patients are subject to fundamentally different levels of public scrutiny to those of prisoners in the criminal justice system. This is true not only of NSW, but of most jurisdictions in Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. As Pearson notes, the proceedings of tribunals in these jurisdictions 'usually have stringent non-publication, non-identification, and secrecy provisions with substantial fines or jail terms applicable in the breach' (2011, p. 95).

Some researchers have already advocated for greater openness and transparency in civil commitment cases, where a decision is taken to involuntarily detain or treat a person

experiencing a mental illness, but where the person involved has not committed a criminal offence. As Smith and Caple (2014) argue,

> Society needs to reconsider the currently closed nature of civil commitment hearings. Due to the gravity of the decisions made at civil commitment review hearings, it is important to ensure that the tribunals are fair, transparent and accountable. Issues of privacy and confidentiality may be adequately addressed by requiring the tribunals to publish redacted reasons and should not be used to justify a complete failure to publish reasons. The publication of reasons by mental health tribunals would go some way in ensuring open justice. (Smith & Caple, 2014, p. 21)

Restrictions on open justice in the forensic system may arguably have more serious consequences, where patients can be detained indefinitely. The effect of these restrictions is to effectively create a zone of silence where the principle of open justice ceases to operate. Privacy provisions intended to protect the 'intimate psychiatric details' of forensic patients from the intrusive gaze of the media may actually end up protecting psychiatrists and bureaucrats from public scrutiny.

This impression is certainly reinforced by the tenacity with which the psychiatrists treating Patient A, and Justice Health, the branch of the NSW state government which administers the Forensic Hospital, have opposed Patient A's desire for the 'right to his own name'.

In 2008 Patient A came to the attention of Justice Action, a group which advocates for prisoners' rights in NSW. Patient A had started a petition in Long Bay prison to stop forensic patients being locked in their cells for 18 hours a day. Together with a number of community groups working in the mental health sector, Justice Action publicised the petition, and the lockdown was stopped. Justice Action now became involved with Patient A's case, and the coordinator of Justice Action, Brett Collins, became Patient A's tutor—effectively his primary carer within the meaning of the *NSW Mental Health Act* (2007), defined in section 71. In September 2010, Justice Action made a submission to the Mental Health Review Tribunal on behalf of Patient A. The submission requested that:

> the provision of s.162 of the Mental Health Act for his privacy be waived and for him to be allowed to use his own name in the campaign for his release and to highlight the unfairness of his treatment and that of others by the Health Department. (Justice Action, 2010)

In other words, Patient A was seeking consent to breach his own privacy. Justice Health, the branch of the NSW government that administers the forensic system, strongly opposed his application, and it was rejected by the Tribunal (A v Mental Health Review Tribunal [2012] NSWSC 293).

With the support of Justice Action, Patient A then took action in the NSW Supreme

Court to overturn this decision. In the transcript of the Supreme Court case, sections of the MHRT's 2010 hearing, which would normally not have been made public, are quoted at some length. The then- President of the MHRT, Greg James QC, summarised the grounds on which Justice Health had opposed Patient A's bid to use his own name.

> The issue is capacity to be able to determine whether he should publish and run press campaigns or whether that is a manifestation of his particular illness. And I understand that the clinical position as put by some of the Justice Health doctors is that such a campaign and some of the attitudes that [the plaintiff] evinces indicate or are symptomatic of his illness, so that to pander to it is simply to produce a situation that is not to his benefit but adverse to him. (A v Mental Health Review Tribunal [2012] NSWSC 293)

A representative of Justice Health agreed that that was a good summary. In other words, they argued that Patient A was not able to make an informed choice, and lacked the capacity to understand the potential consequences of publicity about his case. Patient A disputes this. He has consistently argued that he is not suffering from a mental illness, and that he wants to publicise not only his own case but larger systemic issues in the treatment of forensic patients. In *The Man Without A Name,* he described his reasons for this as follows:

> It doesn't matter if the people know my name, […] and I'm not afraid to be exposed. […] the system needs to be exposed so the community and the authorities know what is going on in here in the name of care and treatment. There is no exit door to get out of the system. It's not like the criminal justice system that you get a sentence, then you understand that you have to serve a certain amount of your time or life in the prison system to pay your debt to the community, […] then you get out and you are a free man again. Here they keep you indefinitely and they keep on injecting you until you agree you have a mental illness. (Morton, 2014)

Patient A has sought, unsuccessfully, to have his case re-tried in the criminal justice system in the belief that, had he been found guilty of manslaughter and served a custodial sentence, he would have been released by now. That was a view shared by his solicitor at the time of our investigation, Peter O'Brien:

> Well, he wasn't sentenced so there's a fair bit of conjecture I suppose but at that time, 2002, it's a dangerous act, manslaughter, in other words he did a dangerous act which caused the death of another person. In the order of 4-6 years non-parole, in other words 4-6 years inside a custodial facility by way of sentence would be I think in my opinion a fair estimate. (Morton, 2014)

O'Brien said he believed that by 2014 Patient A would have spent his parole period either in the community or in custody, and his entire sentence would have expired (Morton,

2014). In the forensic mental health system in NSW, however, there is no possibility of parole.

In April 2012, Patient A's action in the Supreme Court was dismissed by Justice Adams, effectively on procedural grounds (*A v Mental Health Review Tribunal* [2012] NSWSC 293). It was shortly after this that we commenced our investigation.

Right Intent, Right Livelihood, and Right Action

A foundation stone for a 'mindful journalism' consideration of the ethical dimensions of a story is the 'Right Intent' of the journalists involved. It was the starting point for our discussions about our reasons for pursuing the story. What were our motivations? What did we hope to achieve via the lead author's work of journalism and our subsequent academic collaboration? Such questions occupied our thinking and discussions at the start of the project and were ones we returned to throughout, particularly as problematic ethical questions arose. We agreed our primary intentions in pursuing the story and the resulting academic outputs were:

- To use Patient A's case to inform the public and our scholarly audiences that there were laws in Australian jurisdictions prohibiting the naming of mental health patients.
- To seek permission to name Patient A if we decided we should do so after mindful reflection upon the ethics of the situation.
- To use the record of our own applications to name Patient A as an insight into the mental health tribunal process.
- To consider Patient A's plight as an anonymised forensic patient facing the prospect of an indefinite period of detention.
- To start a public debate on the level of transparency of the mental health system.
- To map a path for future research in the area.

Was our intent driven by ego? It is hard to separate self-interest and individual reward from any journalistic or research decision. Works of journalism and academic articles carry bylines, and career reputation and advancement is built upon such outputs. However, we did not feel these were primary factors in our decision to pursue the project. Compassion (*metta*) and suffering (*dukkha*) are also difficult phenomena to isolate and assign in such a consideration. We were indeed driven by compassion for the suffering of Patient A and his frustration at facing detention and treatment as an anonymised forensic patient for an act that the state had determined was not a crime but, instead, was the 'index offence' prompting his incarceration. We felt compassion for him for the anxiety that such a story and articles might cause him, the possibility that his psychiatric treatment might be adversely affected, and the potential disappointment stemming from false expectations that his identification and publicity about his case might lead to his release. We also discussed our compassion for other stakeholders and their potential suffering, including the victims of his actions, their families, the mental health

professionals trying to treat Patient A, other anonymous patients who might also want their cases publicised, and our audiences who might suffer anxiety as they recall the suffering of patients subjected to historic institutional abuse in mental health facilities such as Chelmsford in the 1970s (New South Wales Royal Commission into Deep Sleep Therapy [RCDST], 1990).

This in turn linked to our deliberations over Right Livelihood and Right Action—the extent to which our journalistic and academic research activities were affixed to a moral compass and that we were cognisant of the karmic impact of each action, the ripple effect of repercussions for other stakeholders including patient and victims and families, medical staff, current and future patients, and the broader public.

With such ethical dilemmas in mind, in late 2012 the lead author approached ABC Radio National's *Background Briefing* programme with a proposal that they commission an investigative documentary on Patient A's case.[5] There were a number of reasons for doing so which link to the Eightfold Path step of Right Livelihood. In Buddhism, rightly or wrongly, certain occupations like poison peddler, sex worker and butcher are deemed incompatible with the path to enlightenment. We suggest certain sections of journalism—such as celebrity gossip-mongering, *News of the World*-style privacy intrusion, and cash-for-comment talkback—are ethically compromised. To be true to such ethical principles, Patient A's story needed to be told on a media platform with a strong ethos of ethical practice and in a medium that best allowed the measured account of his situation and its legal context. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation, with its strong regime of editorial standards, was a suitable organisation. Its Radio National programme *Background Briefing* was, and remains, a highly-regarded programme with a national reputation for investigative journalism. The lead author had worked there as a reporter for some years prior to becoming an academic, and was an experienced documentary producer. We believed that being able to call on the expertise of the ABC's Legal Department would greatly assist us in navigating our way through the legal restrictions around the reporting of the case. Of course, the technical compliance with legal requirements does not expunge a journalist's ethical obligations, so advice in this regard was duly weighed against the mindful journalism principles as the project unfolded.

There was, however, a more fundamental reason for choosing radio as the medium in which to tell Patient A's story. As Brett Collins, Patient A's tutor and the coordinator of Justice Action, would later tell us, Patient A had been rendered both nameless and voiceless: he had, effectively, become a 'non-person':

> The issue of identity was fundamental to the entitlement to have a name, that people can be, as I am, 'Brett Collins', people know who I am, they hear my name and they can identify me. I have an identity. (Morton, 2014)
>
> We knew that telling Patient A's story on television would be impossible; it was extremely unlikely that the Mental Health Review Tribunal or the Forensic Hospital would allow Patient A to appear on camera. However, we considered it

> might be possible to record an interview with him, which could be broadcast on radio. In other words, it might be possible for his voice to be heard—a desire which we took to be fundamental to his campaign for the 'entitlement to have a name'.

There is another sense in which we believed that our intent to give Patient A a voice was both in his interest, and in the broader public interest. In the introduction to her study of prisoners' radio, Heather Anderson wrote:

> Prisons are one of the most closed, silent institutions in the justice system (Doyle & Ericson, 1996; Lumby, 2002; Roberts & Hough, 2005); however, in the vast majority of cases, prisoners there are citizens who have been only temporarily removed from the rest of society. The silence imposed upon them exacerbates their segregation from the communities into which it is expected they should successfully reintegrate. With the loss of citizenship rights (either formal or informal ones) it becomes even more vital that prisoners have access to opportunities that enact their citizenship through alternative means. (Anderson, 2012, p. 1)

In many cases, forensic prisoners are not 'temporarily removed from society', but may be incarcerated indefinitely. If prisons are one of the most closed, silent institutions in the justice system, then the forensic mental health system represents an even more extreme case, which renders not only the inmates but also the staff—psychiatrists, nurses, doctors—and the bureaucrats who oversee it, invisible to the public.

Anderson (2012), argued that prisoners' radio programmes could constitute a form of active citizenship, where a citizen is conceived broadly (following Mouffe) as 'somebody who acts as a citizen, who conceives of herself as a participant in a collective undertaking' (Mouffe, cited in Anderson, 2012, p. 3), and participation in media production, as 'a discursive public sphere activity' (Mouffe, cited in Anderson 2012, p. 3), as a form of active citizenship.

Rather than being broadcast on prison radio, Patient A's story was to be broadcast on the ABC's *Background Briefing*, a national radio programme with an average audience of around 200,000 listeners (C. Bullock, personal communication, April 22, 2014).[6] By bringing his case, and the larger issues which it embodies, into the 'discursive public sphere', it could be argued that we were enabling a form of active citizenship for someone who has even less capacity to exercise it than prisoners in the criminal justice system.

The man without a name

In February 2012, *Background Briefing* commissioned the documentary, and we escalated our consideration of the ethical dimensions of the story, and our discussions of its legalities with the ABC's Legal Team. As the researcher who would be interviewing human subjects, the lead author submitted an ethics application to the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Technology Sydney. In its response, the Committee raised

a number of questions and concerns about the project. The major concern revolved around the issue of informed consent—particularly over whether or not Patient A could give informed consent to our request to identify him in the project. This would be an issue we returned to in the documentary itself.

The principle of Right Speech was central to these submissions and also to the phrasing of our accounts of Patient A's circumstances in both the work of journalism and subsequent academic outputs. As Gunaratne et al., (2015), have noted, it 'invokes the avoidance of falsehood, divisive and abusive speech, and gossip mongering' (Gunaratne et al., 2015, p. 147). They quoted the summary of Right Speech said to be offered by the Buddha in the *Vaca Sutta*:

> It is spoken at the right time. It is spoken in truth. It is spoken affectionately. It is spoken beneficially. It is spoken with a mind of good-will. (Thanissaro, 2000)

It was thus important that submissions (and subsequent works) be absolutely accurate, measured and crafted with good intent. In the lead author's application to the HREC, he argued Patient A had clearly demonstrated his desire to be identified in the public domain, through the submissions to the Mental Health Review Tribunal made by him and on his behalf by Justice Action for the right to use his own name. He argued that Patient A's tutor Brett Collins—effectively his legal guardian and representative—had also given his consent, and that we would seek his written consent again before proceeding with the project. We also argued that there was a strong public interest in the larger issues surrounding Patient A's case being explored in the public arena.

The Ethics Committee's formal recommendation was that we should seek consent from the Mental Health Review Tribunal to identify Patient A in the proposed *Background Briefing* programme.

In July 2013, after extensive consultation with the ABC Legal Department and their lawyers Deborah Auchinachie and Hugh Bennett, the ABC formally applied to the Mental Health Review Tribunal for permission to name Patient A in the *Background Briefing* broadcast.

In September 2013 we presented our submission to a meeting of the NSW Mental Health Review Tribunal via video link from the MHRT's premises in Gladesville.[7] Representations had also been made prior to this meeting, on our behalf, by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Legal and Business Affairs department (Bennett, 2013). We repeated the arguments we had already made to the HREC, additionally arguing that the Tribunal should consider not just the potential harms to Patient A, but the benefits that might flow from his desire for the 'right to a name' being granted, both to him as an individual, and to public awareness of, and debate about, the situation of forensic prisoners. Representatives of Justice Health, whom we cannot name, strongly objected to our application. Their arguments were similar to those made previously before the

Tribunal, namely that publicity would exacerbate Patient A's condition and have an adverse effect upon his mental health.

In October 2013 the Tribunal wrote to us approving our application (New South Wales Mental Health Review Tribunal [MHRT], personal communication, October 28, 2013). This was extremely exciting, both because we would now be able to name Patient A in accordance with his wishes on the national broadcaster, and because it represented a significant legal precedent. In its Reasons for Decision, the Tribunal referred to Justice Adams' decision in *A v Mental Health Review Tribunal* [2012] NSWSC 293, and stated that:

> It appeared to the Tribunal that Adams J seems to suggest that there should be minimal restriction to [his] rights and therefore the publication of his name unless his care and treatment warrants it. ([MHRT], personal communication, October 28, 2013)

The Tribunal weighed up the risk that Patient A's mental health might be adversely affected by the publication of his name against the benefits that might result:

> On all the evidence before the Tribunal it seemed that there is a potential risk as well as a potential gain in that, if the application is granted his rights would have been recognised, which he has previously indicated is of great importance to him. (MHRT, personal communication, October 28, 2013)

The Tribunal decided, on balance, to grant our application. However, we now faced a further dilemma, which was primarily ethical rather than legal in nature: whether or not to interview Patient A. This reintroduced our mindful consideration of Right Action in our ethical deliberations. The ethics committee had required us to seek the permission of the Mental Health Review Tribunal to identify Patient A, which we had duly done. However, our mindful reflection upon the dilemma raised a host of questions related to the nature of the documentary medium, legal and ethical requirements on permissions, and the extent to which the airing of a recording of a formerly anonymised person's speech adds an essentially human dimension to their re-established identity—their unique voice.

Our ultimate decision also involved an element of serendipity. We were obliged to make a further application to the Tribunal for permission to name Patient A in our academic research—in other words, in publications such as this article and research blogs—as well as in the broadcast. This time, one of us—the documentary producer—was able to attend the Tribunal's hearing in person inside the Forensic Hospital. Although we were not aware of this in advance, Patient A was also attending the hearing with his tutor, Brett Collins. By chance, the documentary producer met Collins and Patient A at the hearing. Although he was not permitted to take any recording equipment into the hospital, he recorded his impressions of the meeting in the car park immediately afterwards. This is how they were described in the documentary:

> **Producer**: I've just come back from a Mental Health Review Tribunal hearing. This particular hearing was inside the forensic prison which is next to Long Bay Jail, and the most interesting thing about today's hearing was that I got to meet Patient A, the subject of this story, *The Man Without a Name*. I offered him my hand, he shook it, he's got a very firm handshake, and we had quite a long talk about himself and about his case. He is a very articulate man. He spoke to me at length about the facts, as he sees them, of his case. He knew the names and dates of all of the legal judgements, and he certainly was able to present a very coherent argument about why he shouldn't be in the state that he is in now. (Morton, 2014).

During that meeting, the producer asked both Patient A and his tutor Brett Collins if they would consent to a telephone interview. We agreed that Collins would be listening at all times in the studio during that interview, and that Patient A could terminate the call at any time. We also subsequently discussed the issue of whether or not to interview Patient A with the executive producer of *Background Briefing*, Chris Bullock. Before we did the interview we also made a formal request to the Director of the Forensic Hospital for permission to interview Patient A in person, which was subsequently refused. On balance, we decided that we would proceed with a telephone interview, given that Patient A had given his consent in person, that Collins had done so, and we had made every reasonable effort to make it clear to all parties what the possible consequences of the interview could be. The pros and cons of the ethical decision to proceed with the telephone interview, on the technicality that it was not the face-to-face interview that had been denied permission, still left us questioning whether this was a 'Right Action' when so many other competing stakeholder interests come into play. It was a prime example of the ethical 'fault line' noted by Hirst and Patching (2007)—which they described as 'the earthquake-like tremors that often shake individual journalists and/or their organisations to their core as they grapple with ethical dilemmas' (p. 3). We were guided by several considerations which seemed to us to accord with the principles of Right Speech, Right Action, and Right Livelihood outlined above. The first of these was the Mental Health Review Tribunal's argument, in its reasons for granting our application, that by allowing Patient A's name to be used, 'his rights would have been recognized, which he had previously indicated was of great importance to him' (New South Wales, Mental Health Review Tribunal, personal communication, October 28, 2013). Our decision to allow him to speak in the programme, we reasoned, was a further recognition of his rights and could thus be construed as Right Speech; '…spoken at the right time […] spoken in truth […] spoken affectionately […] spoken beneficially […] spoken with a mind of goodwill' (Thanissaro, 2000).

The lead author, Tom Morton, also interviewed a number of psychiatrists with expertise in the area of forensic mental health cases. In particular, he asked them to comment on the issue of capacity—whether or not Patient A could reasonably be considered capable of making an informed choice. In the *Background Briefing* programme, Dr Chris

Ryan, a psychiatrist and senior clinical lecturer at the University of Sydney, expressed the following view:

> It is important to remember … that the assumption should be that the person has capacity, so the onus is really on the person who wants to show that they don't have capacity.
>
> It's conceivable for example that a person might think that …they were divine and it wouldn't matter what anybody said about them, that it would always be good.
>
> That might suggest that they didn't have capacity. But if the person seemed to have the usual understanding of what it means to have your name published and they think it would be in their best interests for their name to be published, then who are we to say 'oh we know better than you'? (Morton, 2014)

This thoughtfully expressed professional judgement of Dr Ryan's gave us some confidence that we were acting with Right Understanding; a nuanced appreciation of the ethical dynamics at play in deciding what was in Patient A's 'best interests' and interviewing him without the consent of Justice Health. Finally, we believed that giving Patient A a voice in the programme and allowing him to exercise 'active citizenship' would also be in the public interest, as it would draw attention to the situation of forensic prisoners and the issues of open justice and accountability touched on above. This seemed to us to accord with the precept of Right Livelihood, as journalism's role in advocating for the public interest and the public right to know is generally regarded as central to its legitimacy and this is emblematic of the most worthy aspects of journalism as a profession.

In early April 2014 the lead author found himself in the midst of the mindful journalism stage of Right Concentration—as he scripted, voiced and edited the programme to length on the advice of the executive producer, ABC legal staff and co-author. This is the stage where all other elements of mindful journalism come into play as the professional enters what in sporting parlance is called 'the zone'—that consummate state of concentration where both practical and ethical decisions arise and are considered reflectively within the tight constraints of a pressing deadline (Schön, 1987).

The *Background Briefing* programme was broadcast on April 20, 2014. For the first time in Australia, a forensic patient had been granted the right to be identified publicly. It was not until half way through the programme that Patient A introduced himself:

> My name is Saeed Dezfouli.[8] I was born in 1958 in Iran and I came to Australia after finishing university, I got a degree in political science. I came to Australia in 1983 as a refugee. In 1986 I became an Australian citizen, and I also started working for the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales as a court interpreter. Then I joined the panel of the immigration, and then in 1989 I also worked for the Immigration Department as a bilingual information officer, which required intensive training about the system. And this is how I became very familiar with the system. And I was dealing with newly arrived refugees and immigrants in 1989. In 1990 I went to America for 10 years, and in May 2000 I came back to Australia. (Morton, 2014)

In the course of the programme Dezfouli expressed remorse for the death of his colleague Radmilla Domonkos in the fire:

> **Saeed Dezfouli [Patient A]:** I don't deny I committed an unlawful act, because I am responsible for the death of my poor colleague and I had to be treated under the criminal justice system and get a fair go, and I didn't.
>
> **Producer**: I think that's very important what you've just said Saeed, you've said, 'I am responsible for the death of my poor colleague.' Are you sorry for that?
>
> **Saeed Dezfouli [Patient A]**: I am deeply sorry. I wish I could bring her back. (Morton, 2014)

He also raised a number of grievances about his treatment in the Forensic Hospital, including the fact that he was being forcibly medicated with anti-psychotic drugs which he believed had harmful side-effects. However, he stressed that he wanted to expose not only the details of his own case, but what he believed were broader systemic abuses in the forensic mental health system:

> They make mistakes, and once they make the mistake they're not going to reverse it and accept it any more, they try to proceed with the fact that you were wrong and they were right, and break you down and make you compliant with the regime through medications, and don't recognise the way you are functioning and the way you are. […] the system needs to be exposed so the community and the authorities know what is going on in here in the name of care and treatment. So somebody should step forward and expose this, and I want to be the one. (Morton, 2014)

Conclusion: The lessons from the case of Saeed Dezfouli

Our investigation, and the *Background Briefing* documentary, shone a light on little-known aspects of the forensic mental health system which receive scant public attention. It created a significant legal precedent which allowed public scrutiny of the case of one forensic patient, Saeed Dezfouli, and raised questions about whether or not the current provisions in the *NSW Mental Health Act 2007* are truly in the public interest. In the documentary, Sascha Callaghan, of the Centre for Values, Ethics and the Law in Medicine at Sydney University, commented on Saeed's case as follows:

> **Sascha Callaghan**: Now, this is a way in which you can see that the whole idea of vulnerability can actually be used really to restrict someone's ability to vindicate their rights. It's actually used in an oppressive way. I mean, I think that there is legitimate public concern about why these sorts of proceedings should be suppressed in this way if it's not legitimately for the protection of the person involved.
>
> **Producer**: So you're saying in effect that there's a danger that the law in this context can act not to protect the privacy of the individual involved, but in a sense to protect the responsible institutions from public scrutiny?

> **Sascha Callaghan**: Absolutely. For whose protection is this suppression order being given? (Morton, 2014)It should be stressed here that the documentary—and this academic reflection on our investigation—are not, primarily, an appeal for Saeed Dezfouli's release. As journalists and journalism academics, we are plainly not competent to make any judgement about whether or not he is suffering from a mental illness, nor whether he is likely to pose a danger to himself or others should he be released from custody. It is more an attempt to shed light on the opaque processes of the forensic mental health system, and to suggest that the benefits to patients which might flow from greater openness and transparency may potentially outweigh the possible harms which could result from their identification.

There are strong historical precedents supporting this view. In New South Wales during the 1960s and 1970s, psychiatrists and psychologists at Chelmsford Hospital treated patients with 'deep sleep therapy', which involved placing them in a coma induced by heavy doses of barbiturates for weeks at a time. In the late 1980s, a Royal Commission was established to investigate alleged abuses at Chelmsford. It found that deep sleep therapy had led to the deaths of 24 patients, and that another 24 killed themselves within a year after treatment. In his report, Royal Commissioner Slattery noted the 'atmosphere of secrecy' that surrounded Chelmsford Hospital, and stressed the importance of media coverage in exposing the abuses which had occurred there:

> The publication of the articles, the editorials and the television broadcasts, together with the active campaign waged by members of the Chelmsford Victims Action Group and others for an inquiry were undoubtedly instrumental in causing the government to review its earlier decisions and to establish a Royal Commission. (*New South Wales Royal Commission into Deep Sleep Therapy*, 1990, Vol 1, p. 9)

We certainly do not suggest that the kinds of psychiatric malpractice that occurred in Chelmsford are occurring today in the New South Wales Forensic Hospital. However, the case of Chelmsford does illustrate the potential risks which can arise when secrecy prevails, and the only scrutiny of psychiatrists with vulnerable individuals in their care is through the internal processes of the health bureaucracy. In the radio documentary, Professor Merrilyn Walton of the School of Public Health at the University of Sydney argued that, prior to the media coverage Justice Slattery referred to, the NSW Health Department failed to pursue complaints from former patients and relatives about what was happening inside Chelmsford. Walton was a Legal Aid worker on secondment to the Health Department at the time that these complaints were beginning to surface in the 1980s.

> **Merrilyn Walton**: There was many, many opportunities where there should have been full investigations, full inspections of licensed premises. There was absolutely none, even after the coronial enquiries coming out of Hornsby Hospital, and it became clear to me that the Department not only didn't have the skills and competence

> to do the investigations, but didn't have the will. It came from the culture where doctors' actions aren't questioned, and the Department of Health had historically adopted that culture where there was a doctor in charge. (Morton, 2014).

The more recent examples involving the California Health Department and the British Court of Protection cited above underline the dangers of secrecy and silence in institutional settings. In our view, law reform bodies, mental health tribunals, and health professionals who work in the forensic system, in consultation with prisoners' rights groups and other civil society organizations, should consider amendments to the law which would relax some of the reporting of forensic cases and allow the identification of patients if that is their wish.

The further purpose of this article was to demonstrate how the principles of 'mindful journalism' (Pearson, 2014) can help guide the ethical decision-making of journalists (and journalism educators) beyond the 'black letter' codes of ethics in the news media and universities. A truly reflective and mindful approach will not resolve all ethical dilemmas to the satisfaction of all stakeholders in a story, particularly if the decision sits on one of Hirst and Patching's (2007) 'fault lines' (p. 3). However, the integrity of reporting can be enhanced if journalists take deliberative steps to reflect inwardly upon their understanding, intent, livelihood, thoughts, actions, and speech in mindful concentration. We suggest that, while such an approach can be applied to all reporting, it is particularly valuable in a story like this one—an issue of legitimate public concern involving vulnerable individuals.

Notes

1. One of President Barack Obama's first actions after taking office was to issue a Memorandum on Transparency and Open Government, committing his administration to creating an 'unprecedented level of openness in Government' (White House Memorandum [WHM], 2009 as cited in McDermott, 2010, p.401) and declaring that this openness, based in a system of 'transparency, public participation, and collaboration' (WHM, 2009, as cited in McDermott, 2010,p.401) would strengthen American democracy. The Australian Information Commissioner, John McMillan, has described open government as 'a vital aspect of Australian democracy' ('Office of the Australian Information Commissioner', [OAIC] 2011, p.1), and argued that 'pressure for greater transparency and public engagement in government is a global commitment' (OAIC, 2011, p. 1).
2. Section 2.2.12 of the NHMRC states: 'Where a potential participant lacks the capacity to consent, a person or appropriate statutory body exercising lawful authority for the potential participant should be provided with relevant information and decide whether he or she will participate. That decision must not be contrary to the person's best interests. Researchers should bear in mind that the capacity to consent may fluctuate, and even without that capacity people may have some understanding of the research and the benefits and burdens of their participation'. This is then further explored in *Chapter 4.5: People with a cognitive impair-*

ment, an intellectual disability, or a mental illness. Researchers are asked to consider issues of ongoing consent, the benefits of the research for the respondent, justice for the respondent, and the integrity of the research. Section 4.5.10 requires researchers to explicitly consider:

   d. how the decision about the person's capacity will be made;
   e. who will make that decision;
   f. the criteria that will be used in making the decision; and
   g. the process for reviewing, during the research, the participant's capacity to consent and to participate in the research. This information is to be presented to the HRECs.

3. Justice Action is a community group that advocates for prisoners' rights in NSW.
4. *Regina v. Saeed Dezfouli*, NSW Supreme Court, common law division, Hidden, J, Thursday May 1 2003, 70059/02, p. 5.
5. At that stage Patient A's case had received minimal coverage in the mainstream media, with the exception of brief articles in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (Morello, 2012) and *Crikey (*Barns, 2009*).* Barns' story is about A being injected with drugs against his will, and Morello's story is about A winning access to education. Both news outlets name Patient A but neither reference his campaign for the right to his name.
6. Personal communication from Chris Bullock, executive producer of *Background Briefing*. While audience figures vary from quarter to quarter, this figure is a yearly average. Prior to making verbal submissions by video link as described, Hugh Bennett, a lawyer from ABC Legal and Business Affairs, had made written submissions to the Mental Health Review Tribunal: Bennett, H. (2013). *Australian Broadcasting Legal and Business Affairs written submissions (September, 10) to the New South Wales Mental Health Review Tribunal*. Unpublished.
7. The NSW Mental Health Review Tribunal (MHRT) in an email to Hugh Bennett, ABC Legal and Business Affairs representative, advised of the approval of our application to interview Patient A and for him to be named. (NSW MHRT, personal communication, October 28, 2013).
8. Now that we have named Patient A, we are obliged under the Mental Health Review Tribunal's order to publish the following notice:

> It is an offence under the Mental Health Act 2007 (NSW) section 162 to publish or broadcast the name of any person to whom a matter before the Mental Health Review Tribunal relates or who appears as a witness before the Tribunal in any proceedings or who is mentioned or otherwise involved in any proceedings under the Mental Health Act 2007 or the Mental Health (Forensic Provisions) Act 1990, unless consent has first been obtained from the Tribunal. The author has obtained such consent to publish Mr Dezfouli's name. (New South Wales Mental Health Review Tribunal, personal communication, October 28, 2013).

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2. *Erewhon:* Filming nowhere

Abstract: Photographer Gavin Hipkins' first feature film draws upon Samuel Butler's anonymously published utopian satire *Erewhon: Or, Over the Range* (1872). It pairs a stream of evocative images with a voiceover narration from Butler's text. In particular, it is in his exploration of Butler's critique of the coming dominance of the machine in a post-industrial society that Hipkins' film speaks to postcolonial New Zealand. Paradoxically, however, Hipkins employs the words of Butler's text to free himself from the tyranny of narration and produce a film of continual interruptions, juxtapositions and breaks in perspective and mood. One moment we are asked to respond to the sublime grandeur of the New Zealand bush or mountainscape, the next to the banality of a rusted dripping pipe or a collection of car carcasses. Hipkins' images acquire their power not because of their inherent qualities, but because they prove themselves to be transformable, that is, because they can enter into relations of composition with other images. Through its montage, Hipkins' 'cinema of thinking' successfully combines the documentary nature of film—its recording—with its symbolic, evocative, ruminative capabilities, thus exemplifying Jean-Luc Godard's dictum that all good fictions are documentaries and all good documentaries are fictions.

Keywords: colonial New Zealand, *Erewhon*, documentary, experimental essay film, Gavin Hipkins, montage, realism, Samuel Butler

> *Tous les grands films de fiction tendent au documentaire, comme tous les grands documentaires tendent à la fiction*. (All great fiction films tend towards documentary, just as all great documentaries tend toward fiction.)
> —Jean-Luc Godard (1985, p.144)

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FOR his first feature-length film, *Erewhon* (2014), a pictorial essay on Samuel Butler's utopian satire *Erewhon: Or, Over the Range* (1872), photographer Gavin Hipkins has found resonance for Butler's words in the New Zealand landscape. *Erewhon* is an experimental essay film but one where that genre implodes since it is also a visual adaptation of a novel that charts its narrator's journey from a Canterbury high country sheep farm to a fictional society, where vegetarianism is the law and machines are banished for fear of their becoming conscious. Cinematic realism is never straightforward and always involves a struggle with other realisms and with meaning (see Williams, 1980; Roberts, 1998). Inevitably, realisms must come face to face with language and narrative. On the other hand, a purely self-referential art inevitably has

to confront realities and the everyday. The dilemma, which Hipkins faces, reminds one of Godard's truism that all good fictions are documentaries and all good documentaries are fictions. It is this conscious bringing together of fictional and documentary elements (whereby the real world is made to assume a quality of the magical and strange), a citational density (a voiceover from a literary source), an interest in found images and found objects (wilting flowers, model ships, gas mask goggles, rusting machinery, dripping water) and strategies of filming and editing (open to chance and improvisation) that are essentially associative (without a predetermined order) rather than dramatic or linear (where everything is in place) that is exemplary. Hipkins' recollections and associations can be as thematic as the mechanical bulldozer which sets the entire film in motion, or simply a colour (red, yellow, blue), or a sound, or a line (horizontality), or a movement (water dancing), something, often infinitesimal, that turns the smallest detail (the texture of dampness, the focussing of a landscape through mist) into something beautiful and even sublime, so that nothing, literally nothing, is insignificant; or, rather, that the most ignored, neglected, discarded, demeaned and insignificant becomes precious and wondrous, and precisely for those reasons of being out of step. In *Erewhon* this transformation of the passing and the insignificant, even of the invisible, eternalises the present and for an instant immobilises it, celebrates it.

In Hipkins' *Erewhon* the personified yet unascribed perspective, the sense we get of seeing through the eyes of someone unseen, is matched by the narrated voiceover from Butler's text, *Erewhon, or, Over the Range* (1872), admirably vocalised by Mia Blake. It lures us in but, because of its (deliberate) gender mismatch, uncannily displaces us too. Wherever there is a discrepancy between the words of the narrator and the image we view, there is always irony. Visually, Hipkins is an exacting craftsman. He uses the words from Butler's *Erewhon* to liberate himself from the tyranny of a plot. The voiceover embroiders his images with reflection and allows them to fill narrative gaps. But it also releases images from a narrative subordination so that they can flourish in splendid autonomy. Few images are allowed to unfold for long or to reach any dramatic resolution; there is no panning, zooming or tracking. Instead we get bits of scenes arranged into a mosaic of shifting impressions. That bulldozer grunting back and forth across a fallow field at the outset seems a premonition of the later discourse from Butler on man and machine.

> How many men at this hour are living in a state of bondage to the machines? How many spend their whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, in tending them by night and day? Is it not plain that the machines are gaining ground upon us when we reflect on the increasing number of those who are bound down to them as slaves, and of those who devote their whole souls to the advancement of the mechanical kingdom. (Butler, 1970, p. 223)

Is the prefatory bulldozer destined to uncover something? (Or is it digging its own grave?). But almost immediately after the title frame that follows is an exquisite image of a misty coastline with crashing waves, then a snow-covered mountain range, examples of what Hipkins elsewhere has labelled 'postwar pictorialism' (Hipkins, 2010). This is a film of continual interruptions, juxtapositions and breaks in perspective and mood. One moment we are asked to respond to the sublime grandeur of the New Zealand bush or mountainscape, the next to the banality of a rusted dripping pipe or a collection of car carcasses; often a circumstantial detail will cut a scene short so it amounts to no more than a glimpse. While we hear one of them on the voiceover, and hear about them, what strikes us most is the absence of people. There is little if any human contact made, no dialogue exchanged, and when we stumble upon inconsonant figures in an elemental landscape that stands apart from history, beyond human understanding, the filmed sequence of them is filtered through a grey screen or they are deliberately blurred or even masked.

The fact that both cinema and still photography can be placed together like this is because of their apparently similar views of duration and because both can be thought of as 'documentary': Both 'record' what is set before. Then it also has to do with a mournful quality of all photographs because they have a strong referent (Barthes, 1981). The photograph only attests to the referent having once been, but is now no longer. It is the presence of absence. The photographic referent is other than it is simply because the subject, so strongly declared, is effaced by time. The photograph is always of a moment that has passed, as is film, despite seeming to be 'in the present tense'. Hipkins appears to photograph everything, like a collector, and what he seeks is valuable for its uniqueness: that is, objects and images that have no particular conventional place, are no longer worthy of being classified are precious to him for being out of order, for lacking authority, not being part of tradition, for being that which has been rejected, something therefore truly authentic. (New Zealand viewers of *Erewhon* were surprised to learn that some of Hipkins' images, though they seemed to 'belong' to New Zealand, were actually shot in Queensland and Northern India.) The flotsam and jetsam that come his way, that he seeks and that he is open to, is put into play. Play, for Hipkins, with all it implies of chance, improvisation, a lack of constraint, is thereby what is joyous for the possibilities that are offered by the random in reality. They are the very substance of Hipkins' art, its precondition. The object, immobilised in time in the photograph is, more so than the photograph itself, subject to time. Immobility is a means of taking possession of movement, seizing hold of it, arresting time in a pregnant moment. The cinema then reinscribes movement in the object and thus an order of time that destablises the object by returning it to a flow, thereby combining presence with disappearance, certainty with instability. More importantly, this movement, or the implication of it, implies thought as Sergei Eisenstein insisted:

> … no one should forget that cinema is the only concrete art which is dynamic at the same time, which can unleash the operations of thought. The march of thought cannot be excited in the same way by the other arts, which are static and which can only give a cue to thought without truly developing it. I think that this task of intellectual excitation can be accomplished by film. (from a speech delivered at the Sorbonne in 1930 quoted in Michalcyzk, 1977, p. 224)

For Hipkins, images acquire their power not because of their inherent qualities, but because they prove themselves to be transformable, that is, because they can enter into relations of composition with other images. This claim must be surprising to anyone who has admired a particular shot in a movie for its pictorial qualities; it is hard to resist the idea that a great film would be one where every shot could stand on its own. Is *Erewhon* great because of this? (Hipkins is a photographer and the photographic ideal dies hard.) It is tempting (and the temptation is usually not resisted by critics) to see in the filmmaker Hipkins, the shadow of the photographer Hipkins (see, for example, Sleigh, 2014). The evidence is in the testimonial, evidential, documentary aspects of his films, the long takes, the immobile camera, the use of stills, the frontality and the centrality of composition, a certain stillness, as if his films, among other things, belong to photography. There exists an aching beauty in Hipkins' shots of New Zealand bush and mountain scenery. Yet any image that presents itself as self-sufficient—one that offers up its own meaning, that tells you everything you need to know, that can be taken at face value—will be useless for the purposes of montage, that is to say, for cinema and for Eisenstein's 'march of thought'. French film director Robert Bresson explains, in his wonderful and insightful *Notes on the cinematographer*: 'An image must be transformed by contact with other images as is a colour by contact with other colours. A blue is not the same blue beside a green, a yellow, a red. No art without transformation'. Bresson also proposes a 'Cinematographer's film where the images, like the words in a dictionary, have no power and value except through their position and relation' (Bresson, 1997, pp. 20-1). *Erewhon* is just that: 'a cinematographer's film'. It might seem obvious that film directors compose their images in order to assemble them into 'strong' montage sequences. That is what the vast majority of films offer us: there is not one image out of place. To the degree that every image aligns with the next one along a well-marked path—guided by the overarching unities of narrative, genre, design, etc.—such films will present themselves with built-in interpretations, which the spectators will be more or less able to recognise every step of the way. Hollywood tries to make images that never fall off the rails. But Hipkins' *Erewhon* is not like that. It proceeds as if it is possible to practise montage without the advance guarantees of formulaic composition. In that sense, montage can be a radical experimentation, in which we discover which images are strong enough to overcome aesthetic and semiotic inertia by seeking only the strongest combinations. Each image, no matter how definite, will acquire its force only when it is seen in the midst of other,

equally provisional, images. Every image anticipates the next, although the next does not always arrive, just as every image remembers the last, even when it was never there. There is no centre in Hipkins' film. In the stream of associations—the link of one thing resembling another following another—there is neither original nor copy. Links are not explanations. The associations are neither linear nor directional but plural and reversible. This structure of inversions and reversals mirrors that of the narrative strategies of Butler's *Erewhon*.

Hipkins knows that colonialism and photography were connected intimately. Photography provided the evidence for colonial expansion, documents of the now and the to-be (Maxwell, 1999). Colonial photography was modernist, expansive, aggressive. Bring the modern to the colonies it argued, shift to a new place, tame nature, clear forests, build dams, create lakes. Its images are both strange ('What will I find?') and familiar ('a home of my own'). Butler believed in the benefits of colonialism, or at least the benefits promised. He was granted rights to an isolated block, unknown to Pakeha and unused in any consistent way by Māori. He named his run-hold Mesopotamia, built himself a hut to live in, increased his sheep flock, and held it for five years, before selling out, doubling his money and returning to London. But Butler's colonialism was less practical and more theoretical. He was not interested in the capitalist enterprise but in the implications of what he encountered in New Zealand for the structures of his thought. What the Canterbury experience and his ultimate success as a colonist meant for Butler was a liberation from conventions and forms, from what he elsewhere described as the 'science-ridden, culture-ridden, afternoon-tea-ridden cliffs of Old England' (Butler, 1914, p. 304). Butler's interest in New Zealand was in its theoretical status as a primitive form of more advanced state. *Erewhon* tells the story of a settler colonist, Higgs, who, accompanied by a pusillanimous Maori guide, Chowbok, broaches a previously unreconnoitred pass through a mountain range (the Southern Alps) in search of a sheep pasture. But instead of discovering unoccupied farming land, Higgs finds himself among a people whose society, named Erewhon (an anagram of nowhere) is ordered by unique values, practices and institutions. It is also clear that certain understandings of Māori custom were absorbed into Butler's work which thus stands as an interfusion of *matauranga Māori* (Māori ways of thinking) into settler colonial, and hence into metropolitan flows. This means that Butler's work, in its pragmatic subversiveness, and despite its ambivalent Englishness, can offer Hipkins a foundation for the (postcolonial) undoing of identity and negation of the conceptual struts of colonialism. This is not to say that Butler was not tarnished through his association with colonialism—his colonial life was based on the occupation of lands to which he had no just claims, and his written work predicts the end of traditional Māoritanga. But importantly, colonialism did not preserve traditional ways of life; it abolished them and imposed others. It shattered an evolutionary framework by bringing together, at once and unmediated, extreme poles of societies still in nature and societies that dominated nature with science and technology. It is this clash of civilisations that Butler, shaped by

his colonial experience, explored as an intellectual project.

It is undoubtedly the movement between and juxtaposition of images, and their juxtaposition with a compelling voiceover text, not simply their content that gives *Erewhon* so much of its power. However, this misses out on a fundamental aspect of Hipkins' cutting: the frame itself. In the many shots of tropical flowers in *Erewhon*, for example, Hipkins' camera neither centres on nor straightens the objects it presents. The heads of both flowers and humans are cut off and we are too close to see them in their entirety. This messy intimacy with the object of the gaze has two particular effects. The first is centrifugal. The edge of Hipkins' frame is less a boundary or a limit, but something that feels more like a horizon. We cannot see it, but perceive nonetheless that the world extends out from this image or event, that there is an elsewhere (an 'over the range') we could move into. The images are fragments of a larger whole. The several shots of rapidly flowing horizontal torrents of water are just this. (Hipkins has consistently hung the installations of his photographs in connected series on gallery walls, asking himself the question: 'How does a single image exist in the context of a series?') (Hipkins, 2010). This is a filmmaker's question. At the same time, the randomness and ambiguity of the frame's edges deny it a sense of authority, that this and only this is what we must see, what we must remember. This is a photographer's response. The effect is centripetal. Instead of searching for significance beyond the frame in the wider world, our focus is concentrated inwards towards the centre of the image (we are drawn into the stamens of a wilting flower petal; in extreme close-up we flick through the blue pages of a mechanical manual). This creates a sense of these objects as things that are touched rather than simply seen. It is the combination of proximity and distance, close-up detail and vague openness, that we recognise as being like our experience of memory.

Hipkins has declared an interest in the artistic experiments of the avant-garde of the 1920s, exemplified perhaps best in the collage-montage works of Surrealism, and, radically of Dada, in film and photography. Like another contemporary enthusiast of Surrealism, David Lynch, Hipkins is drawn to 'the space of surreality in the everyday' (Hipkins, 2010). This manner of presentation was a way of thinking whereby linearity, causation, consequence and transparency were displaced by the vagaries of the multi-directional and by mechanisms of memory, dream, association, the unconscious, serialisation, repetition, simultaneity, lack of finish and conclusiveness and a confounding of the logical by the poetic. The cinema, best of all perhaps, was suited to this way of thought; film as an assemblage-montage, the pictorial surface of its images cut into and fragmented, dimensions of objects contrasted, shots overlaid with others, a play between the transparent and the opaque, the illuminated and the shaded, the veiled and the exposed, contrasting and contradictory points of view. In short, film in its images and by their conjunction, was, and is, a perfect instrument of montage in the most general sense. Philosopher and cultural critic Walter Benjamin admired the montage compositions of Dada and their unlikely and often devastating combinations. Benjamin's own unfinished *Arcades*

Project (1999) was similar in its uncustomary associations of heterogeneous elements, references and times, a modernism of method (montage, collage) and of scope (the compression of past and present). Both Benjamin and Hipkins seek out a pre-history of the modern as association and juxtaposition, rather than as chronology. Hipkins quotes a significant passage from Butler:

> The Erewhonians say that we are drawn through life backwards; or again, that we go onwards into the future as into a dark corridor. Time walks beside us and flings back shutters as we advance; but the light thus given often dazzles us, and deepens the darkness which is in front. We can see but little at a time, and heed that little far less than our apprehension of what we shall see next; ever peering curiously through the glare of the present into the gloom of the future, we presage the leading lines of that which is before us, by faintly reflected lights from dull mirrors that are behind, and stumble on as we may till the trap-door opens beneath us and we are gone. (Butler, 1970, p. 169)

The passage is significant because the intertwining of past and present, the experience, as Butler describes it, of 'being drawn through life backwards' is inherent in the Maori concepts of *mua* and *muri*. (Indeed, as suggested above, with hindsight we might ask whether Butler derived this notion and others from his encounters with Māori in New Zealand?). The word for the past in Māori is *mua,* which may be understood as 'the way we face'. The past always moves ahead of us for guidance, while *muri* the word for 'the future', translates as 'the left behind' or the unknowable. The past is always there to be remade in the contemporary world. Indeed, the well-known Māori *whakatauki* urges that 'We walk backwards into the future, our eyes fixed on the past'. For Benjamin, too, the sudden encounters of past and present, the irruption of the past, created a spark that ignited and formed a constellation (a montage) (Benjamin, 2003). Hipkins' history, like Benjamin's history, is precious, tenuous, fragile and subject to seemingly infinite reconfigurations and displacements. The effect is of seeing a memory staged, indelible in the realism of its details but edited and compressed over time … the world as processed by the mind, with finally only the bright bits magnetised by emotion remaining to flash against darkness. Nevertheless, Hipkins' personified camera movement imitates the human gaze moving through space; his jump cuts imitate the mind's eye looking back in time. How do we remember things, how do they come back to us? Not as dramatic scenes but as retrieved moments, not in coherent narrative sequence but in bits and pieces. We remember places, the context but not so much the story; we remember faces, the expression but not so much the event. We remember parts more than wholes, and try as we might to fit the parts together, discontinuities remain. Moments and details keep coming back to us as images in their own right, a little different each time as they shift in the mind. If the whole film is a montage of memory fragments—a kind of unframed flashback—whose memories are we seeing? Butler's; Hipkins'; perhaps our own?

In the literature the most frequent metaphor for the film camera is the machine. In the first moments of the history of cinema it is the technology—the experience of the (film) machine—that provides the immediate interest (Christie, 1994). With its capacity to transport a viewer to the past or future through a convincing *mise-en-scène,* to accumulate discontinuous moments through elliptical editing, and to compress or expand the flow of time through optical effects, the cinema is a time machine that works by way of mediation. If we construe *Erewhon*'s image metaphorically as a meditation on the organic and the mechanical, the soundtrack—the voice of a woman trying to reach someone and talking to a machine instead—offers a parallel. If, on the other hand, we see the image as an acknowledgment of the inanimateness of film even as it registers animation, then the sound of the anxious voice, mechanically recorded, reminds us that the machines in our lives are not themselves alive, and that even those designed to connect us are apt to come between us. According to this reading, Hipkins' film is concerned with the extent to which the way we live is governed by machines—and cinema is one of them—that dehumanise our human transactions. This is the major resonance with Butler's *Erewhon*; this is what for Hipkins is 'pertinent and prophetic' and resounds as 'so timely in terms of technological dependency' (New Zealand International Film Festival, 2014). All the while Hipkins, through his avatar Butler, playfully reproves a technological future already here, and anxiously contemplates our rush into a future that is forever getting away from us. That is just how I felt as *Erewhon*'s spectator: there was the film, maybe beyond my grasp yet holding me in its grip, unfolding before my eyes with remarkable conviction, the diverse strands pulled together in a miracle of montage.

An earlier short film by Hipkins, *The Port* (2014), contains an audio montage taken from H.G. Wells 1985 sci-fi novella *The Time Machine* and Hipkins has declared his interest in science fiction:

> I love science fiction films, so I come from that perspective of understanding films like *Terminator* and even back further, *War of the Worlds*, … what I found most prophetic in Butler's writing was around the notion of machine dependency, and I think that in the last two decades in particular with the advent of the PC, and in the last decade with the advent of smart phones, there is an absolute dependency that's emerged at an experiential level. (Berrington, 2014)

Stalker (1979) was the last film director Andrei Tarkovsky made in Russia. It is an obscure parable about a forbidden zone, left over from some disaster, uninhabited and overgrown, into which the stalker, who is presented as a sort of priest, guides a writer and a scientist towards a mysterious room, in which your innermost wish will be granted —not what you ask for but what you really desire, which the room knows even if you do not. The writer and the scientist dare not enter the room when they finally reach it, but the camera does enter and distantly watches them from its perspective. It is possible the

stalker made up the whole story about the miraculous room. But he appears to believe in it, or at least believes in belief, in finding room for faith amid the ruins. Cultural theorist and film buff Slavoj Žižek offers a materialist reading of *Stalker* that echoes Butler's *Erewhon*: he construes Tarkovsky's Zone as a 'postindustrial wasteland' where the stuff of modern civilisation is reclaimed by nature and the 'abstract universality' governing our social existence gives way to the concrete reassertion of material life expressed through the 'direct physical impact' of Tarkovsky's film (Žižek, 2008, p. 64). Tarkovsky preferred long takes, in which rhythm and duration were intrinsic, not imposed in the cutting room. 'I reject the principles of "montage cinema" because they do not allow the film to continue beyond the edges of the screen', he declared (Tarkovsky, 2003, p. 118). But he was actually renewing rather than renouncing montage. With its emphasis on landscape, texture and atmosphere, *Stalker*'s brooding, dystopian science fiction is as much environment as movie. *Erewhon* shares with *Stalker* a landscape of rusted machinery and the liquid metronome of the sound of dripping water and trickling streams. And in both we ache for what corrodes and evaporates.

As Robert Leonard has noted, 'an underlying uneasiness is always there in Hipkins' work' (Leonard, 1999, p. 42). Hipkins' art is an art of the interval and the gap, to be filled, or at least met, not by the artist but by the spectator, in short, an art of openness, infinitude, lack of finish, contradiction, difficulty where images function as facts and as documents and all, however analogous or associated, are made independent and distinct by being fragments placed in opposition and contrast, that is, as differences. Nothing in *Erewhon* is fixed. Singular elements, by their capacity to join with others become multiple, as does time and space: hence the expansive, seemingly limitless aspect of the film. For example, the same image or sequence is often repeated and each repetition, because of its altered position transformed, the same becoming different. For instance, the shots of verdant New Zealand bush; or the repeated and enigmatic aluminium casing of a plane's fuselage. There is no set narrative, nothing merely consecutive or causatively contiguous, but instead a constant rethinking, ever-new constellations and configurations. In fact, rethinking is the basic thought of *Erewhon*. Hipkins has a gift for embodying thought, grounding the conceptual in the material and investing the material with the conceptual, a filmmaker's gift for what Hegel termed the concrete universal. He successfully combines the documentary nature of film, its recording, with its symbolic, evocative, ruminative capabilities. And characteristic of his approach, too, is the way he calls on us his viewers to complete the film. He has said that *Erewhon* 'is a meditative film … and it asks the audience to think and to consider what is unfolding in front of them and, I guess, like all films, how it is affecting them' (Hipkins, 2014). *Erewhon* accumulates fragments of a passing and invites us to journey not by its consistencies, but by its lack of them. These gaps are its opportunities. It is not documentarism that interests Hipkins, in the sense of limiting the image to a referent, but rather of allowing all manner of references to invade the image. To free the image from the constraints of narrative is not to free it from narrative, but to reveal these constraints,

and thereby open the image up to the narrative. It is as if Hipkins' film is explicitly titled and organised to become another film, an other than the original *Erewhon*. It contains its otherness within it as part of itself. No matter where you look what you see is elsewhere than where it was or would be, or nowhere passing to an elsewhere of its own denial.

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3. *The Act of Killing*
Investigative strategies for a 'Post-Political' Age.

Abstract: Unusually for a political documentary, *The Act of Killing* provides its audiences with little information, no overarching argument, nor a call-to-action. Instead, director Joshua Oppenheimer uses two unconventional investigative strategies—re-enactment and an examination of media affect—to uncover the 1965 Indonesian genocide and the shadow it casts over present-day Indonesia. Although these techniques have been used previously in documentary cinema, Oppenheimer employs them in innovative ways to dig under Indonesia's social unconscious and expose the artifice of the 'official' history of the genocide. This article provides a close analyses of *The Act of Killing*'s use of these strategies. It argues that they are not only integral to the documentary's political success in the Indonesian context, but can also be used by political documentarists and committed journalists to mobilise otherwise disengaged audiences in our 'non-ideological' and 'post-political' age.

Keywords: death of journalism, democracy, end of ideology, Indonesia, media affect, political documentary, political journalism, post-politics, re-enactment, *The Act of Killing*

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THE ACT OF KILLING (Byrge-Sorensen & Oppenheimer, 2012) is an Oscar-nominated documentary about the executioners of the 1965 Indonesian genocide. Instead of interviewing his subjects, director Joshua Oppenheimer provided them with all the materials necessary to re-enact their memories in a number of Hollywood-style scenes. He then filmed them as they prepared for and performed in their re-enactments, and again when they watched their work on-screen. The documentary therefore uses two unconventional investigative strategies—re-enactment and an examination of media affect—to uncover the 1965 genocide and its influence over present-day Indonesia. Film critics widely credit these strategies for their innovation, and Oppenheimer has echoed their reaction by referring to his film as a 'new form of documentary […] a documentary of the imagination' (cited in Bradshaw, 2013, p. 38). This overstates the film's innovation, however, as it neglects previous use of these techniques by other documentary-makers. Testing the validity of *The Act of Killing*'s purported innovation thus requires situating it within the canon of documentary cinema. I argue that while Oppenheimer borrows heavily from previous documentary-makers, he uses these techniques as 'investigative strategies' in order to achieve different political ends. Moreover,

The Act of Killing's use of re-enactment and media affect must be understood within the 21st century 'postmodern', 'post-documentary' and 'post-political' era in which the film was made. Its political achievements are all the more innovative in light of this different social context. The success with which *The Act of Killing* politically engages its viewers could therefore indicate the future direction of the political documentary, as documentary-makers require new ways of responding to our ubiquitous media environment and the so-called 'end of politics'.

The Act of Killing (2012)

The Act of Killing never began as a series of surreal re-enactments by past-executioners. The project Oppenheimer initially embarked on was much more conventional: a documentary interviewing the genocide's survivors, many of whom are (still-marginalised) Chinese Indonesians. He found, however, that this documentary was impossible to make. Local armies learnt of the project and pressured its participants to withdraw (VICE, 2014). Furthermore, Oppenheimer and his crew were arrested, and their equipment was seized, each time they tried to interview their subjects (Bradshaw, 2013, p. 38). While the genocide's survivors faced suppression, the perpetrators willingly made themselves available to Oppenheimer and boasted about their violent past. The documentary thus grew into a film about the killers and their impunity in present-day Indonesia. Tellingly, these executioners remain politically powerful and, unlike their Cambodian counterparts, have never testified at an international tribunal. At the time of *The Act of Killing*'s production, the genocide had not been formally acknowledged by the Indonesian government and was not discussed openly in Indonesian society. Worldwide it was little-known and, in the rare event it received mention, was referred to euphemistically as 'the 1965 killings', even though over 500,000 alleged 'communists' (most of whom were ethnic Chinese) were systematically killed within a year (Morris, 2015). This euphemistic understanding is likely a cover for the complicit role the West—particularly the United States—played at the time of the genocide, as part of their 'containment of communism in Southeast Asia' (Morris, 2015). Curiously then, for a documentary with an overtly political subject matter, *The Act of Killing* provides very little information about the genocide, no explicit argument about the perpetrators' guilt, nor a call-to-action mobilising audiences to lobby for their arrest. Its political ambitions are, on the surface, confined to the film's main character—a past-executioner called Anwar Congo. It is implied that Anwar undergoes a psychological transformation through the process of creating, performing in, and watching his re-enactments. By the film's end, he is no longer boastful, but (allegedly) ashamed and disturbed. *The Act of Killing* contentiously suggests that Anwar is more affected by the mediated processes of film-making and film-viewing than he was committing the violence in real life.

The political achievements of *The Act of Killing*, however, go beyond the perpetrators' moments of self-realisation. Despite its post-political appearance, the documentary

has successfully provoked political engagement in its audiences. As a result of the film's release, two of Indonesia's largest news publications ran special editions calling for the country to confront its traumatic past. These reports broke 'a 47-year silence about the genocide in the mainstream media' (Oppenheimer, 2014). Moreover, the film has 'been screened thousands of times in Indonesia' (Oppenheimer, 2014). These screenings were mostly 'underground'; hosted by activists, academics and journalists with 'extremely tight security' (Cooper, 2013). However, several screenings have been held openly and 'without incident' (Cutsworth, 2014). For those unable to attend (due to fear of reprisal or otherwise), Oppenheimer and his crew uploaded a full version of the film online, available to view freely in Indonesia. It had been 'downloaded from YouTube more than 30,000 times' within a week after it was first posted (Cochrane, 2014). *The Act of Killing*'s 2014 Oscar nomination also provoked a reaction in China, where the Indonesian genocide is 'little publicised' despite the targeting of ethnic Chinese (Li, 2014). According to the *South China Morning Post*, bloggers were 'startled by the atrocities the film revealed' and 'demanded that the Chinese government take a tougher stance against Indonesia' (Li, 2014). Moreover, Joshua Oppenheimer has since released *The Look of Silence* (Byrge-Sorensen & Oppenheimer, 2015), a companion documentary, which builds upon the 'regime of fear' uncovered in *The Act of Killing* to 'explore what it is like to be a survivor in such a reality' (*Director's Notes*, 2015). The film was screened publicly at 480 locations across Indonesia on International Human Rights Day last year (Danish Film Institute, 2014). While there is no unequivocal measure of political success, *The Act of Killing* has managed to prompt public discussion of a national trauma that is actively suppressed by Indonesia's social and political elites.

Documentary and democracy

The Act of Killing's lack of informative and persuasive functions distinguishes it from documentary cinema's conventional engagement with politics. According to Bill Nichols, 'expository argument' is a defining convention of documentary cinema (1991, p. 4). Documentary-makers adopt informative (expository) and persuasive (argumentative) conventions in the hope of achieving wider political goals. In doing so, documentary audiences are addressed not as entertainment consumers, as with fictional films, but agentive citizens who can be called upon to address social injustices. John Corner likewise argues that documentary is historically linked to 'the project of democratic civics'; its 'expository realism' resonates with a 'public rhetoric of reform and progress' (2002, pp. 269; 265). This democratic function is closely linked with documentary's modernist roots. Michael Renov reminds us of documentary's three-fold 'linkages to the scientific project, to observational methods and the protocols of journalistic reportage' (2004, p. 174). Modernity gave credence to techno-scientific modes of discovery, as technology and science were privileged as the modes by which one could uncover the 'objective' truth. Cameras, as a 'reproductive technology' were imbued 'with the power to preserve and represent

the word in real time' (Renov, 2004, p. 172). A relationship was thus forged between filmic documentation of social injustices, public dissemination of this information, and wider political progress. In this modernist period, documentary cinema was primarily a form of evidence-gathering, or 'journalistic reportage', used to 'induce social action' (Renov, 2004, pp. 174; xvii). The concurrent movements of American direct cinema, European new wave and British social realism speak to the popularity of observational film-making methods, and their social advocacy underpinnings, in the mid-20th century.

The documentary culture of the present, however, is markedly different. This is the context in which we need to place *The Act of Killing* in order to recognise the significance of its investigative strategies and political achievements. 21st century culture is characterised as both 'postmodern' and 'post-documentary'. Postmodernism, according to Zygmunt Bauman, is the cultural realisation that 'an ethics that is universal and "objectively founded" is a practical impossibility' (1993, p. 10). It is an attitude towards knowledge that rejects both modernity's belief in universal truths and its privileging of techno-scientific modes of discovery. Given documentary's modernist foundations, then, how is the genre able to survive in our postmodern era? John Corner responds to this question by arguing that postmodernism has provoked a 'post-documentary culture', marked by a 'new playfulness for documentary credibility' (2002, pp. 255; 269). Documentarists are 'playing with instability, irony and outright manipulation', thereby 'disrupting traditional assumptions of authority and immediacy' (Geiger, 2011, p. 191). Recent examples of this authorial playfulness and manipulation include *Exit through the Gift Shop* (D'Cruz & Banksy, 2010) and *The Imposter* (Doganis & Layton, 2012). Postmodern scepticism about macrosocial truth claims, or 'grand narratives' as Lyotard famously described it (1984, p. xxiii), has also led documentary cinema towards an interest in 'microsocial narratives' (Corner, 2002, p. 265). Documentaries like *Man on Wire* (Chinn & Marsh, 2012) and *Spellbound* (Welch & Blitz, 2002), for example, have protagonist-driven narrative structures resembling Hollywood films. As postmodernism erodes the traditional boundary between fiction and reality, the genre's claims to realistic depiction are met with suspicion and mistrust. This includes the social injustices that the genre had once 'objectively' documented.

In addition to the influences of postmodernism and post-documentary culture, it is important to also consider the political atmosphere in which *The Act of Killing* was both made and released. The 21st century is an allegedly 'post-political' era characterised by the twin deaths of ideological critique and journalism. Famously diagnosed by Francis Fukuyama as 'The End of History', we find ourselves in a state of ideological stasis where political progression beyond capitalist liberal democracy cannot be imagined (1989, p. 1). Fukuyama wrote 'The End of History?' in 1989 but the collective atrophy he describes has only intensified in recent years. In the face of growing inequalities, climate change and global conflict, we fail to re-imagine and re-build our political institutions in response. Moreover—and Fukuyama is also guilty of this—capitalist liberal democracy

has taken on a non-ideological mythology, signifying an 'absence' of ideology. In this environment, 'the traditional critique of ideology no longer works' (Zizek, 1989, p. 28). As an alleged 'non-ideology', capitalist liberal democracy cannot be subjected to an ideological 'symptomatic reading' by 'confronting it with its blank spots' (Zizek, 1989, p. 28). In this political environment, Slavoj Zizek argues that we have adopted an attitude of 'cynical reason', *not* false consciousness, in which one 'is quite aware of the distance between the ideological mask and the social reality, but nonetheless still insists upon the mask' (1989, p. 28). Unlike the Frankfurt School's subjects of 'false consciousness' (Marcuse, 1964, p. 12), who can be brought to consciousness through education, the cynical subject already *knows* (or at least *suspects*) the dissonance between appearance and reality. In this climate of knowing cynicism, what role remains for information and education? The 'end of ideology' thus links with the 'death of journalism'. As Adam Curtis argues, journalism 'is in a static way'; it tells us what we already know and fails to connect with 'those uncertainties in the back of our minds' (cited in Pollard, 2014). These are the very uncertainties that, if properly mobilised, could be used to negate our cynicism. Documentary, as an informative medium, thus faces the same problems in the 21st century as journalism. It is in this post-political context that *The Act of Killing*'s investigative strategies, and political accomplishments, need to be judged.

Re-enactment and media affect as investigative strategies

The Act of Killing's use of re-enactment is by no means new; it has always featured in documentary cinema. Since the early 20th century, documentary-makers have relied on re-enactment as a way of circumventing the geographic or temporal inaccessibility of the original event, person or location. These documentary-makers, however, still aimed for realism in their reconstructions of the original. Documentary's tendency to construct subjectivity as 'a kind of contamination to be expected but minimalised' (Winston, 2008, p. 128), meant that a differentiation was maintained between 'sincere and justifiable reconstruction' and that which was 'unacceptable—fiction' (Renov, 2004, p. 174). In contrast, documentary-makers of our post-documentary culture recognise that 'realistic' re-construction is a practical impossibility. As Harun Farocki states, 'we aren't talking about a remake […] today's artists can't believe that a kind of realism, or naturalism, can be mimesis' (2012, p. 73). Rather than a practical means of circumventing spacio-temporal restrictions, artists and film-makers are turning to re-enactment 'as both topic and technique' (King, 2013, p. 30). Used as an investigative technique, re-enactment 'provides a way to approach the past, in particular the traumatic past' (King, 2013, p. 30). 'Trauma' is important here as it points to something repressed or unresolved which continues to exert influence over the present. In needing to uncover how the genocide is (mis)remembered in present-day Indonesia, Oppenheimer therefore found good reason to employ re-enactment as a strategy. As he states in an interview, 're-enactment reveals more of the narratives in operation in the present than it provides an adequate picture

of the past' (cited in Roosa, 2014, p. 417). His use of re-enactment to uncover insidious political issues—like trauma, impunity and the banality of evil—illustrates how it can be employed as an 'investigative strategy' rather than a practical tool.

The use of re-enactment as an investigative strategy also requires a self-reflexive understanding of on-camera performance. In observing how documentary subjects stage themselves on-camera, previously unknown information is revealed. This self-reflexive awareness of performance is evident in some prior documentaries; however, it has only intensified in our postmodern post-documentary culture, as scepticism towards the 'truthfulness' of on-screen representation has become widespread. In 1956, sociologist Erving Goffman drew attention to our every-day performance as 'social actors' (cited in Marquis, 2013, p. 48). For Goffman, '*all* communicative social activity qualifies as performance and can be fruitfully studied as such' (Marquis, 2013, p. 46). The study of *technologically-mediated* performance adds another layer, however, as an awareness of the cinematic apparatus places different demands on people (as actors). In knowing their performance will be captured indefinitely, on-camera subjects are conscious that they have a much larger group of observers than those immediately present (in both a spatial and temporal sense). It is therefore important, as Elizabeth Marquis argues, 'to consider the ways in which the process of being filmed interacts with and affects […] self-presentational methods' (2013, p. 49). Awareness of these 'self-presentational methods' can then be harnessed as an investigative strategy. Journalistic interviews, in their efforts to 'extract […] information they can treat transparently,' often avoid confronting the self-presentation of their subjects (Meyer, 2013). However, as Oppenheimer argues, 'that moment of […] self-consciousness is something also worth exposing' (cited in Meyer, 2013). Using re-enactment as an investigative strategy, to study a subject's self-consciousness, can bring to the fore hitherto unacknowledged social mechanisms – including the political power and impunity they have within their society. This strategy will only become more pertinent in our increasingly ubiquitous media environment (the age of the 'selfie'), as we are now on display more often and to ever-wider audiences.

The Act of Killing also uses an examination of media affect as an investigative strategy. By giving his subjects responsibility for filming their own re-enactments, Oppenheimer was able to document them in the processes of film-making and film-viewing. This enables his audiences to study the perpetrators' reactions as they create and watch their violent reconstructions on-screen: a study of media affect is defined by Carl Platinga as 'any felt bodily state […] including emotions, moods, reflex action, autonomic responses, mirror reflexes, desires, and pleasures' (2009, p. 87). However, while emotions are often intentional (in the sense that they are consciously *about* something), affect 'lacks this intentionality or *aboutness*' (Platinga, 2009, p. 87). Likewise, Jasbir Puar argues that 'affect can anchor claims about […] physiological processes that are not contained or representable by language or cognition alone' (2009, p. 37). Media affect is therefore the process in which technologically-mediated content evokes these non-cognitive,

psychological and/or physiological reactions within viewers. Carol Clover has referred to physiologically-affecting film genres as 'body genres', namely 'horror and pornography' (1987, p. 189). These are 'specifically devoted to the arousal of bodily sensation' (Clover, 1987, p. 189). Viewers' bodies are provoked into autonomous reactions, as if circumventing the rational conscious mind. More importantly, however, each of us has *different* physiological and psychological reactions to mediated content. This personalised response therefore provides information about an individual that often remains hidden in cognitive interactions. While re-enactment, as an investigative strategy, attempts to capture the subject's *self-consciousness*, media affect draws upon their *unconscious* mind as an informative resource. Oppenheimer employs both of these unconventional strategies for their ability to get at underlying structures, on both an individual and societal level, in ways that traditional documentary and journalistic techniques cannot.

The Act of Killing is not the first documentary to use re-enactment and media affect as investigative strategies. *S21: The Khmer Rouge Death Machine* (Couteau & Panh, 2003) documents former guards of Tuol Sleng prison as they re-enact their daily routines during the 1975-1979 Cambodian genocide. In addition, *S21* also uses an examination of media affect. Audiences observe the Tuol Sleng guards' reactions as a former prisoner confronts them with paintings depicting his abuse. However, the Cambodian genocide is internationally condemned and the perpetrators' actions have been declared criminal. Unlike the Indonesian genocide's executioners who boast with impunity, Cambodia's executioners are now well-versed in apologising, denying, or finding excuses for their past actions. The documentary therefore takes its shape as an investigation of the genocide *as an historical event*, rather than exploring its unresolved effects on present-day Cambodia. This is reinforced by the historical authenticity of the reconstructions: the re-enactments take place in Tuol Sleng and original objects are used. A sense of realism is created, drawing audiences' attention towards the actions the former guards are performing rather than the self-consciousness of the performers. *The Act of Killing's* re-enactments, in contrast, are stylised to resemble the perpetrators' favourite Hollywood genres. Oppenheimer states that it was 'never conceivable' that 'in the name of improving a re-enactment, we would do it in the real locations where atrocities occurred' (cited in Roosa, 2014, p. 416). His motivation, instead, was to unearth the repressed historical structures operating in the present, which required the use of imagination rather than 'accurate' reconstruction.

A more suitable intertextual comparison can be drawn between *The Act of Killing* and the cinéma vérité films of Jean Rouch. *Chronicle of a Summer* (Dauman, Rouch & Morin, 1961) also uses re-enactment and examination of media affect, and does so with *The Act of Killing*'s same self-reflexivity towards on-screen performance. Silent re-enactments are used to depict subjects' everyday routines living in post-war, postcolonial Paris. At the end of the film, Rouch and Morin screen the final footage to their subjects, capturing their reactions and the discussions between them. Like *The Act of Killing, Chronicle of a Summer* invites audiences to examine the affective responses of its subjects. Oppenheimer

borrows heavily from Rouch, who also believed that performance did not mean 'a lack of truthfulness' but simply revealed 'another aspect' of a subject's character (The Criterion Collection, 2013). Interestingly, however, this final scene was initially cut out of *Chronicle of a Summer* because it contradicted Rouch and Morin's hypothesis about their subjects (Di Lorio, n.d.). They had predicted that the 'accurate type of representation' achieved by their ethnographic method would move their subjects into a 'cathartic understanding of their relationships with others' (Di Lorio, n.d.). When the post-screening discussion instead turned into heated debate about the levels of 'realism' in each other's performances, Rouch and Morin were disappointed and initially cut the scene (Di Lorio, n.d.). This desire for 'accurate' representation is also evident in the neorealist style of the re-enactments, as seen in the gritty depiction of a Renault factory employee re-enacting his work routine—markedly different from *The Act of Killing*'s fantasmatic re-enactments. Moreover, Oppenheimer consistently employed his examination of media affect as an investigative strategy in order to uncover new information about his subjects, rather than test preconceived hypotheses.

The Act of Killing also shares commonalities with one of Rouch's ethnofiction films: *Moi, Un Noir* (Braunberger & Rouch, 1958). Rouch's subjects—a group of Nigerian men looking for employment—are invited to 'play out their own fantasies as movie stars' (Nichols, 2013, p. 29). However, as Bill Nichols argues, the blurring of fantasy and reality in *Moi, Un Noir* is still 'interpreted by Rouch's voice-over commentary,' which is 'the very device Oppenheimer refuses to employ' (2013, p. 29). Oppenheimer's authorial presence is near invisible, leaving audiences to interpret the re-enactments on their own, 'much to our initial distress' (Nichols, 2013, p. 29). The perpetrators' self-directed re-enactments are given no contextualisation by Oppenheimer. To do otherwise would be dishonest and irresponsible journalism, as it would imply directorial control over the still-powerful perpetrators and an unresolved national trauma. *The Act of Killing* evidently has its generic predecessors, particularly the films of Jean Rouch. However, Oppenheimer revises previous use of re-enactment and media affect in order to engage with politics in innovative ways.

Investigating the social unconscious in *The Act of Killing*

1. Re-enactment

The Act of Killing's re-enactments start off realistic in style but become increasingly fantasmatic as the perpetrators' film progresses. The film's second re-enactment shows Anwar on the rooftop where he executed the majority of his victims. This scene was shot on the first day Oppenheimer met Anwar and before production of the re-enactments was handed over to him and his peers (Roosa, 2014, p. 414). Like the perpetrators in *S21*, he acts out his preferred torture methods with verbal narration, authentic props, and in the original setting. This rooftop re-enactment is played back to Anwar in one of *The Act of Killing*'s early screening scenes, and he and his friends critique

the inaccuracy of his performance. With his palm to his forehead, Anwar disappointedly remarks: 'Look, I'm laughing. I did it wrong didn't I?'. He also finds fault with his costume because he appears 'dressed for a picnic' when, in reality, he would have looked more 'brutal'. At this early stage in their film-making and film-viewing process, the perpetrators are invested in the realism of their representations and avoid uncovering the underlying structures informing their realities. However, as they progress with their film, the perpetrators' interest in realistic representation wanes. This is particularly so for Anwar who seems compelled to confront his past and its influence on his present. Towards the end of the filmmaking process, Anwar chooses to construct his re-enactments in the style of fantasy and horror films. This is important because of the *affective* dimensions of these genres: fantasy, as a psychologically-affecting genre, and horror, as a physiologically-affecting genre. Due to years of repression, traumatic memories of the genocide are buried deep within Indonesia's social unconscious. Traditional investigative strategies—like interviews—would therefore be insufficient at penetrating Indonesia's carefully-constructed and closely-guarded ideological mask. Re-enactment and its affective dimensions, on the other hand, can draw upon the unconscious as an informative resource to get beneath the mask in ways that traditional techniques often cannot.

In *The Act of Killing*'s major fantasy re-enactment (titled *Anwar's Nightmare*), Anwar awakes to a ghost approaching him, to whom he yells: 'I thought I'd killed you!'. The mise-en-scene chosen by the perpetrators for this re-enactment is significant. Animal statues (tigers, hyenas, bats) are scattered across the bedroom, a smoke machine distorts visibility, and the stage lights are filtered with glaring red and green gels. The costuming of the ghost is simultaneously sinister and absurd. Like most fantasy creatures, its freakishness is the result of its unrecognisable, and therefore unsettling, features. The ghost does not verbally communicate with Anwar but 'laughs frighteningly'—though the object of its laughter is unclear. At the end of the re-enactment scene, Oppenheimer cuts away to an observational shot of Anwar in his bed at night staring at the ceiling. The relational editing here suggests that Anwar's re-enactment depicts genuine experiences of feeling haunted. Returning to Jasbir Puar's definition of affect (that which 'can anchor claims not contained or representable by language or cognition alone' [2009, p. 37]), Anwar appears to have chosen a fantasmatic style of re-enactment because it operates *affectively* at a non-cognitive, non-verbal level. The unintelligibility of his repressed thoughts is clear when a member of Anwar's crew asks about the ghost: 'Maybe it's the communists we killed in 1965?' To this, Anwar replies: 'I don't imagine it in such detail'. Given this response, the 'you' in Anwar's cry 'I thought I'd killed you!' is uncertain; does the ghost represent the victims he thought he had killed, his memories of the genocide, or his own guilt? Fantasy, as a psychologically-affecting genre, brings forth thoughts, memories and desires repressed in our unconscious mind. By using fantasmatic re-enactment, Anwar begins to expose his closely-guarded unconscious for the first time since the genocide.

In another late re-enactment, the perpetrators adopt the style of the horror subgenre—

gore. In this scene, Herman plays a torturer and Anwar his victim. Anwar's character has been decapitated and disembowelled. His eyes are open and moving despite the decapitation; a direct reference to an interruptive thought Anwar has previously described of the open eyes of his beheaded victims. The action begins with Herman's character rubbing the victim's blood all over his face with his hands. He then proceeds to remove organs from the disembowelled corpse and places them in his mouth. 'Look! I'm eating you!' he says as he puts his victim's 'liver' (a cut of raw meat) in his mouth, the blood dripping down his chin, neck and hands. He spits the liver out and proclaims: 'It's rotten!'. At this point, Anwar breaks away from the diegesis of the re-enactment and starts to audibly gag. I describe the action of this scene in graphic detail not out of fetishistic compulsion but in order to emphasise horror's affective dimensions. As a body genre, horror provokes non-cognitive physiological reactions in its viewers. Anwar's gagging is a physiological reaction to his confrontation with gore. To use Julia Kristeva's terminology, faced with the mix of blood, spit and rotten meat (and, crucially, his traumatic identification with the actions of Herman's character), Anwar's body tries to 'abject' itself of this repugnance through vomiting (1982, p. 1). This speaks to the power of this affective confrontation, particularly its ability to disturb Anwar's sense of self. Film's capacity to produce these physiological reactions is politically significant. Given powerful efforts to construct a false narrative of the Indonesian genocide, these affective strategies pose a threat to hegemonic structures whose longevity relies upon the containment of unconscious doubts.

2. Media Affect

> It is a very simple process: we would shoot one scene, Anwar would watch it, respond emotionally, propose the next scene and we would shoot that. […] In that sense it's like a man painting his own portrait, painting a little, stepping back to look at the canvas, painting a little more. (Oppenheimer cited in Roosa, 2014, pp. 420-421)

In addition to the affective dimensions of the perpetrators' re-enactments, *The Act of Killing* also examines the affect of their film-*viewing* when Anwar and his friends watch their footage on-screen. Oppenheimer adopted this investigative strategy as a process, over a five year period (Roosa, 2013, p. 416). Given cultural memory of the genocide has been carefully shaped by elites for over fifty years, a journalistic investigation of Anwar's affective development would have been artificial and ineffective if conducted over a shorter period. The documentation of Anwar's changing reactions over the five years is significant, as it illustrates the subtle ability of technologically-mediated content to unearth underlying structures at both an individual and societal level. In the early screening scenes, Anwar and his fellow death squad members repeatedly express their concern that each re-enactment is not 'realistic' enough: that they have failed to accurately depict their past experiences. The hyper-self-consciousness uncovered in these scenes reveals the perpetrators' anxiety around maintaining the government's 'official'

narrative of the genocide. Oppenheimer then uses this self-consciousness as the basis for his examination of media affect. He remarks that in the first re-enactment screening, Anwar 'looked disturbed but didn't dare say what was really bothering him' (cited in Roosa, 2013, p. 415). Instead he began a process of 'proposing embellishment after embellishment', trying to fix the inaccuracy of the previous re-enactment rather than confront 'what's really wrong […] namely that it was horrible and that what he did was horrible' (Oppenheimer cited in Roosa, 2013, p. 415). Audiences see Anwar engaging in this process of embellishment again when he instructs a crew member to create authentic costumes. Using old photos as evidence, Anwar informs him that 'for massacres, [he] usually wore jeans'. Elsewhere, Oppenheimer has described Anwar's process of embellishment as an attempt to 'build up a cinematic-psychic scar tissue over his wound' (cited in Bradshaw, 2013, p. 39). However, this cinematic-psychic scar tissue starts to break away as Anwar's film-making and film-viewing progresses. Rather than offering interruptive comments on the mise-en-scene's (in)accuracy, the later screening scenes are marked by Anwar's reflective silence. The screening of an improvised detective-style re-enactment starts with Anwar proudly calling for his grandsons to 'come watch grandpa get beat up', but progresses into uncomfortable silence and then disintegrates completely when Anwar starts to cry. Speaking to Oppenheimer (off-screen), Anwar says: 'Is it all coming back to me? I really hope it won't. I don't want it to, Josh'. *The Act of Killing*'s examination of media affect illustrates that mediated imagery can provoke uncontrollable psychological reactions that, if unearthed, are able to undermine the political status quo.

Anwar's re-enactment screenings are not the only acknowledgment *The Act of Killing* makes to the affective powers of mediated imagery. Oppenheimer states that he was 'intrigued by the relationship between cinema and killings' after finding out that the Indonesian army recruited its soldiers from 'the ranks of movie theatre gangsters' (*Background*, 2012). Anwar was a 'movie theatre gangster' who worked at one of Medan's cinemas during the genocide (*Background*, 2012). Throughout the film, he describes how he and his death squad members would mirror the machismo and the torture techniques of the Hollywood gangster figures they loved. Another media influence investigated in *The Act of Killing* is the Indonesian government's propaganda film about the genocide. Up until the collapse of the Suharto regime in 1998, the film (with its violent re-enactments) was annually shown to all Indonesian school children ('Indonesia's Killing Fields', 2012). The second screening scene in *The Act of Killing* shows Anwar watching this film. Medium close-ups of his face are repeatedly intercut with medium close-ups of the television screen. The use of editing and shot size here compresses the distance between the viewer (Anwar) and the mediating technology (the television). The shots of the TV are filmed straight on as if from Anwar's point-of-view, suturing *The Act of Killing*'s audiences with Anwar's perspective and further compressing mediated distance. Anwar observes the goriness of the re-enactments and remarks that 'children were traumatised' by the film.

This scene is significant as it informs a later scene in which Anwar proudly invites his grandsons to watch a re-enacted interrogation. In a rare moment, Oppenheimer interjects with 'this is too violent, Anwar, are you sure?'. Anwar responds that it 'is only a film', so his grandsons are allowed to watch it. Yet, the same re-enactment has Anwar wincing and crying only minutes later. The idea that technologically-mediated content lacks affect—as encapsulated in the popular expression 'it's only a film!'—is disproven in this sequence almost immediately after it is suggested. A comparison can therefore be drawn between the grandsons watching Anwar's re-enactment and the government propaganda film: both have conscious effects and unconscious affects on the children who were forced to watch them. In numerous ways, *The Act of Killing* illustrates a self-reflexive understanding of the affective power of all mediated imagery and draws upon this power as an informative resource. This helps *The Act of Killing*'s subjects and audiences to understand Indonesia's social imaginary with greater success than traditional techniques.

3. 'Even me—a journalist with the ears of an elephant—I never knew!'

Before moving to my discussion on the future of political documentary, there is one last scene from *The Act of Killing* that requires brief analysis. The aforementioned rooftop—where Anwar's death squad killed the majority of its victims—is located directly above a newspaper office. During the genocide, the publisher of this newspaper (Ibrahim Sinik) was in charge of interrogating the alleged communists Anwar's death squad would then be instructed to kill. Ibrahim admits this to Oppenheimer early on in the documentary, stating that he would conduct the interrogations in his office before handing the victims over to Anwar's gang. Later in the film, one of Ibrahim's past journalists (who was an employee during the genocide) is performing as an extra in one of Anwar's re-enactments. A debate erupts between the journalist and the perpetrators over the journalist's alleged ignorance. He maintains that he 'never knew' what Ibrahim, Anwar and his dead squad members were involved with over the years of the genocide.

> *Journalist:* Joshua always asks me: 'You worked in the same office, how could you have not known?' I declare: I never saw anything. Now, seeing your re-enactment, I realise you were so smooth that even me, a journalist with ears of an elephant… with such sharp senses… I never knew!
>
> *Adi:* I'm surprised. Because we didn't hide what we were doing. If you didn't know, I'd be shocked.
>
> *Journalist:* I didn't.
>
> *Adi:* We were in the same office and we didn't hide it… this man, a journalist distancing himself from these things, that's predictable.

The journalist's predictable distance is politically significant, here. His active avoidance of confronting Indonesia's open secret can also be applied to a wider critique of both documentary-making and journalism in the post-political 21st century.

The Act of Killing's successful use of unconventional investigative strategies to provoke political engagement signals the direction that documentary cinema needs to head in our 21st century era. The film lacks many traditional features of political documentaries: the presentation of 'facts', an overarching argument, a style of social realism, and a call-to-action. Instead, audiences are met with fantasy and horror re-enactments, and a director's self-reflexive fascination with the affective dimensions of technologically-mediated content. Yet, for all its postmodern post-political playfulness, *The Act of Killing* was successful at achieving Oppenheimer's political goals. It instigated open discussion of a long-repressed national trauma, and its Oscar nomination brought international awareness to this conveniently forgotten history. As Homay King argues, *The Act of Killing* does not 'attempt to furnish new evidentiary proof, usable testimony or official confessions'; instead, it tries to document 'the past's psychical reality and […] the violence that it continues to engender in the present' (2013, pp. 32; 35). In doing so, the documentary performs 'the difficult work of opening doors to the past that were previously locked shut' (King, 2013, p. 35). Oppenheimer's interest in the affective dimensions of the perpetrators' film-making and film-viewing processes was vital to the success of his investigation. Traditional investigative strategies would not have worked in this situation, as the 'official' (fabricated) history of the Indonesian genocide has been closely-guarded for more than fifty years. Memories that contradict the official narrative have long been buried within the social unconscious. Oppenheimer therefore needed to employ strategies that engaged his subjects in non-cognitive ways: creating an informative resource out of the perpetrators' unconscious, their self-consciousness, and the disjunctions between the two. The success of this investigative practice seems specific to *The Act of Killing* and the Indonesian context. However, an examination of affect can be harnessed to investigate and address a myriad of repressed (or wilfully ignored) social and political problems in the 21st century.

The slipping mask: Political documentary and journalism in the 21st century

> On the one hand, the mask is speaking in glorious terms about what he did. But when it slips you also start to see how the mask is functioning in the person's life and maybe therefore you [the journalist] should pursue that crack. It's an opportunity to see how the mask is functioning in society. (Oppenheimer cited in Roosa, 2014, p. 420)

The above observation resonates with Zizek's work on the cynical subject and the 'end of ideology'. Recall that Zizek defined the cynical subject as one who 'takes into account the distance between the ideological mask and the reality […] but still does not

renounce it' (1989, p. 28). Zizek linked the cynical subject to the 'end of ideology' where cynicism takes on its own end-state ideological status as a 'perverted negation of the negation of the official ideology' (1989, p. 29). In the age of post-political and non-ideological cynicism, it is not possible to negate political ideology in the same way those living in the overtly ideological age of modernity could. Many of us know (or at least suspect) that the economic and political structures underlying our social reality are unjust, unsustainable and, indeed, ideologically-driven, yet we choose not to confront the official narrative. In this atmosphere of cynicism, documentaries like *An Inconvenient Truth* (Bender & Guggenheim, 2006) are released: A documentary that, in its title, admits to providing its audiences with information they already know to be true but would rather not hear. Anwar is the embodied proof of Zizek's cynical subject. This is a man who fails to face the disjunction between mask and reality, between Indonesia's official narrative and his own nightmares. Anwar tries to avoid confronting this disjunction with each of his embellishments ('I never would have worn white pants'), but this active avoidance is precisely what Oppenheimer disallows by provoking the doubts buried within Anwar's unconscious. Given this parallel, the affective strategies in *The Act of Killing* could be employed in other political documentaries to wriggle under the slipping mask, thereby mobilising audiences' unconscious doubts in the process. This is, unfortunately, exactly what journalism and the political documentary is failing to do in the ('non')-ideological stasis of the 21st century.

The Act of Killing's challenge to journalistic investigation in the 21st century has been discussed by Michael Meyer in his article for the *Columbia Journalism Review* (2013). Meyer argues that Oppenheimer's documentary exposes 'not only the storytelling structures through which Anwar Congo and his peers process reality, but also those through which journalism processes reality'. 'Journalistic efforts to get around a façade,' he continues, 'often end up trapped within the same parameters of debate established by that artifice'. This is exactly what Oppenheimer resists and how *The Act of Killing* challenges 21st century journalism. The mounting criticism of false balance in climate change reportage could indicate an increasing awareness of journalism's capacity to get trapped within artifice (Vidal, 2014). Climate change journalism is, however, presently the only journalism subject to popular criticism and, worryingly, it was not until 2014 before it was raised with widespread attention. Oppenheimer echoes Meyer's assessment of journalism's current failings, stating that a 'real exposé' requires 'showing us things we already know […] and forcing us to say, "I knew that. What does it say about me that I knew that?" ' (cited in Meyer, 2013). Journalists and documentary-makers in our post-political era are certainly telling audiences things they already know (or at least suspect), but are often failing to then provoke them into the self-reflection Oppenheimer describes. In Curtis's terms, journalism is not 'connecting with those uncertainties at the back of [our] minds' (cited in Pollard, 2014). Fraser, in his scathing review of *The Act of Killing*, has mischaracterised Meyer's argument, suggesting that he admires the film

for its 'anti-journalism' (2013, p. 22). To the contrary, Meyer contends that *The Act of Killing*'s investigative techniques are not 'anti-journalism' but 'highly compatible with more traditional notions of journalism's mission' (2013), more so than contemporary journalism and its commitment to the pretend 'exposé'. If anything, Oppenheimer's five year affective process and lack of contextualising voice is more honest and socially responsible than most of today's journalism.

This is not to suggest that conventional investigative strategies and/or expository argument no longer have a place in journalism and documentary. There are of course social and political issues that audiences genuinely lack prior knowledge of and require educative mediums to convey this missing information. However, there are also a large number of political problems (climate change, global poverty, government and corporate corruption, surveillance, and the on-going 'War on Terror', for example) of which audiences are already aware but feel paralysed to respond. In these instances, we require journalism that 'interrupts and re-interprets the stories already playing on an endless loop in our heads' (Meyer, 2013). The educative documentary therefore needs to be used sparingly, and with good reason, rather than maintaining its long-lived default position within the genre. As Winston argues, 'for sixty years documentaries have gained nothing from being a "discourse of sobriety" except marginalisation' (2008, p. 254). M. Gaines similarly argues that there are very few examples of educative documentaries that 'have been viewed widely let alone have sparked anything resembling a chain of social reactions' (1999, p. 86). Evidently there is good reason for political documentary-makers and committed journalists to reflect upon their investigative practices and modes of communication and ask: 'Is my journalistic approach indulging the very artifice it pretends to expose?' The journalist in *The Act of Killing*, who is revealed to be self-fabricating fifty years on, acts as a warning to journalists about distancing oneself from confrontation. Moreover, he reminds us all about the importance of a journalism that 'holds truth to power' rather than remaining idle in the face of injustice and corruption.

Given *The Act of Killing*'s political success in our post-political environment, political documentary's relationship to media affect needs to be further examined by documentary-makers and academics. Gaines's (1999) article 'Political Mimesis' is an important contribution to the study of the political documentary and its affective dimensions. Gaines draws heavily on Williams' 1991 work linking the sensuous on-screen body with audience mimesis in Clover's body genres. Gaines draws upon this work to understand how 'radical documentaries' can similarly 'produce an "almost involuntary" imitation in sympathetic audiences' (1999, p. 90). Gaines argues for a concept of 'political mimesis', positing that the sensational body on-screen (depicted in images of 'rioting, bodies clashing, [and] bodies moving on mass') produces a mobilised body in the spectator (1999, p. 90). This mobilisation-through-mimesis goes 'beyond the abstractly intellectual to produce a bodily swelling', which then provokes 'audiences to carry on the same struggle as depicted on screen' (Gaines, 1999, p. 91). Gaines makes a convincing

case for the study of documentary cinema as an affective genre. However, her theory of documentary affect relies on mimesis (which requires cinematic realism) and images of bodies in protest. These are both increasingly rare in our postmodern, post-documentary and post-political culture. Gaines's theory therefore needs to be revised in order to meet shifting structures of affect as our political and media environments change. This includes addressing the kind of fantasmatic affect used in *The Act of Killing*. Moreover, Gaines's work looks at how political documentaries can provoke 'sympathetic audiences' to action (1999, p. 90), whereas our 21st century concern is with mobilising cynical subjects to confront the artifice concealing their realities. In her 2010 book *The Documentary: Politics, Emotions, Culture*, Smaill argues that, 'in order to revive the genre as a tool for social transformation,' documentarists need to shift 'away from the restrictions posed by the precepts of realist documentary' (p. 14). Re-valuing political documentary requires 'rethink[ing] and reformulat[ing] particular modes of documentary […] or emphasis[ing] the aspects that are most successful with audiences' (Smaill, 2010, p. 14). As we move into a ubiquitous media environment, documentary 'aspects' most likely to be successful with audiences will be those marked by a self-reflexive awareness of media affect. Given our current condition of political stasis, political documentarists and journalists must experiment with new investigative strategies and modes of communication.

Conclusions

The Act of Killing has garnered critical acclaim for its innovative use of re-enactment and media affect as investigative strategies. In order to judge *The Act of Killing*'s innovation, it is important to consider the social and political climate in which it was made and released. Similar strategies have been employed in previous documentaries, particularly those by Rouch—a director who also displayed a self-reflexive understanding of subjects' performance and media's affective dimensions. I have shown that, while Oppenheimer is certainly influenced by his predecessors, he uses these strategies in innovative ways within the 'postmodern', 'post-documentary' and 'post-political' context of the 21st century. On the surface, the postmodern strategies he employs seem anti-politics or, even, anti-journalism. Oppenheimer avoids using traditional techniques of political documentary and journalism despite the overtly political subject matter of his film. However, these techniques would have been insufficient to unearth long-repressed memories of the Indonesian genocide. Unconventional strategies were required in order to dig into Indonesia's social unconscious and expose the artifice that powerful social and political elites have carefully constructed around their national history. His use of re-enactment and examination of media affect as investigative techniques allowed him to draw upon his subjects' moments of self-consciousness and their unconscious thoughts as informative resources. To achieve this, media's psychological and physiological affects were harnessed to circumvent the cognitive responses of the subjects. This process was continued by the perpetrators' themselves, who began to

design their re-enactments in the style of fantasy and horror films as a way to communicate their memories.

The Act of Killing's political success using these unconventional strategies makes a convincing case for the need to approach political documentary as an affective genre. This is a particularly pertinent project in the 'non-ideological' and 'post-political' environment of the 21st century, in which many of us know the urgency with which global issues need to be addressed, yet feel paralysed to act. To defy this ideological stasis and provoke the political imagination, socially-driven documentary-makers and journalists must experiment with new investigative strategies and modes of communication. Traditional techniques are failing to carry out this important work and often end up indulging the very artifices they are claiming to expose. The conventional educative documentary therefore needs to be used with good reason rather than retaining its place as the genre's default position. I have argued that the political documentary, in order to mobilise unconscious doubts in the back of audiences' minds, should harness a self-reflexive understanding of media affect. This is all the more important in an increasingly ubiquitous media environment where our interactions with media are both constant and immersive. The survival of the political documentary in the 21st century may be uncertain; however, as *The Act of Killing* shows us, a little creativity can go a long way.

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4. Being both

Gender and indigeneity in two Pacific documentary films

Abstract: Transgender is a term originating from a particularly Western discourse of restrictive gender identity that struggles to account for diverse gender identities. Several non-Western cultures, however, especially indigenous cultures, have quite different and varied understandings of gender. Diverse approaches to gender have been framed through dominant Euro-Christian discourses as deviant, immoral and inferior—part of the dangerous alternative knowledge of indigenous cultures that colonialism worked so hard and so violently to eradicate. It is only recently that non-dominant gender discourses have begun visibly and vocally to re-assert themselves as viable and valuable alternatives to the orthodox narratives of pathology and deviance dominating Western gender discussions. The development of an alternative and more celebratory approach to gender diversity can be perceived through two notable documentary films from the Pacific: *Georgie Girl* (Goldson & Wells, 2002) and *Kumu Hina* (Hamer & Wilson, 2014). Rather than starting from a position that sees gender variance as a depressing problem, these stories offer the possibility of re-appropriating transgender as not only normal, but precious.

Keywords: colonialism, documentary, *Georgie Girl,* indigenous, *Kumu Hina*, New Zealand, Pacific film, transgender

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TRANSGENDER is a term originating from a particularly Western discourse of restrictive gender identity, one so fixed in a dyadic understanding of gender that it struggles to account for diverse gender identities. The lack of linguistic precedent is indicative of a cultural lack, a discursive gap that brings into relief the narrowness of Western gender taxonomies. The collapse of sex and gender, and quite often sexuality, into a reductive linear equation, further complicates understandings and discussions of gender. Gender markers are conflated with biological details, and the floating signifier of gender becomes fixed within the sexual 'science' of heteropatriarchy. Several non-Western cultures, however, especially indigenous cultures, have quite different and varied understandings of gender. This is reflected most overtly in their languages—through the presence of words that not only acknowledge more than two genders, but normalise gender variance in ways that are challenging to the Western concept of binary gender

identities.[1] These multiplicitous genders have self-contained status, rather than existing merely as intermediate positions dependent on, and subordinate to, 'man' and 'woman'. In approaching the diversity inherent in 'Other' cultures as a challenge to its own dominance, Western ideologies have been used aggressively to defend an extremely restrictive understanding of gender in an attempt to foreclose any opportunity to maintain or develop a more inclusive understanding of gender. Instead, diverse approaches to gender have been framed through dominant Euro-Christian discourses as deviant, immoral and inferior—part of the dangerous alternative knowledge of indigenous cultures that colonialism worked so hard and so violently to eradicate. It is only recently that non-dominant gender discourses have begun visibly and vocally to re-assert themselves as viable and valuable alternatives to the orthodox narratives of pathology and deviance that dominate in Western gender discussions. The development of an alternative and more celebratory approach to gender diversity can be perceived through two notable documentary films from the Pacific: *Georgie Girl* (Goldson & Wells, 2002) and *Kumu Hina* (Hamer & Wilson, 2014). Rather than starting from a position that sees gender variance as a depressing problem, these stories offer the possibility of re-appropriating transgender as not only normal, but precious.

Georgie Girl documents the extraordinary success of Georgina Beyer (of Pākehā, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Porou heritage), the first openly trans Member of Parliament in the world (from 1999-2007). The film is a celebration of the achievements of a Māori transwoman, both as an individual and as a public figure. It is a biography that does not shy away from the struggles or suffering Beyer has faced, but it deliberately constructs a narrative of affirmation, rejecting the 'victim' trope so common in Western trans documentaries. The film brings into relief the sense of cultural alienation among many Māori that is prevalent in the post-colonial context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the challenges of successfully negotiating the social and political institutions that continue to be dominated by white, Western, heteronormative values, practices, and policies. *Kumu Hina* is a similarly celebratory film, one that honours Pacific culture, presenting the transgender protagonist as a valued and respected cultural icon rather than a victim, starting from the premise that the traditional Hawai'ian understanding of gender is a preferable one—that reclaiming respect for those 'in the middle' is an integral part of fighting back against the cultural annihilation of European colonialism. The film's official website describes the film as:

> A powerful film about the struggle to maintain Pacific Islander culture and values within the Westernised society of modern day Hawai'i. It is told through the lens of an extraordinary Native Hawai'ian who is both a proud and confident māhū, or transgender woman, and an honored and respected kumu, or teacher, cultural practitioner, and community leader. (kumuhina.com, n.d.)

Both of these films adopt an approach that draws on indigenous values and modes of storytelling, constructing a formal as well as a narrative resistance to the 'othering' of traditional Western documentary practices.

More generally, the binaristic rigidity of the conventional Western heteronormative construct has consistently 'othered' those who cannot or will not subscribe to its oppressive conventions regarding gender identity, and the presentation and expression of that identity. The cultural superiority enforced through the patriarchal hierarchy of the European colonial model has marginalised, dismissed, or erased those gender identities which do not conform to its limited discursive construct. When gender intersects with other key identity categories such as culture, ethnicity and class, the potential for oppression, exclusion and persecution escalates drastically. Since Christine Jorgensen's story blazed into the public imagination in the 1970s, through dramatic news coverage and a high-profile biopic, there has been a sustained interest/sensationalist curiosity in heteronormativity's Other, in much the same way that Orientalist attention has long focussed on the colonial Other. When these 'Others' converge, one could argue that it is merely an amplified version of Orientalist fascination, presented with increasing frequency in popular culture. Representations of trans identites have proliferated in recent decades, in a variety of media formats. Most of these have reproduced the same limited range of stereotypes and orthodox gender narratives, but it is also true that alternative perspectives have increasingly found a voice and sustained visibility.

Certain tropes (such as the 'born in the wrong body' narrative common in Western documentary and feature film drama, and the 'necessary disguise' narrative of film comedy) have contributed to the narrow profile of trans identities within popular culture, but have not necessarily contributed much to dismantling the stranglehold of heteronormative expectations and prejudice—neither stimulating debate nor developing understanding of and empathy with gender variance. In the last few years, however, a few significant trans documentary films have emerged that offer an alternative approach to understanding trans identities, presenting them as part of a broader critique of existing heteropatriarchal institutions—on social, institutional, economic, political and cultural levels. In these films, trans identities no longer exist in isolation from broader contexts; they are no longer peculiar individuals who can be dismissed as anomalies. Instead, gender variance is presented as a given, encouraging all of us to question the taken-for-granted sex and gender binary and its impact.

This shift in trans documentaries has coincided with an increasingly vocal indigenous presence in documentary film. Technological developments have made the medium of documentary film available to marginalised groups previously rendered voiceless by the political economy of mainstream media. While indigenous documentary films and trans documentary films are quite distinct, just as transgender rights and indigenous rights are clearly distinct, there have been a few key films that have brought into focus a connection between colonial and gender oppression. Both of the documentaries discussed in

this article, *Kumu Hina* and *Georgie Girl*, deal with the importance of moving beyond traditional Western understandings of gender; both acknowledge the difficulties of being trans in a predominantly Western environment; and both were made by trans allies looking to tell the stories of extraordinary people living inspiring, yet complicated lives. They have both, to varying degrees, raised questions regarding the intersection between indigenous culture and gender identity, about the role of colonialism and colonial institutions in attempting to circumscribe and regulate gender and cultural identities, and shown the possibilities for greater understanding and inclusivity when we begin to break free from the legacy of heteronormative, colonial Euro-Christian discourses.

Documentary film has historically been strongly associated with Western ethnographic practices (Leuthold, 2010, p. 78), but paradoxically also lends itself to indigenous traditions of articulation and aesthetics. Barry Barclay, a New Zealand documentary maker and writer of Ngāti Apa and Pākehā descent, has perhaps most throughly explored the significance and value of indigenous practices, through self-reflexive analysis of his own documentary-making practices (Barclay, 1990). The first and most overt of these practices is the focus on orality, by which the conventional 'talking head' format is transformed through the incorporation of indigenous principles of *whai kōrero* (the art of oratory). Both *Georgie Girl* and *Kumu Hina* prioritise the spoken word over 'objective' observation or formal narration. This approach suggests indigenous values are passed on, in contrast to 'a documentary in the usual sense of focussing on factual information or instruction' (Leuthold, 2010, p. 118). The central characters share their experiences, perspectives, and beliefs with the audience in their own words. Rather than imposing a formal, didactic account of 'the facts' through a third-person narrator, the agency of the films' central subjects is foregrounded through the recognition of their right to tell their own stories. This is not to suggest that those narratives are somehow 'pure' representations, since the filmmakers are inevitably responsible for editing the footage into its final form; however, an understanding of and respect for the importance of indigenous oral traditions is powerfully reiterated through the emphasis on self-representation, subjectivity, and the spoken word. In *Kūmu Hina*, the history of Hawai'i and Hawai'ian culture is imparted by Hina Wong-Kalu herself—situating her from the beginning as a figure of knowledge and authority, as a teacher and as a guardian of Indigenous knowledge.

Performance is another central principle in many Indigenous traditions, and one that is also evident in these films. Hina and Georgina are both performers, albeit in quite different ways. Georgina Beyer is shown to be a versatile and successful performer in a variety of ways—as a professional actor, as a singer, as a drag queen, and as a political orator. Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu is a teacher and cultural practitioner of hula—a *kumu hula*—who not only teaches through demonstration, but also participates in performances with her students. The film is a testament to the cultural expertise of Wong-Kalu, demonstrated through her performance of traditional Hawai'ian art forms of chant, song and visual dance. While the indigenous significance of performance is implied rather than overt in *Georgie Girl*, in

Kumu Hina, the centrality of performance establishes a sense of historical and cultural continuity. Hina is the guardian of traditional cultural forms of performance, ones brought to the brink of extinction by the cultural violence of colonialism. Through both teaching and performance, Hina asserts the value of these traditions, erasing the West's mythical attachment to a neat distinction between rationality and art. Hina's performances make it abundantly apparent that knowledge and art are inextricably linked, and that both are profoundly cultural in character. Every hula performance is a resistance to the presumed superiority of Western rationalism and its orthodox versions of history.

The indigenous understanding of history portrayed in *Georgie Girl* and *Kumu Hina* is reflected in their formal construction. The films eschew a linear chronology, emphasising continuity through the merging of past and present. This narrative fluidity reinforces the idea that the present and the future are inextricably connected to the past: knowing where you come from is central to understanding who you are and where you are going. There is a Māori proverb that encapsulates this idea of going forward by looking back:

> *Inā kei te mohio koe ko wai koe, I anga mai koe i hea, kei te mohio koe. Kei te anga atu ki hea.*
> (If you know who you are and where you are from, then you will know where you are going.)

Georgina's and Hina's life stories are presented in ways that suggest a more cyclical understanding of temporality. Through this non-linear construction, identity is portrayed as a complex process of reaffirmation, not pre-ordained, not simple, but still grounded in a certainty of self. In keeping with an indigenous worldview, this sense of self is also inextricably tied to the broader community. In *Our Own Image*, Barclay identifies involvement with and respect for the community as central indigenous values. The chosen professions of Hina and Georgina, as teacher and MP respectively, both reflect this, but so too do the filmmakers in their efforts to include the voices and perspectives of the wider communities in which the protagonists live and work. The formal hybridisation of documentary form with indigenous values is a means of fighting back against the cultural devastation of colonialism, using documentary to reappropriate and reinvigorate indigenous culture. The films are not only celebrations of extraordinary individuals, they are simultaneously reflections on identity, culture, community, and indigenous values, and the interconnectedness of those fundamental elements. They are explorations of self-representation, attempts to position 'the camera on the shore' rather than on the boat (Barclay, 1990), in order to present an alternative understanding of gender and culture, through both form and content.

These Pacific documentaries celebrating gender variance stand in contrast to the narratives of pathology and deviance that have predominated in the Western media. Joelle Ruby Ryan has provided a detailed critique of this pejorative tradition in documentary films, as an introductory contextualisation for her discussion of a few films challenging that negativity.

> With few exceptions, [media representations of transgender and transsexual people] have been filled with stereotypes, distortions, biases, and inaccuracies. The media, while not solely or even primarily responsible for cultural and systemic transphobia, is an institution that plays a serious role in the perpetuation of prejudice and discrimination against gender-variant people… Traditionally, documentary films that center [sic] on transgender experience have often reproduced ways of looking at gender-variance that are sexist and patriarchal. Gender-normative identity is the standard by which all other expressions are judged. This way of looking fosters a view of transgenderism that is exploitative; trans identities are otherised, fetishised, and cast as deviant, bizarre, and pathological. (2010, p. 10)

Georgie Girl stands in stark contrast to this Western, patriarchal documentary tradition, deliberately constructing a celebratory rather than an exploitative narrative, normalising rather than 'otherising' gender diversity. By opting for a non-linear narrative approach, the film is able to open from a positive position, with the focus firmly on the protagonist's success and standing as a public figure. It is an account of and tribute to Georgina Beyer, the world's first openly transsexual mayor and later Member of Parliament. The film introduces Georgina to the audience through footage of her maiden speech in parliament, pointing to the historic significance of the moment—'I have to say it, I guess, I am the first transsexual in New Zealand to be standing in this House of Parliament. This is a first not only in New Zealand, ladies and gentlemen, but also in the world'.

Rejecting the conventional documentary technique of voice-over narration, key information is provided sparingly through text:

> in late 1999, Georgina Beyer, a Māori transsexual and former sex worker, was voted into the New Zealand government by a largely white rural electorate [sic]

This sets up the story from the position of Georgina's success and significance as a highly visible trans woman. It also signposts the central importance of ethnic identity, the bicultural tensions that pervade Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the dominance of the Pākehā (white) majority in institutional and social structures that are still strongly inflected with British colonial practices and ideologies. The darker parts of Georgina's history are also set up through this introductory text, but are placed as secondary, as they are throughout the film, to her achievements. She later recounts her history in non-chronological fragments that are interwoven with events in the present. This formal dialogic construction is reminiscent of indigenous storytelling traditions and the oral practice of *whai korero*, which is emphasised through the amount of screen time devoted to shots of Georgina telling her own story, in her own words. The importance of self-representation is made clear in the film by the agency Georgina is given and the foregrounding of her subjectivity through the absence of a third-person narrator. Georgina is completely open with the audience about her past, as she has been throughout her political career. She relates

the struggles and abuse that she has experienced in her own words, filtered through the lens of her adult self. The calmness with which she details her suicide attempt and her rape while working in the sex industry ensures that the events are not sensationalised, while maintaining significant emotional impact, and acknowledging the harsh realities faced by many trans people. Her refusal to dwell for long on these negative episodes in her life also forecloses the potential for the narrative of victimhood that permeates conventional Western trans documentaries. Darker moments are balanced throughout with contemporary content: emphasising her social contributions and position as a role model and a community leader.

Georgie Girl indicates its allegiance to an indigenous filmmaking approach from the opening, with the use of traditional Māori music laid over shots of the Wairarapa landscape. Without offering any explicit explanation for these elements, the film points to the fundamental significance of the land for Māori as *tangata whenua* (people of the land), as well as to the contribution of indigenous cultural values to the construction of the film. What becomes apparent is the predominant absence of Māori culture from the social and political landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand that Georgina herself traverses as a public figure, and the damage that being alienated from her own culture has had on her personal life. Where Māori culture has traditionally recognised and valued *whakawahine,* in the heteronormative colonial culture of mainstream New Zealand gender variance is treated with prejudice and morbid fascination. Pushing back against this mainstream view, the film 'eschews the obsession [of traditional documentaries] with etiology and causation and takes trans lives as a reality that does not need explanation or rationalisation' (Ryan, 2010, p. 11). Georgina's trans identity is normalised through the positive framing of her life story, concomitantly rendering the narrow and prejudiced attitudes of mainstream society towards trans people as *abnormal*. In an interview, Georgina observes: 'I get asked questions no other politician would ever have to answer. Regarding the surgery, you know. "Did it hurt?", or, "When you have sex now as a woman, is it different to how you had sex as a man?" Well, honey, obviously'. Goldson and Wells effectively document the Western media's objectionable treatment of Beyer—the rude and intrusive questions, the lack of respect for boundaries and privacy, the presumptuous fascination with physical details, and the inability to look beyond biology in a misguided obsession with 'knowing the truth'.

Georgina critiques this treatment and the underlying assumption that it is warranted by her unusual position as a transsexual holding public office. In its incorporation of indigenous filmmaking practice and through its celebratory approach, the film itself is equally critical of Western media, and careful to distance itself from it. The use of archival footage from media interviews within this framework produces an effect of self-indictment, in much the same way that one of Beyer's political opponents, Paul Henry, says more about himself than Georgina when he tells a reporter, 'You've just said Georgina is a serious person. She's a man. Do those things necessarily go together?'. While

that attitude might have been expected to be the prevailing one within Georgina's own electorate of an overwhelmingly white, largely conservative rural community, she successfully stood first for mayor of Carterton in 1995 and then as a Member of Parliament in 1999. Through interviews with local residents, it becomes clear that her success is a result of her celebration of and commitment to the community, and her investment in the individuals who comprise it. She is praised for her warmth, integrity and intelligence and repeatedly described as being 'down-to-earth', someone who is valued for not being a snob. This suggests that in addition to her personal appeal, her relationship with people of Carterton is one that is founded on a class allegiance, and a sense of exclusion from mainstream urban New Zealand. This commonality is evidently powerful enough to override issues of ethnicity and gender. While this grants Georgina access to mainstream political instutions, it also reinforces the marginalisation of Māori culture—most clearly illustrated in the years after the film was made when Beyer voted in favour the Foreshore and Seabed Act of 2004, which effectively dispossessed Māori of their guardianship rights over land supposedly guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Beyer herself later acknowledged this as a betrayal of indigenous rights, and acknowledged the need to make amends to Māori as one of her primary reasons for standing for Parliament in the 2014 general election: 'When approached about the role, there were a few things to consider as there always are. Taking on this role is my way of making amends to Māori for voting for the foreshore and seabed bill which I was forced into and which totally broke me' (Harawira, 2014). When Georgina does mention her Māori identity in the film, which is rare, she frames it as a lack, an alienation from her cultural heritage. There is one other key Māori figure in the film Carmen, the matriarch of the New Zealand trans community. She is Georgina's friend and mentor but her ethnicity is never mentioned, with the focus firmly on her trans identity. Both Carmen and Georgina underscore the cultural alienation that continues in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Despite Georgina's strong ties to her electorate, a sense of isolation surrounds her not only from her cultural roots, but also in her personal life. Georgina is single, unwilling to subject a partner to the inevitable media scrutiny that she experiences. Ultimately though, the film is a celebration of trans identity, presented through a non-traditional documentary approach that, while not denying her challenges and suffering, allows Georgina's success to be the main focus from the start.

The appeal of this more positive approach is reflected in the overwhelmingly favourable reviews and critical accolades the film received. Despite dealing with the potentially provocative issues of trans politics, indigenous politics, and cultural politics, the positivity of *Kumu Hina* has likewise resonated with audiences in very varied contexts. For example, indigenous writers have applauded *Kumu Hina* for bringing to the screen the story of:

> A master of practice and language. [Hina] is a community leader and champion. She is stunning and glorious… Hina transformed the role of māhū in Hawai'i. By

> asserting herself and using the powerful framework of Hawai'ian culture, she continues to enforce the strength and importance of people whose identities cannot be defined by Westernised, cookie-cutter standards. (Kehaulani Watson, 2014, n.p.)

At the other end of the spectrum, the film finds appreciation, even enthusiastic support, in an unexpected quarter. In his review of the film on his blog, Father Dennis Kriz, a Catholic priest, observes that,

> One of the most interesting levels for me is simply: Is Christianity / Catholicism (which is about a Universal Church big enough FOR EVERYBODY who sincerely belongs there) capable of learning from other cultures / traditions? (Kriz, 2015, n.p.)

Despite writing from a fairly traditional Catholic position and deploying some problematic stereotypes about trans people, Father Dennis acknowledges the value of alternative cultural understandings and the ways in which they can contribute to a more empathetic and inclusive approach. *Kumu Hina* challenges ideas of emotional segregation head-on, and focusses unflinchingly on the intersectionality of class, culture, indigeneity and gender in a way that resonates with diverse audiences. It is an exploration of identity, identification and allegiance, an acknowledgement of the damage that colonialism has done. It is an homage to those trying to reclaim their culture, language, history, but presented in a way that foregrounds the principle of *aloha*: love, honour and respect for all.

The constant repetition of the word *aloha* throughout *Kumu Hina* is an example of linguistic decolonisation. The word draws attention not only to the Hawai'ian language, but to the cultural philosophy that underpins it: one that stands in stark contrast to the exclusionary ideology of the West. In an act of deliberate resistance against the linguistic domination of colonialism, the film makes a point of incorporating the native language (with subtitles) to draw attention to the intimate connection between language and culture, and the fundamental importance of preserving language as a way of maintaining an alternative worldview, an attitude to and understanding of the world that is encapsulated in the word *aloha*. Early on in the film, in response to a pupil's desire to wear both a boys' and a girls' lei, Hina demonstrates the flexibility of language in her response: 'You get both [lei] because she's both.' The mode of address shifts easily from the pupil, Ho'onani, to the wider class, highlighting the inseparability of the individual from their broader community. The use of indigenous language constitutes an example of what Barry Barclay calls 'talking in', that is, talking to your own people first (Barclay, 1990, p. 76). At the same time, the use of subtitles allows the film to 'talk out' to a broader audience, and to draw attention to the richness of indigenous languages as a means for conveying an alternative worldview and cultural philosophy. Despite being made by two white middle-class American men (albeit ones with a history of counter-normative documentary activism)[2], the film is very loyal to the concept of *aloha* (harmony, inclusivity, love and respect),[3] something that Hina points out in her historical overview of Hawai'i was fundamentally antithetical to the conceptual framework of European colonisers.

The history of Hawai'i that is narrated near the beginning of the film by Hina Wong-Kalu is presented in animated form (drawn by Jarrod Greenleaf). The animation provides a visual interpretation of pre-contact Hawai'i that draws on traditional indigenous aesthetics, and documents the colonisation of the country in a way that deliberately refuses to make use of the archival images of the West's ethnographic photographic documentation of the period. It is an independent visual representation that is both artistically loyal to indigenous traditions and politically distant from an orthodox Western account of Pacific colonisation. The images have a fluidity that makes clear the long history of Hawai'i, shifting seamlessly through hundreds of years of cultural constancy, incorporating a deliberate focus on the presence and significance of *māhū* in Hawai'ian culture:

> Every person had their role in society, whether male, female, or māhū—those who embraced the masculine and feminine traits that are embodied within each and every one of us.

Māhū were highly valued and respected in traditional Hawaiian society, but like so many other aspects of the indigenous culture and language, the colonial powers and especially missionaries tried to stamp the practice out as immoral:

> The 18th century introduction of Western European cultures and religions brought disease and war, in addition to a clash of values that continues to this day… Fast forward to contemporary Hawai'i, and māhū still feel the effects of this intolerance of a traditionally-accepted group of people. Those who choose not to hide their identities must constantly fight barriers in family life, school, the workplace and politics. (Seeto, 2015, n.p.)

Yet in concluding her narration of these attempts at cultural annhilation, Hina observes that 'Despite 200 years of colonisation and aggression, we're still here.' In extrapolating this to her own life, she acknowledges that her own 'progression is simply indicative of me coming to a different understanding. It was my own process of self-decolonisation.' This exemplifies the value of the narrative agency that Hina has in the film; it is not an external assessment or 'truth', but a personal and self-reflexive testimony about the impact of colonialist ideology on an ongoing social and individual level.

While the film is an intentionally respectful portrayal of the cultural and community value of *māhū*, it is not naive enough to suggest that Hina's life has been easy. The intolerance Seeto describes is acknowledged by Hina in a first-person account of the bullying and suffering she experienced as a teenager (2015). However, as with *Georgie Girl*, this is deliberately brief, since the film chooses not to present a narrative of victimhood. The focus soon shifts to the refuge Hina found in Hawai'ian culture particularly in *aloha* and in her belief in her responsibility to the community to pass on the meaning of *aloha*. Most importantly, the film highlights Hina's value as a teacher and a leader through

her interactions with one of her *hula hālau* pupils, Ho'onani Kamai, a young girl who already displays *māhū* tendencies. Describing herself as 'in the middle' between *kāne* (men) and *wahine* (women), Ho'onani emerges as the leader in the boys' *hula* group, and displays extraordinary confidence in her own sense of self, as well as unwavering respect for and devotion to Hawai'ian cultural traditions. Ho'onani is extremely clear about who she is and what she wants, displaying a great deal of maturity in her refusal to be constrained by the heternormative expectations that still manifest themselves in post-colonial Hawai'ian society. In contrast to the bullying and discrimination Hina suffered as a teenager, Ho'onani is accepted and respected by her peers, and by the older boys in the *hula* group that she leads. As her mentor and role-model Hina points out, Ho'onani has more *ku* (male energy) than any of the teenage boys in the *hula hulau,* because *ku* is about so much more than biology, and therefore not just a property of biological males.

Ho'onani is given an opportunity to learn the cultural knowledge that was denied to several generations of Hawai'ians, including her own mother, Jozie, and Laara, the principal of the school. In admonishing the children to treat Kumu Hina with respect and appreciate the heritage, Principal Laara reminds the children that 'We didn't get to sing Hawai'i Pono'ī in our schools. We had to pledge allegiance to the flag that took over Hawai`i.' Ho'onani embraces her heritage wholeheartedly through the traditional knowledge and practices that Hina teaches. At Hālau Lōkahi School's end of year show,[4] Ho'onani leads the boys-only *hula* group, as they perform the 'ai ka mūmū kēkē *hula*. Her power and authority are both moving and inspiring, attesting to Hina's success in instilling understanding and respect for Hawai'ian culture by reviving and honouring indigenous knowledge. It is also a visual performance of *aloha*, a celebration of inclusivity and diversity.

The editing of the film draws clear parallels between Hina and Ho'onani, contrasting the confidence that Ho'onani innately feels in her own sense of self with the self-assurance that Hina has worked so hard to achieve and maintain. The film makes clear how much this individual sense of self is linked to a broader community attitude and a shift away from a Euro-Christian colonialist perspective towards a more traditional indigenous philosophy, particularly with regard to gender. Ho'onani states with absolute conviction when discussing *māhū*, those in the 'middle', that 'What "middle" means is a person who's rare... they're rare.' While the idea of 'the middle' seems to be a legacy of the Western heteronormative binary brought to Hawai'i by American missionaries, it is equally clear that Ho'onani has the capacity to conceptualise that identity in ways that exceed the restrictive gender taxonomies of the English language. This moment illustrates the central role of language in expressing particular cultural values and traditions, and the importance of learning indigenous languages as a way of facilitating the transmission and celebration of those values and traditions. The integration of indigenous language, art forms, and cultural values into schools, through *kumu* such Hina Wong-Kalu, is an important step in the decolonisation of Western institutions, such as schools, that are still strongly marked by colonialist practices.

Despite its focus on institutional politics, *Kumu Hina* is also a highly personal story, portraying the challenges that Hina faces in her private life in conjunction with her success and status as a cultural icon in her professional life—apart from being a valued *kumu*, Hina is also the highly respected chairperson of the O'ahu Burial Council, a position that brings to the fore the difficulties of reconciling native traditions and values with Western law and institutional policies. This professional and political dimension to her story is intertwined with her personal search to find 'what everyone else wants love, care, acceptance.' She is relatively newly married to a Fijian man, Hema, who displays worringly patriarchal attitudes about gender roles. Hina is very open about the love she feels for her husband, but also about the challenges *māhū* face in finding committed and accepting life partners. At one point, after Hema hurls abuse at her for talking to a male friend on the phone, Hina is visibly upset and observes that *māhu* in relationships often ask themselves if it is worth it. Being with Hema challenges her confidence in herself at times, particularly when under pressure to pass as a woman with Hema's friends in Fiji in order to protect both him and herself from potential trans- and homophobic backlash against their relationship. While Hina sees her *māhū* identity as 'being the real you' she is well aware that there are many people who view it instead as a form of deception; that it is not an identity that is respected everywhere.

Hema's disrespectful treatment of Hina during certain moments of 'brutal but necessary realism' in the film is extremely uncomfortable to watch, and inevitably raises questions for the audience about the value of the relationship (Lytton, 2014, n.p.). Hina, however, chooses to believe that 'the diamond I see in my husband will one day be very shiny indeed' that 'faith, courage, and love will overcome.' The scenes depicting the struggles in their relationship are also contrasted throughout the film with scenes of great tenderness between the two, and with the challenges Hema faces in adapting to life in a new country while striving to maintain his sense of self and his links with Fijian culture. Hina believes that she can help through the 'magic of *māhū*' so takes him on a roadtrip into rural Hawai'i to meet her friends, including Kaua'i Iki, her oldest friend who is also *māhū*. It is an opportunity to show Hina as part of a broader community, to illustrate the internal heterogeneity of *māhū*, and to demonstrate the importance of maintaining a support network. The 'grounded, centred' spirit of *māhū* that Hina describes does seem to have the desired effect on Hema, and the final sequence of the film conveys a sense of cautious optimism about the relationship, as Hema is shown carefully choosing a birthday gift, cake and candles for Hina's birthday. This he presents to her on the lawns outside the historic 'Iolani Palace where he works as a security guard. It is a scene of great tenderness and emotional intimacy, but the closing credit sequence turns away from this to a somewhat haunting *hula* performance by Hina, alone against a backdrop of extraordinary natural beauty. It leaves the audience with a powerful sense of Hawai'i and Hawai'ian culture, and Hina's valuable role as a *kumu* in preserving that heritage.

As documentaries about high-profile trans people from the Pacific, *Kumu Hina* and *Georgie Girl* display several significant similarities in their celebratory approach of trans identities, framing them as valuable and normal, in direct contrast to the negativity that pervades most Western trans documentaries. The crucial divergences between the films are in the protagonists' relationships to indigenous culture. This may be in part due to cultural shifts in the decade between the two films, but it still creates a striking contrast between the role of indigenous culture in Hawai'i and in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The individuals at the centre of these stories are defined in part by their relationships to the community, but the value of Hina's connection to her cultural heritage, and the strength she draws from it, brings into relief the lack of a similar connection in Georgina's life. It highlights the fundamental importance of decolonisation on a personal and a political level, and of reviving and revaluing indigenous culture.

> To turn one's back on one's ancestors is to sever oneself from one's future.
> —Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu

Notes

1. Some significant examples of indigenous non-binary gender idendities include: the *Hijra* of South Asia, *fa'afafine* of Samoa, *fakaleiti* of Tonga, *māhū* of Hawai'i, *whakawahine* of Aotearoa/New Zealand, *kathoeys* of Thailand, *waria* of Indonesia, *muxe* of Mexico, and the multiple Two-Spirit identities among Native American tribes.
2. Hamer and Wilson were previously best known for their autobiographical documentary, *Out in the Silence* (2009), about their struggles for acceptance as a gay couple in small-town America.
3. The fact that so many English words are needed to adequately translate the concept illustrates the fundamental importance of language as a carrier of unique cultural values and concepts.
4. Hālau Lōkahi School is a public charter school described in the film as 'dedicated to Hawai'ian culture, language, and history'

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5. 'Food is life'
Documenting the politics of food in Melanesia

Abstract: In this abstract, I discuss two recent examples of women's filmmaking in Melanesia. The documentaries are *Tanah Mama* (2014), focused on West Papua and *Café Niugini* (2015), set in Papua New Guinea. Both films explore and represent food in profoundly different ways. Here, I consider their respective depictions of food, demonstrating that *Tanah Mama* represents food as sustenance while *Café Niugini* renders food as 'cuisine' through the 'creative performance' of cookery. Nevertheless, and as I argue, both documentaries reflect the filmmakers' interest in representing issues associated with food in the Pacific, including the importance of Indigenous access to land, population management, gender roles and the impact of changing cultural values on food consumption and health.

Keywords: cultural values documentary, food, gender, health, Melanesia, politics

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OUTSIDERS have dominated the history of filmmaking in both Papua New Guinea (PNG) and across the border in West Papua. But the increasing accessibility of filmmaking equipment is starting to result in the production of more films by Papua New Guineans and, if not West Papuans themselves, their sympathetic Indonesian counterparts. Despite the financial and cultural odds against them, a small number of these filmmakers are women. It is valuable to consider what women choose to represent when they use the medium of film to depict their concerns and passions in the public sphere.

In this article, I discuss two recent examples of women's filmmaking in Melanesia. Both films take the theme of food to be central, with the subtitle of the *Café Niugini* series being 'food is life'. But as I demonstrate here, the documentaries *Tanah Mama* (2014), focused on West Papua, and *Café Niugini* (2015), set in PNG, explore and represent food in profoundly different ways. Here I consider their respective depictions of food, demonstrating that *Tanah Mama* is centrally concerned with women's access to land, the precarity of their lives in the face of changing gender roles and expectations as shaped by modernity, and the increasing significance of the cash economy. While *Café Niugini* renders food as 'cuisine' through the 'creative performance' of cookery (Ghosh, 2012), *Tanah Mama* explores the central role women play in food production and their reliance on men to allocate and clear land for cultivation. Where the gendered societal tensions

generated by the mutual interdependence between men, women and the land lie at the heart of *Tanah* Mama, such difficulties are not explored in the *Café Niugini* series. This is because the made- for-television food tourism documentary series has a different agenda: namely to present and promote the worth of traditional food production and consumption practices so as to encourage the continuance of these among local people. Despite these differences, both films explore the politics of food in Melanesia, including issues such as the importance of Indigenous access to land, population management and the impact of changing cultural values on food consumption and health. In what follows, I discuss *Tanah Mama* (2014) and *Café Niugini*, highlighting the different ways in which food is represented as a result of the respective filmmaker's approach and beliefs.

Tanah Mama

Tanah Mama (meaning Mama Soil) is a one-hour film in the classic documentary style. It opens with footage of the mountains and people engaged in everyday activities in the Wamena region in the Highlands of West Papua. The film has a powerful soundtrack including local women, singing in their local language, accompanies the opening scenes. The words of the song (which are translated using subtitles) are as follows:

> *Wamena people are accustomed to work*
> *In Wamena people plant their soil*
> *Girls work together with their brothers*
> *Wives work together with their husbands*
> *Wamena people are accustomed to work*

We are then introduced to the central protagonist, Halosina, who is shown working in a garden digging up yams. In a voiceover, she says:

> Here husbands clear the soil. Until ready for planting. Afterwards the wives plant accordingly. The usual are veggies, yams, carrots, etcetera. Because I didn't have my land and it was getting dark. My kids had not been eating. So I took some yams from my sister-in-law's land. But they accused me of stealing (*Tanah Mama*, 2015).

Through Halosina's words, the cooperation between men and women celebrated in the opening song is immediately undermined. As the film unfolds, we learn that the reason Halosina had to take a yam was that her husband, Hosea, had failed to clear ground for her to use as a garden. Privileging his second wife and the children he has with her, Hosea takes no responsibility for helping Halosina meet their children's needs. Moreover, rather than defending Halosina against his sister's claim for compensation through the village court, Hosea fails to assist Halosina to raise the money for the fine or to clear her of the charge of stealing the yam. In these ways, the film frames her need to 'steal' from her sister-in-law's garden in order to feed her four children through reference to myriad

social changes, including Papuan men's desire to have multiple wives—whether or not they can afford to do so—and the fracturing of the broader social networks on which Papuan women continue to rely. Though some men may create pathways to modernity and the cash economy by finding work in town, in rural West Papua, women are less able to access these possibilities but also less securely placed in relation to 'traditional' social networks.

These challenges are evident when, halfway through the film, Hosea comes to see Halosina in her sister's house. During this visit, he admits, 'the problem is I don't work in the fields anymore'. Directing his attention and energy to earning money in town, Hosea gets work only sporadically and, according to Halosina, does not share any of the earnings with her when he does so. Through a focus on Halosina and Hosea's separation, the film explores the changes in men's roles, their preference for going to town (rather than remaining in the village) and the challenges associated with these changes that are presenting new problems for married couples in various parts of Melanesia (see Wardlow, 2006; Macintyre, 2011; Spark, 2011). Where once, as the song suggests, men and women cooperated to produce food for their families, in the contemporary era this cooperation is often undermined by conflict about how to spend the money that is earned. In the patriarchal societies of Melanesia, it is not usually women who make such decisions, with one consequence being that they and their children go hungry. Hosea's failure to protect and provide for his family underlies Halosina's discontent and hence when we meet her she has left him and is living with their four children in her sister's house and village. As Halosina tells Hosea when he comes to visit: 'I have a strong reason for being here'.

For Asrida Elisabet, an Indonesian journalist and the director of *Tanah Mama*, the story of Halosina's struggle to provide food for her children is universal. When I interviewed her during a visit to Melbourne in June 2015, Asrida described the film as being about 'how to be responsible for and feed a family' (interview with Asrida Elisabet, 2 June 2015, Melbourne).[1] She said that this is something that affects 'all women in Indonesia'. Likening women to soil, she explained that when women are healthy, so too are the children and the community that depend on this 'soil'. Conversely, as Halosina's story illustrates, when women are not supported to cultivate food, both they and their children suffer.

Continuing the theme of women as soil, *Tanah Mama* also addresses the vexed problem of fertility decision-making in West Papua through its consideration of the relationship between family size and the availability of food. Cultural anthropologist Jenny Munro (2014) suggests that historically the men and women of West Papua have resisted Indonesian fertility control practices on the basis that these are seen as a 'genocidal measure' against Indigenous peoples (see also Butt, 2001; 2005). Demonstrating that, for some Papuans, 'having children …[is] a way of responding to Indonesian dominance', Munro (2014) notes that it 'was male students who primarily espoused the racial value of reproduction'.

In Asrida's observation, the Papuan nationalist movement's emphasis on having many children prioritises anti-colonial politics over women's experiences and struggles. Listening to a talkback show about fertility galvanised Asrida to tell the story she does in *Tanah Mama*. Observing that all those who called in to the talk show were men who wanted to prohibit fertility control, she realised 'we never hear about the women's voice'. After interviewing rural West Papuan women, she learned that many want to take contraception but are afraid of violent punishment by their husbands if they do so. Asrida also discovered that for women to access contraception at the health centres, their husbands have to indicate their permission by signing a form. For Asrida, the women's perspectives are especially pertinent because they would be primarily responsible for feeding and caring for children once they were born. As she said: 'I think we have to take a look at women's situation, they are struggling everyday. Hard to have more children if we have to work everyday to feed them all'. Asrida observed the gender dimensions of this struggle first-hand during two years spent living in the Highlands of West Papua.

Drawing on Asrida's awareness of the labour involved in producing food, *Tanah Mama* centres on Halosina's daily life, which involves constant childcare, working in the garden and returning to the house to prepare the food that has been harvested for her children. The scenes filmed in the hut belonging to Halosina's sister and her family are especially intimate because we see the extended family sharing the labour of food preparation and childcare amid the cramped circumstances in which they live and sleep. While sometimes humorous, conflict between the children and their cousins also suggests of the vulnerability of Halosina's circumstances in that she depends entirely on the good-will that her sister and brother-in-law demonstrate by sharing their home and garden with her and her children.

In these quotidian but also profoundly revealing and intimate scenes, the film conveys the exhausting nature of women's lives and work in West Papua. Rather than being romanticised for its role in sustaining traditional culture, the physical and emotional labour women perform so that their children will have food is represented as intimately linked to their increasingly precarious status within modernity. As husbands take multiple wives and have more children without due consideration of the needs of those already in existence, and spend less time clearing land for the cultivation of food, it is women and children who bear the pain of the resulting hunger and humiliation.

These are difficult issues and the intimacy of *Tanah Mama* is testament to the depth and trust of Asrida's relationship with Halosina, as well as to Asrida's success in conveying the importance of the story to Halosina. Discussing West Papuan women's heavy load and how it impacts on their health, Asrida said:

> I always see that they have really big responsibility that make them you know, look not healthy, I see so many of them: they look older than their age because there is so much responsibility. …And I go to talk with Halosina because I tell her it's also

> a women's issue in all areas about the responsibility for food for family, and I made her think that it's not bad but it's about humanity. …I said to her, this is not about your story, this is about all women's struggle here.

Asrida also commented that even before making the film, she was close to Halosina and her family including her husband, Hosea. She said the couple treated her 'like a daughter' and that she slept and ate with Halosina's family throughout the filming process. Consequently, when Asrida spoke with Halosina about making this film, Halosina trusted her to do this appropriately. Halosina allowed the camera crew to follow her everywhere and the film offers striking insights as a result of this access. Asrida described the process: 'everyday we start in the morning and in the night they sleep, eat, we just come with camera and she is okay'.

Because of her close relationship with Halosina and her family, Asrida has succeeded in telling a story in which what she calls the 'big issue'—Indonesia's occupation of West Papua – takes second stage to an everyday story about a rural woman struggling to meet the needs of her four children. The story, which Asrida said she made because she wanted local Papuans to see themselves and their issues represented on screen, has resonance in Melanesia more broadly while also addressing the politics of food production and reproduction in West Papua particularly. Discussing *Tanah Mama,* a reviewer in Indonesia commented that '[Asrida's] female-centred approach is not a feminist ruse; it is an undeniably valid pathway to delve into the texture of contemporary rural Papuan family life' (Ray, 2015). Representing conflict around rights to land, women's unequal status and a woman's perspective on the challenges of having many children when she has nothing to feed them, *Tanah Mama* constitutes a moving and dignified challenge to male-dominated politics of Papuan nationalism, demonstrating that it is women who bear the brunt of having—and feeding—children.

Café Niugini

Café Niugini is an eleven episode series made for television in PNG. Shown on the national station EMTV in early 2015, the series documents cooking traditions from nine provinces in PNG. Firmly in the infotainment genre, a sub-category of documentary, it echoes the conventions of myriad cooking shows around the world. The show introduces audiences to 'renowned local chefs', takes them on 'unique culinary journeys' into nine of the country's provinces and demonstrates how to cook a variety of local 'delicacies'. In doing so, it reframes food in PNG as exotic cuisine rather than standard fare. While the close up shots of ingredients and forms of address are familiar—derived as they are from other shows in this globally popular genre—Papua New Guineans form the audience for *Café Niugini*. For example, much of the dialogue between Jennifer Baing (presenter and director) and the people with whom she is preparing food takes place in the lingua franca, *Tok Pisin*, with no subtitles provided.

Café Niugini has a straightforward message: local food production is important for cultural, health and environmental reasons. The background to this argument is familiar. Modernisation, in the form of wage labour and a cash economy, separates people from their land and transforms long-term eating habits (Harari, 2011). As a result, populations who, for centuries, lived on vegetables, fruits and whatever protein was available, suffer new health problems as they purchase and consume highly processed foods with little nutritional value. Because of its cost, eating organic locally grown food tends to signify higher status in advanced capitalist societies. Contrastingly, in PNG, the consumption of garden food is often associated with those who cannot afford to purchase imported food. *Café Niugini*, made by the globally aware and overseas-educated Jennifer Baing and her similarly positioned husband, Bao Waiko, sets out to change this pattern (for further information about Jennifer Baing, see Spark 2015; *Pawa Meri* DVD Series). Through its exoticisation of common local foods such as coconut, banana, yams and fish, the show transforms the everyday sustenance of these communities into culinary delicacies.

The educated middle classes in PNG have been quick to appreciate *Café Niugini*'s message. This is evident, for example, in a blog posted by the editor of *Stella,* the women's magazine for educated, urban Papua New Guinean women (for discussions of *Stella,* see Spark, 2014; 2015). Written just before the first episode of *Café Niugini* aired in February, the blog reads:

> In creating and hosting this series, Jennifer has found a thoroughly entertaining way to bring her advocacy for sustainable living—and a self-determining, self-confident Papua New Guinea—before a national audience. And the take away message is simple: *preserve and embrace our delicious local food cultures!* Your body, local farmers, and future generations will thank you for it.

As with *Café Niugini* itself, the *Stella* blog presents eating local foods as a decision that is as much about ethics as health. Moving beyond the politics of food production explored in *Tanah Mama,* the *Café Niugini* series aestheticises food as part of a broader valuing of local indigenous traditions within global discussions about sustainability.

It is only possible to discuss one episode of *Café Niugini* in this brief paper. For the purposes of analysis, I have selected the 25-minute episode about Markham Valley because it explores food and cooking in the home community of the series' presenter and director, Jennifer Baing. Introducing this episode, Jennifer says:

> On this episode of *Café Niugini* I'll be showcasing my own food culture from the Markham Valley of Morobe province. We'll be cooking up ripe banana with coconut cream, jankum runga, a special dish cooked with corn, and we'll also be trying some banana flowers and taro leaves cooked up with traditional salt. Come with me as I show you what the Markham Valley has to offer. (*Café Niugini,* Markham Valley, Episode 2).

As Jennifer and her uncle prepare a local dish made from corn and coconut milk, Jennifer describes a coconut husk as a 'traditional strainer', declares that 'in Markham we still prefer to cook with the traditional claypots', and tells the audience that a small piece of carved wood called a *sama* is the 'traditional tool' used to stir the dish. Another example of *Café Niugini*'s revaluation of the local and traditional is provided minutes later when Jennifer talks about scraping off the coconut oil once it has boiled and separated from the corn mixture. Carefully storing this in a jar Jennifer says: 'this oil can be used as a moisturiser for either your hair or your skin'. Later in the episode she and her cousins demonstrate how to make 'traditional salt' from 'the ash of a coconut husk'. This emphasis on the worth of local materials is not foregrounded in *Tanah Mama*. Indeed, Halosina uses some of the meager amount of money she earns selling vegetables at the town market to purchase imported cooking oil and salt, presumably to reduce her workload.

Whether or not Jennifer's family use traditional tools and reclaimed coconut oil in their everyday cooking and self-care is immaterial; the implements and products are a key part of the episode's construction of the traditional *as valuable*. Arguably, this reframing of the traditional is most likely to be promoted by educated, middle class Papua New Guineans like Jennifer. Increasingly, men and women in this cohort are placing a value on cultural distinctiveness and 'heritage' in the face of undifferentiated global culture, including in the production of food (Spark, 2015). As Ton Otto (2015) has noted, this contemporary concept of 'cultural heritage' emphasises the idea of 'ethnic connections … of making connections between people of different traditions'. Because of this emphasis on connection, *Café Niugini* engenders cultural and even national pride precisely by celebrating the local in the form of 'food traditions'.

One of the most striking differences between *Tanah Mama* and *Café Niugini* can be found in their respective depictions of yams. As noted above, in *Tanah Mama* food is represented primarily in relation to survival and never as cuisine. This is the case throughout the film but a memorable example occurs when Halosina is shown making the long walk home after attending village court to discuss the fine her sister-in-law seeks as compensation for the 'stolen' yam. Halosina and her oldest son have a rest from walking so Halosina can breastfeed her baby. When they get up again, Halosina gives the baby boy to her oldest son to carry and he asks 'Mum, can I have some small piece of yam?'. Halosina gives yam to both him and the baby who is now on the older boy's back, at which point the older son laments: 'I don't want his yam getting in my ear'. As with *Tanah Mama*'s overall depiction of the labour involved in producing, carrying and preparing food, this moment is notably unromantic, presenting food as necessary for sustenance, as annoying when it is in one's ear and as something that mothers distribute when they can.

Yams are represented rather differently in *Café Niugini*. During the second half of the episode on Markham Valley, Jennifer goes with her uncle to his garden to see what 'can be learned'. Together they visit the yam garden and Jennifer listens to her uncle talk

about the different types of yams he grows, the variability of their sizes and how they are prepared as 'special meals' for visitors. Discussing 'the dari' yam she says it is 'a special type of yam that is cooked up when we have special guests that come into the village or when there's a family member that comes over … That indicates that we respect them'. In this way, yams serve a symbolic as well as satiating purpose. Later the yams 'are completely peeled, diced and tossed into the claypot', then, once coconut milk is added, 'slowly cooked over the hot coals until the coconut milk is boiling and thick'. The yam dish is laid out alongside local fish and banana flowers and Jennifer says: '[A]s you can see the traditional salt made from the coconut ash has really brought out the colour of the vegetables'. Tasting the yam, she describes its 'tang'. The emphasis on the look, texture and taste of the food is consistent with cooking shows globally and is designed to create desire among the audience (Ketchum, 2005). Similarly when, towards the end of the show, Jennifer again eats yam, she highlights its colour—noting how 'the purple yam contrasts with the yellow marita' (pandanus fruit). Thus, *Café Niugini* not only constructs yams as beautiful, appealing and delicious, it endows these and other everyday foods with the status that arises from the capacity to embody cultural heritage. Unlike *Tanah Mama*—which depicts the politics of food as involving conflict over resources, gender roles and livelihoods—Baing's television series presents a world in which food is not only plentiful and tasty but also meaningful.

Of course West Papuans also have food traditions, but this is not what Asrida Elisabet seeks to explore. Rather, Asrida focuses on the question of how rural women can sustain themselves and their children in the face of the various threats colonisation and modernity present to their lives as subsistence farmers. Baing, concerned that the food, knowledge and cultures associated with subsistence are already undervalued in PNG, seeks to re-present the food associated with these lives *as lifestyle* in order to achieve a reevaluation of the quotidian and local as desirable and thus worth keeping. In essence, to borrow a cooking phrase, while both films and the women who have directed them are concerned with food, they have different things to say about it. Both filmmakers' perspectives, however, are powerfully shaped by their intimate grasp of the politics of food production in their respective contexts and their passion to communicate with local audiences. Given the colonialist and masculinist history of filmmaking in Melanesia, in which the primary audience is construed as international (Spark, 2013), both women's films are welcome and important.

Note

1. All subsequent quotations from Asrida Elisabet are from this interview.

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VIEWS FROM THE FIELD

6. Journalism Plus?

The resurgence of creative documentary

Abstract: Over the past two decades, opportunities for 'creative documentary' on television may have diminished, but other distribution options for innovative and engaged films have opened up. A resurgence of cinematic documentary is attracting substantial numbers of viewers who, bored or disillusioned by television's shift to reality programming, are prepared to pay for theatre tickets, while online subscription services such as Netflix and Amazon now stream and fund high-quality documentary. Increasing numbers of filmmakers are self-distributing their works online. A significant percentage of these films, freed from the constraints of broadcast television, take up political challenges because, as Michael Chanan says, documentary has 'politics in its genes' (2008, p. 16). In fact, as mainstream news and current affairs becomes increasingly tabloid, it could be argued that documentary is assuming the role of investigative journalism or, to use Laura Poitras' description, documentary functions as 'Journalism Plus'. This article, at times drawing on my own film practice, attempts to explore these shifts and developments, locating documentary at a time of institutional transformation.

Keywords: documentary, human rights, journalism, New Zealand, politics, post-documentary

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AS a working documentary filmmaker and an academic, I have had the opportunity to step back and critically analyse my own practice in a detached manner, approaching my own film as I would any other text (Goldson, 2014; 2012; 2002). These occasional writings do contribute, I hope, to debates that are alive and well in documentary and journalism studies. At times, my approach has tended to exceed just an analysis of the text but engages, in an anthropological manner, with production processes. Research and scripting in the pre-production phase are often intense but once production commences, 'reality' in its most immediate guise often speaks back. Opportunities arise or are lost, new subjects emerge or chosen ones refuse to participate. Constant flux can present a documentary filmmaker with the challenge of on-the-hop decision making, of negotiating the power flows that mark the director-subject relations and avoiding the dangers that may have presented themselves to you, the maker, and vitally your sources, subjects and crew.

But it can be useful to think about documentary in the context of external developments that impact on one's practice and on documentary as a whole. Documentary studies scholar Bill Nichols approaches defining the documentary by articulating four different angles that continuously shape documentary (Nichols, 2001). First, there is an institutional framework: 'Documentaries are what the organisations and institutions that produce them make' (2001, p. 26). Circular as this definition may seem, a film becomes labeled as a documentary prior to the work of the viewer or critic. Then there is the community of practitioners, the makers of films who, like the institutions that support them, hold certain assumptions about what they/we do. At times, our views clash with those of the institutions, producing a tension between 'established expectations and individual innovation' that can prove a frequent source of change (2001, p. 25). Third up is the 'corpus of texts', the films themselves, that share certain emphases allowing us to discuss them as members of a genre 'characterised by norms and conventions such as an organising logic, evidentiary editing and a prominent role for speech directed at the viewer' (2001, p. 34): a genre that in turn divides into different movements, periods and modes. And fourth and finally, there is the constituency of viewers, the 'mind of the beholder' that defines a film as a documentary, most fundamentally, as including 'sounds and images that have their origin in the historical world we share' (2001, p. 35).

What Nichols does not reflect upon is how these four angles are themselves each blown about by the prevailing political, economic, technological and social winds. To give just one example, whereas institutions within a social democratic society may emphasise public media and embrace documentary's role as an educational genre, neo-liberal systems will favour high-rating, lower budget Reality TV and popular factual programming. While following Nichols' model in the following pages, I will attempt to reflect on how these deeper currents shape the institutions and individuals involved in documentary culture.

Writing at the new millennia, which saw an explosion of Reality and popular factual genres, John Corner (2000) claimed it was possible we were entering the era of 'post-documentary'. He rightly pointed out that traditional documentary on television had been progressively watered down and abandoned. Michael Renov grieves this diminution less, arguing that broadcast television has always been a conservative influence on the documentary genre (2001). From the beginning of documentary's appearance on television, signs of political dissidence, experimentation or critique were, for the most part, evacuated from its programming. There are some exceptions to this rule: public broadcasters, such as the BBC or CBC, have continued to support innovative documentary strands, engaging and collaborating with opportunities that have arisen in the digital era. But overall, as traditional broadcast television suffers financially, the appetite for any kind of risk-taking, never great at the best of times, is declining.

I want to argue, however, that long-form creative documentary has re-emerged on the cinema screen, and of course, online.[1] Filmmakers are able to take more political and formal risks than television traditionally permitted, breaking from notions of balance

and objectivity. *Roger and Me* (1984) produced and directed by controversial filmmaker Michael Moore and a film both critically and commercially successful, broke new ground. The filmmaker is seen on a journey to find Roger Smith, CEO of GM Motors, to ask him why several auto-plants in Flint, Michigan, had been closed down. The trope (of course Roger was not to be found) allowed audiences to witness how the loss of 30,000 jobs impacted on the town. Although not without controversy about certain timelines and assumptions, no one could deny the film had politics: thus *Roger and Me* established a trend that was to continue. Many of the subsequent documentaries that reached the big screen continue to be engaged politically, their cameras always pointing directly at the social and political spaces where 'the life-world is dominated, shaped and controlled by power and authority' (Chanan, 2008, p. 16). Documentary, Chanan goes on to claim, is always ready to take up political challenges, speaking to the viewer 'as a citizen, as a member of the social collective, as putative participant in the public sphere' (2008, p. 16).

Nichols's four angles, described above, have come together in something of a perfect storm. Technological developments and the move towards digitalisation are reconfiguring the institutions that support documentary with the added bonus of reducing costs for the filmmaker. These newer distribution platforms are tending to release filmmakers from institutional constraints. Audiences, or at least significant numbers of people, are seeking out creative documentaries because they are offering forms of knowledge that are increasingly hard to source within the mainstream media. Investors, such as state agencies and even private equity firms, are noticing that there is a substantial audience for creative documentary and therefore are more often prepared to take risks, recognising that they could potentially make profits, or at least not suffer embarrassing losses as can be the case with dramatic features (which demand greater original investment). Creative documentaries, too, tend to have a long life in the expanded digital environment. And new streaming services, such as Netflix and Amazon, are not only carrying high-quality documentary, but also funding them. Netflix, for example, supported the production of the critically-acclaimed *Virunga* (2014), which explores the conservation work of rangers within the National Park of the Democratic Republic of Congo, who are tasked with protecting mountain gorillas against war, poaching, and the threat of oil exploration. HBO is becoming another player in the documentary field, recently releasing *The Jinx: The Life and Deaths of Robert Durst* (2015), an investigative documentary series that explores the contradictions within both the life of Durst, who comes from a family of affluent New York property developers, and the bizarre and grisly murders he allegedly committed.

These are high-priced international productions, with commercial heft behind them, funded by the considerable box-office returns and subscription costs that wealthier, larger countries can support. As is often the case, practices that emerge from these affluent developed countries can spread rapidly; nonetheless, it is important not to idealise the new distribution environment. The documentary filmmaking path for most of us is

still not an easy one. Funding is still scarce, even scarcer given the decline of broadcast documentary, and although the costs of production may have decreased, other expenses, such as the clearing of archives (a staple for many documentaries) have become increasingly unaffordable. Self-distribution, although 'free', can be a daunting amount of work, as much as making the film itself. But opportunities are arising even in the Asia-Pacific region, which has fewer resources but plenty of stories and issues to explore. For example, the documentary *Under the Dome* (2015), a self-financed documentary on the pollution problem in China reached 150 million people through social media in the three days before it was censored. Joshua Oppenheimer's *The Act of Killing* (2012), a groundbreaking film on the anti-Communist purges of Indonesia between 1965-66, which focuses on the perpetrators of the violence, received multiple awards internationally.[2] In Indonesia itself, where the film was viewed largely through 'piracy' and file-sharing sites, a long-repressed discussion has finally begun.

Given I have been making documentary for some decades now, I am able to reflect on how my work has been impacted by the four angles Nichols mentions; how I have negotiated shifts in institutional preferences, audience appetites, and drawn inspiration from the films and communities that I participate within. I have noted, in my own films, something of a change of direction, a move from producing a trilogy of 'human rights' documentaries, all three narratives of the past, to two more recent works, one completed and one in progress, that engage more directly with journalistic practice and the politics of the day. Why this has occurred exactly is difficult for me to articulate but I have noted this tendency amongst other filmmakers. It seems increasingly that it is independent documentary, rather than mainstream journalism (with its shift towards sensationalism and tepidity), that is holding the powerful to account. Chanan (2007, p. 9) quotes *Guardian* journalist Charlotte Raven who argues that the account of events provided by the news is constrained by 'its own agendas and clichés'. The only group of media workers with the patience and inclination to give us a real idea of what is happening, she argues, are the documentary makers who continue to fulfill an educative and sociopolitical role of speaking about issues that matter.[3]

Three of my better-known titles, *Punitive Damage, An Island Calling* and *Brother Number One* are frequently labeled as 'human rights documentaries' and are seen as constituting a trilogy, albeit one that was unplanned (Smaill, 2014; Wright, 2005; Lawson, 2015). *Punitive Damage* (1999) follows Helen Todd, a Kiwi woman who sued an Indonesian general in a Boston court for 'punitive damages' after her 20-year-old son Kamal Bamadhaj, a young activist, was shot and killed in the Dili massacre in East Timor in 1991. Helen, Kamal and East Timor's stories are interwoven into the narrative of the film. The small nation had been suffering under Indonesian occupation since 1975: an occupation that unraveled in 1999, the very year I released the film.[4] *An Island Calling* (2008) traces the context of the murder of a gay couple in Suva, Fiji. John Scott, the head of the Fiji Red Cross, and his Kiwi partner Greg Scrivener were killed with a machete by a young

Fijian man Apete Kaisau who had, reputedly, been the men's lover. Apete killed them in the name of God in a country that has imported an increasingly fundamentalist brand of Christianity, and is also marked by a history of instability, coups and complex racially charged politics. The third film *Brother Number One* (2011) followed Kiwi rower Rob Hamill to Cambodia where he spoke at the ECCC, the war tribunal set up to try former Khmer Rouge leaders responsible for the deaths of over two million Cambodians in the years 1975-79. Rob's brother Kerry Hamill, a yachtie seized from his boat in 1978, was one of a handful of Westerners tortured and killed by the Khmer Rouge.

All three films follow what Belinda Smaill (2014) has called a Western 'sojourner' who has gotten caught up in events in East Timor, Fiji, and Cambodia respectively. Although these films explored incidents that occurred elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific region, they were shot partially in New Zealand and involved New Zealand characters, thus fulfilling the requirements of the funding agencies and receiving support from the New Zealand Film Commission, New Zealand on Air and the broadcasters. They followed a similar distribution pattern: premiering in the New Zealand International Film Festival, having a short theatrical 'art cinema' run, before showing on broadcast television here. They were also marketed overseas, and showed at a range of festivals prior to their being sold, through distributors, to international broadcasters. Given my background and the content of the films, I have also emphasised educational distribution, in several instances, writing and co-writing study guides that accompanied the films' DVD and online distribution.[5]

By the 1980s, 'human rights' became one of the only political visions remaining. The 'human rights documentary', an umbrella term able to shelter progressive filmmaking practices, superseded an earlier label, the 'committed documentary' explored in the edited collection by Thomas Waugh, *Show Us Life* (1984, 2011).[6] Waugh proposed such a text should involve a 'specific ideological undertaking' – paraphrasing Marx, he argued the committed filmmaker is 'not content only to interpret the world but is also engaged in changing it' (1984, p. 6). But the end of the Cold War stripped away the certainties that had framed international relations, and journalistic and documentary practices, whatever their slant, for over four decades. The revelations of Left totalitarianism, the events of Berlin, the fragmentation that occurred through identity politics, and the rise of global, rather than national, concerns, a growing awareness of climate change and environmental disasters, the AIDs and SARs epidemics, and importantly a series of genocides propelled by ethnic divisions in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, were harder to understand through the prism of superpower conflicts. NGOs, the Red Cross, and UN organisations proliferated, adhering to the politically neutral line demanded of them. The notion of the committed documentary, or Left-wing practice in general, transmuted into differing categories able to be explored under the human rights umbrella: explorations of gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, environmental issues and various ethnic conflicts that had resulted in brutality, torture and war.

Sonia Tascón (2015) traces the rise of human rights film festivals that arose in the 1980s, sites of visual activism that, in using human rights as their organising discourse, inject demands not present in other political modes of spectatorship. One of those, she argues is a 'universalising impulse' that produces a more internationalist perspective. As she elaborates, the claim there is such a thing as a universal humanity is intuitively appealing: 'It enables us to recognise all peoples across the globe as 'human', whether they be racially, geographically or culturally distant' (2015, p. 19). However, the concept, despite its claims to universality, remains located within the Western tradition. The discursive mandate of human rights documentary is an idealised 'looking out' beyond our own borders of belonging. But contingent upon the degree to which a viewer, or filmmaker, is embedded within his or her own pre-existing set of viewing traditions, this manifestation of a 'looking out' may end up being a 'looking in' instead (2015, p. 6).

Do such generalising, humanising themes, fundamentally anchored in the Western concept of human rights, resonate in the countries within which they are made? Asia and the Pacific offer up tremendous stories and opportunities for the human rights documentary but, at times, and I include myself here, I see a band of well-meaning but ambitious filmmakers 'looking out'—combing the region for its stories which are then pitched at international festivals, producing films that 'look in'; films that reach Western audiences, but rarely those residing in the countries depicted. Collaborations occur, at least in credit sequences, and indeed these can be vital, as the filmmaker is often wholly reliant on local assistants for translation and cultural understanding. But the production sector in the Pacific and Asia remains woefully underfunded and offers up few training opportunities. I would like to imagine continuing to work in the human rights arena, but while I wrestle with some of the questions posed above, I find myself drawn to producing more journalistic-based films as evidenced by my last completed film and my current project.

An extensive and valuable report, *Dangerous Documentaries: Reducing Risks when telling Truth to Power* (Center for Media & Social Impact, School of Communication, American University) addresses the increasing risks that many documentary makers face, in particular those who 'produce work that challenges the terms of the status quo, whether through investigative reporting, revealing an underrepresented viewpoint, or signaling an overlooked trend' (CMSI, 2014). The recognition of journalistic practices can have real advantages for the documentary film and, in fact, are increasingly seen as vital, as the risks of doing such work are well-established in the investigative journalism community but not always well known by documentary filmmakers. Prior to providing a framework to minimise risk taking, the researchers behind the study took a step back, which is useful for my purposes here. They began by comparing the motives and ethics of documentarians and journalists, discovering: 'We could not find any difference in their core missions to explore a subject of public interest honestly and compellingly' (CMSI, 2014). The title of the report itself links documentary practice with the journalistic tradition of 'telling truth to power'.

As suggested above, many creative documentaries produced in the last several decades have involved high-stakes investigative journalism. Academy-award winning documentary *The Inside Job* (2010) explored the corruption behind the financial collapse of 2008 in brilliant and incisive detail; *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *Virunga* (2014) have already been cited; while another Academy award winner, *Citizen Four* (2014), documents the journey of whistle-blower Edward Snowden. Laura Poitras, director of the last film, calls her practice 'Journalism Plus', believing herself a visual journalist whose practice is 'fact finding plus storytelling that reveals something more about the human condition'.[7] Alex Gibney, also a well-known and prolific documentary filmmaker, whose most recent title is *Going Clear: Scientology and the Prison of Belief* (2015), calls himself a 'filmmaker with journalist baggage'.[8] Others disagree with the elision of documentary and journalism, emphasising their distinction. IDFA, the influential Amsterdam International Documentary Film Festival states:

> IDFA chooses films that have been painstakingly designed and that express the personal vision of the maker. The documentary-maker is therefore an artist —not a journalist. Where the journalist attempts with his or her reports to present reality as objectively as possible, the artist follows his or her own idea.[9]

It is true that 'objectivity' is the sticking point for most documentarians, even those who claim identification with journalism. On close analysis, as the CMSI report reveals, common characteristics of codes of ethics for journalists appear largely shared by filmmakers. Key points such as public good and accountability, source protection, a commitment to truth telling, rigorous fact checking, transparency of process and a lack of fabrication are seen as unexceptional, or even embraced by most in the documentary community. But the journalistic mainstays of daily newsgathering, 'objectivity' or 'balance' pose problems for the documentary filmmaker. At least in principle, if not in practice, the convention of daily newsgathering emphasises the need to seek out and present all sides of the story, allowing the viewer to make an informed decision. Documentary makers certainly believe in fairness and accuracy, but our work is so often shaped as an essay, revealing a personal perspective, either our own, or that of our characters. Filmmakers often feel that our job is to tell a story from a particular point of view, and to capture the richness of that experience, not to report an issue from different sides.

Another departure from journalist codes and practices is evident in documentary's use of creative techniques. These often draw on arcs that deploy ancient forms of story telling: using reenactment, narrative flow, turning points, and deploying the many strategies available to the filmmaker such as the use of character, narrative, music, computer graphics, and animation. Journalism at best has clarity but often has little nuance and is formally repetitive. Documentary makers have the time and the impulse to go deeper and are released from well-established formal conventions, immediate ratings pressures and competition that underpin news journalism.

Figure 1: *He Toki Huna*: SAS Quick Reaction Force in Kabul post a suicide bombing in February 2010.

My most recently completed film *He Toki Huna: New Zealand in Afghanistan* (2013), exploring New Zealand's military involvement in Afghanistan, falls into the category of 'journalism plus'. While we adhered to most of the journalistic codes cited above, such as rigorous research and a commitment to truth-telling, the film has a point of view, criticising the authorised version of New Zealand's military engagement in Afghanistan. I produced and directed the film with Māori filmmaker Kay Ellmers: her strong track record with Māori Television no doubt making it easier for us to gain a licence fee from the service, which in turn allowed us to apply for New Zealand On Air funding. Through the process of development, I assumed the mainstream broadcasters would fail to bite, as they seemed less and less interested in 'one-off' documentaries, especially those works that might not appeal to their core audience or might be too 'current-affairsy'. The documentary did contain a 'scoop', which caused some government consternation on its release, but we did not see ourselves as operating in the milieu of 'breaking news' or current affairs.[10] Our intent was, in part, to explore the process of newsgathering itself, and the failure of most of our media outlets to inform the New Zealand public about what was our longest-ever military engagement, longer than World War I and II combined.

He Toki Huna travels to Afghanistan with Jon Stephenson, the only New Zealand journalist to independently report on our military involvement there. We use Stephenson's reportage on the ground as a visual journey, intercutting his meetings and discussions with a series of segments on a range of issues: from Afghan history, through a debate around embedded and

non-embedded journalism, to arguments about media representation of the conflict.

He Toki Huna asks three deceptively simple questions: why did we go to Afghanistan; what did we do there, and why did the New Zealand public find out so little about it? Asking these questions is a provocative act as the answers are complex, challenging, and expose the mixed motives of our government and military. But within the film, we canvas the reasons: Some commentators argue that our involvement was to assuage an American government still smarting over our anti-nuclear stand: others suggest that George Bush's claim 'You are with us, or with the terrorists' was too difficult to circumvent; while more believe, with the Trade Towers still smouldering, there was sufficient moral imperative for our engagement. Afghan commentator and journalist Ali Safi gave a further reason, suggesting that given the length of time elapsed since New Zealand was in combat, the military leadership was keen to sharpen up its troops on a real battleground.[11]

The film exposes the gap between what we, in New Zealand, were told our troops were doing—and what they actually did. Our Special Air Service (SAS) in Kabul were merged into the British SAS, ostensibly to train Afghan police forces, but according to Stephenson's reports, which were based on eyewitness accounts, they were often involved in front-line fighting. As most on-the-ground in the urban conflict zone knew, training is inseparable from combat, and the complex tribal politics of Afghanistan make it almost impossible to ascertain whether a threat is real or not. Outside of Stephenson's coverage, which appeared intermittently in the mainstream media outlets, primarily on National Radio, there was a virtual blackout within the New Zealand media: it took news coming to New Zealand via international agencies to remind us that our SAS were at war. Referring to the famous photo of Willie Apiata, Mike McRoberts recalls in interview: 'It was almost embarrassing for the Defence Force and the government—they were talking about mentoring and some foreign journalist had already posted photos on Twitter of the SAS coming out of a building with their guns still smoking'.[12] After a second SAS soldier, Leon Smith, was killed, Defence Minister Wayne Mapp finally acknowledged that the SAS were involved in a 'substantial combat role'.[13]

He Toki Huna also explored the presence of Kiwi troops in Bamiyan, where they operated as a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT). Given that repeated polls have indicated most New Zealanders do not want to engage in actual combat, the government and Defence Force had represented the PRT primarily as a peacekeeping body. In fact, the PRT functioned largely as a patrol force, combing the outer reaches of the province in battle dress, riding in armed military vehicles. McRoberts argues again in the film that our troops, immediately identifiable as foreign forces, may have drawn insurgents into Bamiyan rather than keeping them at bay. This would be a terrible irony, given that with its towering mountains and isolation, the province had been one of the most peaceful since the US invasion of 2001. It took a series of New Zealand deaths again, this time by an IED explosion in the far reaches of the province, many kilometres from Bamiyan township, before the truth of our engagement was acknowledged by the government.

By this time, too, the local people of Bamiyan, still suffering through freezing winters with no electricity, were frustrated at the lack of progress, voicing their frustration to Stephenson who has always taken steps no other New Zealand journalists have—actually asking everyday Afghan people what they thought of New Zealand's involvement in their country and the conflict.

This reflection on the lack of government transparency led to the third question *He Toki Huna* posed: why did the New Zealand public hear so little about our deployment? In a reflexive gesture, the film comments on the failure of our mainstream media to adequately cover the conflict. This is not necessarily the fault of individual journalists, although many were surprisingly accepting of the government's position on our engagement. Their employers, our media institutions and companies, could not afford, or chose not to afford, to send journalists to the theatre of our longest war. One could also question why so few 'home office' journalists, those in the Parliamentary press gallery, or tasked with investigating and explaining our military engagements had done little to interrogate our leadership about the conflict in Afghanistan and the role of our troops. This disinterest continues to be the case today: despite our having troops in Iraq, again in a 'training capacity', we hear little about them and their role in the battle against ISIS. One unchallenged justification for sending our troops to Iraq is that our engagement in Afghanistan was so successful.

Although the film's three 'simple' questions pose political challenges to the government, military and mainstream media, we did include a range of voices: military personnel, journalists, commentators and members of the Afghan community. It was also a film made for domestic consumption as we guessed it would be unlikely to have a strong international festival run, nor sell widely overseas, as most countries have their own 'Afghanistan' stories. As well as airing a broadcast version on Māori Television, we recut the film as a feature, screening it at the New Zealand International Film Festival. Finally, we received a grant from PADET (Peace and Disarmament Educational Trust) to give every secondary school a DVD of the film, which was accompanied by a study guide designed for the History and English/Media curriculum. Our motive for doing so was articulated by Stephenson towards the beginning of the film:

> There really can't be any more important matter of public interest than when a government sends its young men and women to a foreign country to fight, possibly to be killed, and to kill other people: Why are they going? Is it in our national interest? Is the cause just? Is [the war] being fought in a just manner? I think those are questions that New Zealanders definitely need answers to. (Jon Stephenson, *He Toki Huna)*

My current film, *Caught in the Web*, which is being produced by German-born filmmaker Alex Behse, engages in similar 'journalistic territory', although it has a stronger biographical thread and, most likely, greater international reach. The film is structured

around the life and times of Kim Dotcom, a topic that, on the surface at least, would not appear to be highly political. However, the battle between the tech entrepreneur and the American government and entertainment industry, being fought in New Zealand, is one that goes to the heart of ownership, privacy and piracy in the digital age. It is these issues that give the film its currency and engagement. As journalist David Fisher suggests, the Dotcom case involves a global battle: 'Even if Dotcom is not front and centre of our minds, the issues raised by the case could set the way we use the internet for the next 20, 50 or 100 years' (David Fisher in interview with Annie Goldson for *Caught in the Web).* It is too early to elaborate about the ultimate shape of the documentary, but one dilemma facing us, relevant to my discussion here, is our distribution plan: how in fact should filmmakers distribute a film that in large part is about distribution in the digital age?

In the above essay, I have argued that while the presence of documentary on broadcast television has been eclipsed by the explosion of Reality-based programming, creative documentary has reemerged on alternative platforms: in cinemas and online. These works, independent, and at times fiercely so, are relieved from the constraints of television, which is effectively a conservative medium. Although the reduction of television on the broadcast airwaves may lead to a diminishing of the all-important public sphere, key audiences are seeking out creative documentaries, bored or disillusioned by Hollywood, Reality programming and the tabloidisation of news and current affairs. Many of these works can be categorised as investigative journalism, supplanting the increasingly tepid offerings in the mainstream news outlets. Few, however, adhere to the journalistic codes of objectivity and balance; rather, they express strong opinions, either those of the filmmaker or the documentary subjects. Thus, there is some cause for optimism as these works continue to explore the processes of power and authority that control our life-world, 'holding truth to power'.

Notes

1. The term 'creative documentary' is used by IDFA in Amsterdam, the largest international film festival dedicated to documentary.
2. See Alex Edney-Browne's article in this volume for a detailed discussion of *The Act of Killing*.
3. Charlotte Raven, 'Known nothing about Afghanistan?' *The Guardian*, 20 October 2001.
4. See Max Stahl's contribution to this volume. His documentation of the Dili massacre, which I use in *Punitive Damage,* was to change the political direction of East Timor.
5. See op.co.nz for information about the films, study guides and online distribution platform.
6. Waugh's 2011 book reprints his essay from 1984.
7. Poitras was speaking on a panel 'Bringing Truths to Light' at the Sundance Film Festival, 2015. www.cmsimpact.org/blog/media-impact/sundance-2015-documentary-or-journalism
8. Gibney was speaking at the same panel as Poitras, cited above.
9. www.idfa.nl/industry/missionstatement.aspx
10. Without having seen the film, Defence Minister Jonathan Coleman labeled it a slur against the soldiers. www.3news.co.nz/nznews/coleman-slams-doco-as-a-slur-2013080208#axzz3kGnYfHYr
11. Dr Ali Safi, in interview with Kay Ellmers, *He Toki Huna* (2013).

12. SAS soldier Willie Apiata was snapped by photographer Philip Poupin as he emerged from a building after a Taliban attack, which left three insurgents dead.
13. www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10755405

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7. Launching Loading Docs

A reflection on the first year of a documentary innovation experiment from a producer/researcher perspective

Abstract: Loading Docs is a New Zealand documentary initiative that supports the development, production and distribution of three-minute documentary films. Loading Docs is also a development and innovation initiative, building the capabilities of local filmmakers to fund, promote and distribute their work and increase their presence online. More broadly, Loading Docs aims to create a supportive community of filmmakers, increase opportunities for feature documentary development, and cultivate audience awareness of and appetite for New Zealand documentaries. This paper presents an account of the development of Loading Docs from the author's perspective as co-founder, co-executive producer and practice-led researcher. Reflecting on the experience of acting as both researcher and producer in the capacity of an experimental initiative, this article argues that research/practice partnerships create beneficial opportunities for knowledge-transfer and innovation.

Keywords: documentary, innovation, New Zealand, practice-led research, Loading Docs

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MY involvement with Loading Docs as co-executive producer was a direct consequence of my PhD research, *'Innovation and Change in Aotearoa New Zealand's documentary production ecology'* (Jackson, 2014). The initial provocation for this research project was my perception of a comparative lack of innovation in New Zealand's documentary production ecology (compared to other locations, particularly Australia). While striving to be objective in my analysis of the dynamics of New Zealand's documentary production ecology, and keeping an open mind about the value of innovation and the different forms innovation might take as appropriate to a specific environment, I also had a subjective interest in the development of documentary as a researcher, practitioner, audience member and citizen. In the course of my PhD candidature I become increasingly involved in organising events and collaborating on projects. Although I had initial reservations about the blurring of boundaries between research and practice and the positions of objective researcher and subjective participant and advocate, I came to see

practice-based research as a constructive approach to exploring the research problem I had identified (the lack of innovation in New Zealand's documentary production ecology). As a participant in the CCI Winter School at Queensland University of Technology in 2012, I had the opportunity to discuss my increasing level of participation in the New Zealand documentary production ecology and received strong support and encouragement for a practice-led approach to research. I was also challenged to consider initiatives such as Transmedia NZ and Loading Docs as 'innovation experiments' (Potts & Kastelle, 2010).

A true innovation experiment would involve the application of a scientific experimental method to public sector innovation. I would need to create randomised controlled policy experiments to trial different approaches, thereby examining the mechanisms that support improvements in public sector innovation. If my involvement in Loading Docs was an innovation experiment, there was nothing controlled about it. The project was fuelled by instinct, determination, optimism and collaborative sweat. I did, however, learn enough from the experience of working as both producer and researcher to see the benefit of such an approach and aim to apply these learnings in future, integrating research aims and methodologies into project design and planning from the development stage. This article presents an account of the process of establishing an initiative designed to have impact in a media environment where opportunities for documentary makers to experiment and innovate were limited, and audiences had limited exposure to an increasingly narrow range of factual content. I propose that the participation of researchers in such initiatives—with the aim to expand and share knowledge—is highly beneficial to the wider media ecology, and I see great value in future practice-led research projects (ideally in partnership with public funders or industry) that would act as innovation experiments.

Loading Docs: Background and development

I first met with producer Julia Parnell in 2010 to offer feedback on a proposal for an online platform for documentary shorts that she was developing for the NZ On Air Digital Content Partnership Fund. The concept for Loading Docs was an online platform for short form New Zealand documentaries that would give filmmakers an opportunity to make more creative documentaries, expand audiences for local documentary and develop the profiles of filmmakers. The proposal was unsuccessful that year, but after meeting again in 2011 Julia and I began to discuss the project further and decided to continue to develop the project and seek funding.

A key advancement came in 2012 when Julia Parnell discussed the Loading Docs concept with NZFC Short Film Manager Lisa Chatfield. Lisa was enthusiastic about the concept, but Loading Docs did not fit with the criteria for any of the NZFC's existing funds and the online aspect of the project in particular was beyond the Commission's scope. However, with Chatfield's encouragement in April 2012 we submitted a tender to the NZFC to executive produce Loading Docs as a Premiere Shorts Pod.

Premiere Shorts is one of two short film funding schemes that seek to identify and develop filmmaking talent through funds administered by Executive Producer groups (EPs). Filmmakers apply (usually as a team made up of a director, producer and writer) directly to EPs who select teams and develop film projects, overseeing the films throughout the production process. Our proposal was that the Loading Docs Premiere Shorts Pod would constitute the first stage in a three-stage cross-platform strategy. In keeping with NZFC objectives, this proposal offered a more traditional approach to distribution, with an emphasis on film festivals and DVD sales, but explored audience engagement at the funding and selection stages.

At Stage One, Loading Docs would function as a typical Premiere Shorts pod, supporting up and coming New Zealand directors to produce short documentaries. The aim for the Premiere Loading Docs shorts was acceptance into the world's top film festivals in order to gain international recognition and exposure. Stage Two would introduce an open call for proposals for 10 quality New Zealand documentary shorts. Loading Docs Eps would then consult with a high-profile curatorial team to select 20 finalists. The 20 shortlisted proposals would be presented online in a format similar to crowdfunding websites such as PledgeMe or Kickstarter for audiences to vote on the ten films that would be produced. Stage Three would see both the Premier Loading Docs and open call Loading Docs films premiere on television after a period blocked out for festival release. The films would then be available to purchase (download or stream) online or as a DVD release.

Our aim for the Loading Docs Premiere Pod was that it would be 'the start of the renaissance of New Zealand documentary, each phase of the project feeds into the next, creating audience interest, raising the profile of short form New Zealand documentary films, developing talent, and maximising overall investment' (Loading Docs, 2012). We did not have high expectations for the tender, but saw it as an opportunity to formally present Loading Docs to the NZFC and begin discussions regarding further opportunities. As anticipated, the Pod proposal was unsuccessful, but a dialogue with the NZFC had begun. In many ways the Premiere Shorts proposal was instrumental in shaping Loading Docs, as the emphasis on development (as well as production and distribution) became a core aspect of the initiative. The concept of using a platform similar to crowdfunding to allow the public to vote for films evolved in subsequent proposals into actual crowdfunding.

During the period in which we were trying to get funding for Loading Docs, our greatest challenge was that although everyone we pitched the concept to was enthusiastic about the project, it did not fit with existing NZFC, NZ On Air or Creative NZ funding criteria and was not sufficiently commercial to attract an investor. In 2012, NZ On Air launched the new Digital Media Fund, which replaced the Digital Content Partnership Fund, and for the first time Loading Docs fit the requirements of a fund, the Ignite fund, 'a fast turnaround small project fund to support digital initiatives for niche audiences or small scale projects and app development'. The only catch was that the funding for each

project in the Ignite Fund was capped at $45,000 and so we dramatically cut down the scale and budget of the project.

Once again the funding proposal was unsuccessful, largely due to the unrealistically low budget, which had no provision for producer fees, very little staffing costs and a smaller budget allocated to each film. However, the manager of the Digital Media Fund, Brenda Leeuwenberg was otherwise supportive of the project. After further discussions with Lisa Chatfield we approached the head of the NZFC, Graeme Mason, with the proposal that Loading Docs be jointly supported by the NZFC and NZ On Air. This revised proposal placed greater emphasis on the value of the project in providing professional development both to the filmmakers (through the project itself and participation in a development and crowdfunding workshop) as well as for Julia and myself as producers in a largely unexplored field of film funding, production, distribution and marketing. Following further discussion between Leeuwenberg and representatives of the NZFC we were asked to address some questions regarding the Ignite proposal and present a more realistic budget. The aims for Loading Docs as a joint NZFC/NZ On Air initiative were; to create opportunities for New Zealand filmmakers to produce short documentaries that would not otherwise have been made and for audiences to see content they wouldn't otherwise have had the opportunity to see, to boost the local and international profiles of New Zealand documentary filmmakers, foster creativity and innovation and explore new online opportunities for filmmakers.

Discussions continued between all three parties (NZFC, NZ On Air and Loading Docs) well into 2013. During this time we also tried to establish a partnership with an international content syndicator that had established a successful international film initiative through brand-supported production and distribution. Our potential partner would almost certainly guarantee high profile international exposure, but at a cost that more than exceeded our entire project budget and so the partnership did not go ahead.

Finally, in June 2013 the NZFC committed $61,000 to funding Loading Docs through a budget allocation for a Short Film Community Initiative, in addition to a commitment from NZ On Air of $45,000. The funding decision was publicly announced in July 2013.

Outline of project development

Having persisted with attempts to obtain funding for Loading Docs for a period of several years, we were eager to initiate the project as soon as possible once funding had finally been secured. Although the combined support of the NZFC and NZ On Air had made the project more feasible, we still had a very slim operating budget. Consequently, the timeframe for execution and delivery was tight, with a seven week development phase from September to mid-October 2013, a submissions phase from mid-October to mid-December and preparation time in January for a one-month crowdfunding campaign phase in February. Eight weeks were allocated for production from March to April, with May 2014 set as the target for the launch and distribution phase.

Phase One: Development (September—mid-October 2013)

The seven-week development phase of Loading Docs began in September 2013, during which time we created a strategic plan for outreach, public relations and marketing, commissioned a brand and website design, developed sponsorship materials and engaged in industry outreach. This period was particularly important in terms of developing partnerships that would support the two-person production team of Julia Parnell and myself.

Outreach and publicity are essential to Loading Docs' success, as one of the most important aspects of the project is to promote New Zealand documentary filmmakers and to reach and cultivate a wider local and international audience for New Zealand documentary. Having some professional experience in public relations and film outreach was advantageous as I was able to develop a marketing, outreach and PR plan, manage social media accounts and write media releases without the expense of hiring an external consultant. However, we decided to contract Trigger Marketing and Publicity, a small local agency specialising in the entertainment field, to provide additional support such as offering feedback on strategy and media releases and handling the distribution of releases and subsequent media relations. Hiring a team with good working relationships with media and an understanding of the film industry in New Zealand would ensure our publicity efforts had greater impact. Trigger was supportive of the project and willing to work with our limited budget.

Finding a designer to create a visual identity for Loading Docs and create the website that would act as the project's online platform was an important task. We needed a logo for Loading Docs that would be distinctive and recognisable and convey a sense of professionalism, freshness and innovation. For our website we needed a look and feel that suggested a documentary film look and feel as well as a sense of 'New Zealandness'. Visually, we wanted to distinguish Loading Docs from low-budget filmmaker competitions and initiatives aimed at supporting young filmmakers in order to attract the interest of more established filmmakers, so aimed for an aesthetic with a sense of maturity. Relative to our budget, our needs for the site were demanding as we required changes to the site structure and content across the project's various phases and we wanted to provide each filmmaker with their own presence on the site. We spoke to several designers, but ultimately chose James Franklin and his company Assemble, which specialises in creating web-presences for filmmakers that can support self distribution options as well as promotion. As Assemble is a custom Content Management System (CMS) designed for filmmakers, content on the site can be easily updated with limited support from Assemble. Our initial plan was for each filmmaker to be able to manage their own microsite, which would have all of the standard features for a promotional film site such as an EPK, blog, links to social media, promotion for the crowdfunding campaign during that phase and finally, a branded embed of the 3-minute documentary that would integrate with social media and a mailing list. After trialling the self-managed system most filmmakers found

the task of managing web content too difficult and time-consuming and so the microsites were simplified, standardised and administered by Loading Docs following the crowd-funding phase of the project.

One of the long-term aims for Loading Docs is to achieve sustainability as an on-going initiative with little or no dependence on public funding. A primary commercial sponsorship would be one of the most desirable ways to secure financial support for the project, but such agreements usually take a long time to secure and require demonstrable business value to the sponsor, and so our energies in the first phase of Loading Docs were focused on getting the initiative off the ground. Partnerships on a smaller scale are also vital to ensuring the feasibility of the project, such as arrangements with equipment suppliers and post production facilities to provide filmmakers with assistance. These commercial arrangements also contribute to the creation of a production community in which filmmakers are able to develop and strengthen mutually beneficial relationships with industry service providers: an essential part of the economy of film production. Toybox and Sale St Studios agreed to provide post-production services (grading and sound mixing) at discounted rates and embraced the project with dedicated enthusiasm.

Media partnerships are also essential, particularly in the online environment where a media partner with significant reach can deliver content to a wide audience. Securing a relationship with *The New Zealand Herald* online during the development stage provided Loading Docs with a potential audience of approximately 835,000 readers a day ('NZ Herald readership on the rise,' 2013).

Outreach to local filmmakers, industry organisations and other community stake-holders was also a key focus of the development period, as support for and awareness of these projects within these groups would be crucial to ensure that Loading Docs attracted submissions from filmmakers of good calibre and that the aims of the project were aligned with filmmakers' interests. A documentary work-in-progress event for DOC2DOC, facilitated by The Screen Directors Guild (SDGNZ) in late September 2013, provided an opportunity to present Loading Docs to a community of filmmakers for the first time and the project was very well received. Wanting to ensure that our community outreach efforts were not limited to Auckland, we sought an opportunity to present to filmmakers in Wellington and Women in Film and Television (WIFT) NZ provided us with a short slot at an NZFC-hosted lunchtime event in October 2013, where again the response to Loading Docs was overwhelmingly positive.

Phase Two: Submissions (Mid-October—December 2013)

A call for proposals was issued on 21 October 2013 and promoted through industry networks and the circulation of a media release. At the same time, the Loading Docs website (www.loadingdocs.net) was made public and social media accounts on Twitter and Facebook were activated. A Loading Docs branded channel featuring curated three minute documentary content was launched on Vimeo (where the films would ultimately

be hosted) to provide inspiration for filmmakers and to demonstrate the possibilities of the three minute format for online documentary. A promotional video was released a week later to support the call for proposals, which significantly boosted the number of shares the call for proposals received via social media. The video was also a means of demonstrating that we, as producers, were willing to personally front an outreach campaign in the same way that Loading Docs filmmakers would during their crowdfunding campaigns. By the deadline for submissions on November 25, 67 proposals had been received. Given that Loading Docs was an entirely new initiative with no similar precedent and the requirements for filmmakers were very specific—such as the expectation to participate in a two-day workshop in January 2014, commitment to a one-month crowdfunding campaign and delivery by mid-April, a small production budget and a set theme—the response was a gratifying indication of the level of interest from filmmakers in the aims of Loading Docs as a project. Filmmakers were required to submit a production plan, synopsis, treatment and identify potential audiences and communities of interest. Many of the submissions received were highly detailed and thorough, and from filmmakers with significant experience. In selecting the ten films, we looked for concepts that showed creativity and originality that could also convey a story or central message in a three-minute format. While each film needed to stand alone, we also considered how the films would complement each other as a group, looking also for diversity in style, theme and representation.

Having submitted many project proposals myself during the period of my PhD research, and having given much thought to funding policies and selection criteria, the opportunity to be on the other side of the selection process provided me with great insight into the challenging role of funders or commissioners. Julia Parnell and myself made an initial shortlist of fifteen films, which was then presented to our advisory team (Amie Mills, James Franklin, David White and Karl Sheridan) and to representatives from NZ On Air and the NZFC. With a short period for development and production many good submissions were rejected because our tight deadline for the delivery. Projects that were heavily reliant on access to people or places that had not yet been fully secured at the time of submission or had a narrative heavily contingent on events that could not be controlled or, most commonly, where the film treatment needed further development or detail, were generally excluded.

As much of the future survival of Loading Docs depended on the success of the initial round of projects, we also gave a good deal of consideration to the experience of each film's production team, and for this reason some very interesting proposals from young filmmakers were rejected as we lacked the resources to provide them with sufficient support as producers. However, a few less experienced filmmakers were selected, given additional support from Julia Parnell and filmmaker David White, and paired with seasoned DOPs and editors. The final ten films selected represent a range of subjects that all, in some way, related to the theme of home. The theme provided a unified focus for the

films but was sufficiently broad for filmmakers to interpret the theme in unique ways. We aimed to select films that together comprise a diverse range of styles and subject matter. The completed films can be viewed here: http://loadingdocs.net/2014films/

Phase Three: Pre-production and crowdfunding (January—February 2014)

A two-day workshop for Loading Docs filmmakers was held in mid-January 2014 during which filmmakers honed their crowdfunding pitches and campaign strategies, spent time with Loading Docs producers and advisors, worked on production plans and treatments, and contributed to outreach and distribution planning. In February, the filmmakers were introduced to their Loading Docs microsites.

PledgeMe was chosen as the platform for the crowdfunding campaign. We chose PledgeMe because it was a New Zealand business with an established presence in New Zealand and a team that was willing and able to provide our filmmakers with direct support. PledgeMe founder Anna Guenther attended the workshop herself and gave the filmmakers advice on how to run a successful campaign and offered feedback on their crowdfunding pitches. PledgeMe's ongoing support throughout the filmmakers' campaigns was invaluable.

Crowdfunding campaigns launched on PledgeMe on February 1, 2014, and ran until March 4 (a thirty day campaign period). Each film team was tasked with raising $2,000 through crowdfunding, which would then be matched with $2,500 from Loading Docs, in addition to a post-production package. Although the crowdfunding campaign allowed the modest operational budget for Loading Docs to stretch further, the main driver for requiring filmmakers to crowdfund was that it provided filmmakers with excellent training in marketing and outreach. The crowdfunding campaigns generated publicity for each film but also for the initiative as a whole ahead of our launch. It created a community of supporters who were literally 'invested' in the project. The campaigns were all successful, with many films exceeded their target, helped by promotion on the *New Zealand Herald* website. The crowdfunding campaigns for Loading Docs 2014 can be seen at www.pledgeme.co.nz/collabs/14.

Phase Four: Production (March—May 2014)

While some filmmakers had begun production during the crowdfunding phase in February, March and April were earmarked for production, with delivery to Toybox and Sales Street expected in early May. In addition to supporting filmmakers during production and giving feedback on first cuts, we were busy during this period preparing for the launch of the films in May. This meant finding a venue, organising a launch event, liaising with our media partners, organising publicity for the launch and preparing outreach plans and materials.

Phase Five: Launch and distribution

Loading Docs 2014 launched with a premiere screening at the Academy Cinemas in

Auckland. The launch was attended by the filmmakers, media, our supporters and a small number of paying guests. The event was covered by our media partner *The New Zealand Herald*, and all films were subsequently available to view and share on the Loading Docs website and *The NZ Herald* website. Radio New Zealand's website *The Wireless* also featured all the films (accompanied by interviews with the filmmakers). The films were made available to share and embed via Vimeo, and audiences were encouraged to do so.

Part of the funding received from the NZFC was allocated to the provision of a workshop with an international guest to support Loading Docs filmmakers' development. Coinciding with the launch, we hosted a workshop with Vimeo curator (and *Short of the Week* founder) Jason Sondhi, who ran a masterclass on online distribution and promotion.

The films were widely covered in the media, receiving exposure in a range of publications, on radio stations such as Radio NZ, Newstalk ZB, Radio Live and Kiwi FM. Films screened on current affairs television series *20/20, 3 News, Seven Sharp* and *Te Kaea* and on the Rialto Channel. Two films (*The Jump* and *Living Like Kings)* were selected as Vimeo Staff Picks and featured on high profile short film website *Short of the Week*, which helped to boost international views for the films. This exposure, in addition to our outreach efforts, meant that a number of prominent international sites embedded the films. The films have enjoyed a long-tail of distribution, going on to screen in festivals in New Zealand and around the world, and on Air New Zealand's inflight entertainment. They have also continued to circulate widely online.

Not everything went smoothly during the launch of the first round of Loading Docs. Despite our cautious approach to vetting submissions, one of the films initially selected for the initiative—a film about a recently re-discovered native bird thought to have been extinct—withdrew prior to crowdfunding due to access issues. Its replacement—a film about serial cat-killings in the seaside town of Raglan—was completed, but withdrawn within days of its release due to threat of legal action.[1] Crowdfunding was a successful element of the initiative overall, but the need to create and deliver rewards added time and, in some cases, a financial cost to the process. Failure to deliver on the rewards could also impact on the reputation/perception of the initiative as a whole, so added an element of risk. Resources were stretched to the limit during the first year of Loading Docs. I supplemented my income with teaching work, and Notable Pictures (Julia Parnell's production company) provided much needed additional staffing resources during the crowdfunding and production phases of the project.

On the whole, however, the first year of the initiative was a remarkable success, reaching audiences across multiple platforms locally and internationally to critical acclaim. NZ On Air and NZFC provided further funding for another round of ten films, which launched in July 2015 online (via Vimeo) and on national broadcaster TVNZ's OnDemand service. Five of the ten films then premiered at the prestigious New Zealand International Film Festival. As with 2014's films, publicity and circulation has continued

long after the initial launch, and awareness of the initiative is widening, both locally and internationally.

Conclusion

While Loading Docs has been a fulfilling realisation of many ideas that gestated during the period of this research project, all of the creative projects I have been involved with during this time have contributed greatly to my understanding of innovation as a process and as a value that drives creative effort. My involvement with Transmedia NZ has also enhanced my appreciation of the important role of community and networking in a creative ecology. Through my interactions with producers, funders, supporters and observers—with participants of all kinds—I have observed the many small but meaningful ways that systems and practices are responsive to, and productive of, change and innovation. A chance meeting, a single conversation, an introduction, can spark action that develops into something new: the birth of a creative relationship, a shift in thinking, an expansion of knowledge. This perspective on the social dynamics of the production ecology of documentary reflects Kerrigan and McIntyre's observation that the documentary filmmaker's practice is shaped by the structures, products, processes and contexts of production and distribution, and that their actions 'take place in social and cultural environments that have profound effects on the work itself' (Kerrigan & McIntyre, 2010, p. 126).

I have found much value in McIntyre and Kerrigan's work on practice-led research drawing on Csikszentmilahy's systems model of creativity (Kerrigan, 2013; McIntyre, 2001; Kerrigan & McIntyre, 2010). It offers a critical approach to the examination of creative practice within a systems model that is akin to ecology, which examines internal and external creative forces. Jon Dovey has similarly argued that producer/researchers should embrace 'creative risk, experiment and networked collaboration', thereby contributing to media knowledge in significant and meaningful ways (Dovey, 2008, p. 255).

My role and aims as a researcher motivated me to be involved in projects that explored new forms of documentary innovation in the context of New Zealand's documentary production ecology and facilitated a degree of creative risk-taking and experimentation that I may not have pursued otherwise. In this sense I see great value in the role of participant researcher/practitioner in the generation, support, and critical reflection of creative practice. My experience of collaborating with documentary makers and other creative practitioners, working through development and funding processes and embarking on the production of a publicly funded project has greatly enriched my understanding of the dynamics of the documentary production ecology. I hope to build on this experience in future by taking an 'innovation experiment' approach to future research/production partnerships. As Loading Docs continues to develop and grow, I also hope to revisit this project as a researcher to examine the value of the initiative's contribution to New Zealand's documentary (and wider media) ecology.

Note

1. Loading Docs issued the following statement and released a video apology recorded by the filmmakers, but the complainants demanded that the film be removed from circulation. We simply did not have the resources to fight should the case go to court.

> We have made the decision to remove Catkiller from circulation after it came to light that the film may be perceived as depicting a location in Raglan as the residence of the alleged Catkiller. Sequences of the film shot on location were intended as a staged dramatic reenactment, and no association with the residents of the street was intended. To avoid any further embarrassment or distress to the residents of the street concerned we have withdrawn the film and wish to issue the following retraction/apology:
>
> 'The documentary Catkiller depicts Earles Place Raglan as being connected with a serial Catkiller who resides in Raglan. We wish to clarify that Earles Place has no such connection and in no way are we suggesting that the alleged catkiller resides in Earles Place. We have been in communication with the police, who confirm that the people of possible interest live in a different location. We express our sincere apologies for any embarrassment and distress that may have been caused to the residents of Earles Place.' (Loading Docs, 2014)

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8. Cap Bocage

Tracing the militant voice of environmental protest in New Caledonia

Abstract: This article is an attempt to document some of the filmmaking processes and highlight some of the specific factors that determined the final form of the film *Cap Bocage*. I see this as an opportunity to outline more personal reflections on process. This article will firstly give context to some of the filmmaking challenges by discussing the idea of the voice of a documentary (Nichols, 2010, p. 256) as it relates to subject matter. Here I will emphasise the idea of a personal approach to story that sometimes runs adjacent to the traditional techniques one may find in more expositional work or in a purely journalistic rendering of the narrative. This article also explores two other works that concern themselves with militant struggle in New Caledonia. One is the feature length drama *Rebellion* (Kassowitz, 2011) and the other a documentary: *Tjibaou le pardon* (Dagneau, 2006). While the approach to the history of militancy in the films is different, both works are good examples of the challenges filmmakers face while tracing stories involving conflict or societal trauma.

Keywords: conflict, documentary, environment, mining, New Caledonia, New Zealand, protest, trauma

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Introduction

IN 2014, I produced *Cap Bocage*, a documentary focusing on Florent Eurisouké and his battle to clean up a landslide, from 2008, at a mine near his home tribe of Ba/Kaora. The tribe of Ba/Kaora is in the Houailou area on the east coast of New Caledonia's main island. The landslide occurred after substandard mining practice caused a hillside to collapse, and 20,000 tonnes of nickel and cobalt enriched ore were spilt onto tribal fishing grounds on the reef below. The fear among locals was that marine life would be poisoned and fishing grounds would not recover.

The protracted clean-up process focused attention not only on the stewardship of the mine but also on wider questions that surrounded the legitimacy of mining exploitation in the Houailou area. The conflict was also specifically local. An environmental association, Mèè Rhaari, was formed to challenge the local mining company who held the mining license. La Société des Mines de Cap Bocage have been exploiting the mine

Figure 1. Florent Eurisouké in a still from Jim Marbrook's 2014 documentary *Cap Bocage*.

since the early 1970s and are owned by the Ballande group, a business set up by one of the first white settler families to set down roots in the territory. Despite the specific local nature of the conflict, protests and opposition to the company can be linked to wider dissatisfactions within Kanak communities across the territory.

While the timeline of the clean-up, the protests, and the court cases that followed the landslide, form the backbone of the story, my own interest was in Florent himself. In 2008 he was a young activist (in his thirties) in the process of negotiating his way through a complex and ever-evolving landscape of protest and confrontation (Figure 1).

From the first day of the shoot, it was obvious that Florent was a controversial figure. He is militant, charismatic (sometimes divisive) but is also a man who appeared to have a natural confidence and ease in public forums and debates. Our initial footage documented a meeting and dispute on barricades that had been set up to block the mine. From the outset it seemed the strongest thread to the story would be Florent's journey through the complex *va et vient* of protests and negotiations. In essence, I hoped, the film would give me the opportunity to track the political and personal trajectory of a young militant. The challenges in telling such a story not only involved acquiring a cultural and historical framework of the area but also involved invoking a specific filmmaking approach that cohered with the presentation of Florent's personal story. Here, finding the balance between elements that were necessary for the exposition of the action, and then matching these with a more intimate focus on an individual, would become the biggest filmmaking challenge.

This article is an attempt to document some of the filmmaking processes and highlight some of the specific factors that determined the final form of the film. I see this as an opportunity to outline more personal reflections on process. This article will firstly give context to some of the filmmaking challenges by discussing the idea of the voice of a documentary (Nichols, 2010, p. 256) as it relates to subject matter. Here I will emphasise the idea of a personal approach to story that sometimes runs adjacent to the traditional techniques one may find in more expositional work or in a purely journalistic rendering of the narrative.

Secondly, I want to consider two other works that concern themselves with militant struggle in New Caledonia. One is the feature length drama *Rebellion* (Kassowitz, 2011) and the other a documentary: *Tjibaou le pardon* (Dagneau, 2006). While the approach to the history of militancy in the films is different, both works are good examples of the challenges filmmakers face while tracing stories involving conflict or societal trauma.

Further to this, I will discuss two scenes from the film that speak to the idea of documentary voice, and highlight some of the filmmaking choices that shaped the scenes themselves. Here, I will integrate some of Michel Naepels's (2013) recent academic work as it relates to the cultural context and social background of the Houailou area. Situating the ideas that surface in *Cap Bocage* alongside this research will not only give some context to the impact of colonisation as it relates to cultural structure, but also to

the wider search for legitimacy environmental protest groups must secure if they are to successfully challenge corporate structures (Horowitz, 2008).

Finally, I want to reflect on the current situation in the territory and include some thoughts on the recent negotiations between the tribe at Ba/Kaora and Ballande. Florent's position remains firmly against any mining development and, in the eyes of many, he is perceived as inflexible. But understanding his position can also help us locate the increasingly subtle neoliberal strategies mining companies use as they capture and co-opt support (Horowitz, 2014) and reframe future activities that may have uncertain and unresolvable environmental consequences.

Establishing 'the voice' of *Cap Bocage*

Documentary theorist Bill Nichols maintains that one of the key differences between fiction and documentary concerns the rhetorical position the filmmaker takes with regards to the subject of the film. While he identifies a series of documentary storytelling modes to better identify techniques and approaches that highlight the filmmaker's position as storyteller, he sees the idea of the documentary maker's 'voice' as being the key to understanding documentary process and point of view. He identifies voice as 'something narrower than style: that which conveys to us a sense of the text's social point of view, of how it is speaking to us and how it is organising the materials presented to us' (Nichols, 2010, p. 259).

In relating these ideas to my own practice, one of my major concerns is providing the structure whereby the positions of the main participants are conveyed in a manner that is the most direct and unmediated. My feature-length documentary work has purposefully excluded any omniscient narration. In *Dark Horse* (2003) this involved focusing on one central character, a Māori speed chess maestro, and his experiences and ideas drove the story. In *Mental Notes* (2012), the structure of the film coalesced around the stories of ex-mental health patients and a thematic progression of ideas served to guide the story rather than any reliance on a commentary track. Again, the concern was to frame personal stories in the most direct manner and to allow an audience to come as close as possible to the documentary subjects with minimum intervention by the filmmaker.

In a way, these ideas and approaches were the 'baggage' I carried into the production of *Cap Bocage*. But as I began examining the media landscape in New Caledonia, it became obvious that ideas of documentary were bound up in reportage-style of television documentary, which has its roots in mainstream current affairs pieces transmitted on French television. The idea of continuing this more direct and unmediated approach to the filmmaking process also seemed the best way of providing New Caledonian audiences with a different way of interpreting issues. My initial trip to the territory in 2007 was as the Pacific Media Centre's Journalist-in-Residence. The idea of the trip was to encounter and interview some of the radical voices from the eighties. This period of New Caledonian history was a time of protest and near-civil war, and is now simply referred

to as *les événements*. Some of these interviews were filmed but the most interesting were informal 'off the record' conversations.

Many of the radical voices from *les événements* now had political careers, and their current concerns mostly involved maintaining a coherent and effective political force that could realistically challenge parties not supporting moves for an independent Kanaky. The radical positioning of the eighties seemed to have been subsumed by a pragmatic realpolitik. The future independence of the territory will be decided in 2018 with a referendum (or a series of referenda), and the political landscape seems to dictate that only a level-headed approach to the idea of an independent Kanaky will convince an increasingly evolving electorate of its viability. New Caledonia also receives substantial monetary transfers from metropolitan France. A loss of this financial security would mean the future wealth of the country is even more inextricably linked to revenue from nickel and cobalt mining. This complicates the relationship between politics and mining.

When I returned to the territory in 2008 to film protests against Vale NC's huge mining development at Goro (at this stage owned by Inco and called Goro Nickel), the protest group, Rhèèbu Nùu, was headed by Raphael Mapou, an ex-politician. Their fight was an on-the-ground campaign of direct action that was paralleled by a legal battle against the mining company. This legal battle was guided by a French lawyer who specialised in indigenous rights. The complicated nature of this industrial project has been previously discussed in *Pacific Journalism Review* (Gooch, 2015) and the legitimacy of the protest movement, its place within the local clan and tribal structure, has been comprehensively analysed by Leah Horowitz (2008). My initial interviews with Mapou and later interviews with Jerome Bouquet-Elkaim (Rhèèbu Nùu's lawyer) in France revealed a sophisticated campaign that was slowly beginning to target overseas shareholders. It was publicity savvy and self-aware.

In April 2008, I filmed a rally on Ile Ouen: the centre of protests that began ramping up in response to the work that had started on a huge outfall pipe from an in-construction nickel processing plant. The pipe would dump diluted effluent into the lagoon. The fact that the pipeline was an obvious and tangible incursion into a zone that would become a Unesco World Heritage site had not only incensed Kanak tribes but had also affected New Caledonians of European heritage. My interviews with Kanaks during these island protests revealed a massive groundswell of discontent about the mining development and its consequences. Future acid spills and a broken effluent pipe would eventually validate these fears.

I began collaborating with French filmmaker Clarisse Feletin on a longer work that would cover this story. The structure of such a piece would require a filmmaking approach that needed to be able to explain nickel processing techniques, the history of the protest, contain a clear analysis of the local and off-shore politics of the mine and also reference the cultural and social dynamics of the situation. It was an approach that needed a more journalistic style to process and contextualise information. The two leaders of Rhèèbu Nùu,

Raphael Mapou and Andre Vama, had taken public political roles in the fight against the mining company and their more public roles in the conflict also indicated that a personal approach to the story would be more problematic to film.

During the mounting protests in the south, I went to north to Houaliou and shot the first stages of the Cap Bocage protests. While Goro was grabbing headlines, there were elements to the story at Houailou that were more compelling to me as a filmmaker. Unlike the situation in the south, where protests began moving into lawyers' offices, the events in Houailou were evolving in real time. This offered opportunities to employ a greater variety of filmmaking options, including searching for ways to meld interviews within the observational treatment of actuality. Again, the intention was to move away from current affairs-style coverage.

Finding the 'voice' of the documentary also involved other considerations. Tracing the form of recent documentaries in New Caledonia, as mentioned, means untangling a mode of address that seeks to unpackage facts, events and ideas, and is dominated by the reportage-style approach. But the treatment of the radical voice in the New Caledonian film can also be illustrated by two interesting recent works which look at similar issues. One film was centred on the 1988 crisis on the island of Ouvéa when gendarmes were held hostage by Kanak radicals. Subsequently, the hostage-takers were killed by military forces. It is claimed that many of the Kanaks were killed after they had surrendered. The second film was based on the contemporary trauma associated with FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou's assassination, on the island itself, one year after the Ouvéa murders.

Rebellion and *Tjibaou Le Pardon*

The Ouvéa crisis was the key element that prefigured the Matignon Accords, the agreement that brought the FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Jacques Lafleur to the bargaining table with Prime Minister Michel Rocard. The agreement that was forged sought consent and dialogue and tracked a pathway to autonomy. Tjibaou's subsequent assassination by Ouvéan FLNKS leader Djubelly Wéa has been interpreted as a reaction to both Matignon and to the reluctance of FLNKS leadership to follow through on the initial hostage situation with similar militant actions around the territory. The circumstances surrounding Ouvéa and the aftermath of the massacre express some of the societal schisms that an armed struggle can provoke but also the way that trauma must be dealt with, both by specific communities and also, collectively, as a nation.

Mathieu Kassowitz's drama *Rebellion* (2011) explores the Ouvéa massacre and the political intrigue that surrounded the case. Another film, the documentary *Tjibaou le pardon* (Dagneau, 2006), covers the aftermath and the attempts by Wéa's clan to redirect the shame and stigma of the event by a customary healing process involving the Tjibaou clan. The documentary, an RFO/ADCK (the cultural organisation with strong links to the Tjibaou legacy) production, is a Kanak-based view of the crisis guided by a Kanak narrator. Kassowitz's film focuses on Philippe Legorjus, the man who headed the elite

GIGN team, which was charged with negotiating an end to the stand-off and bringing out the police hostages. Kassowitz's version of the story is almost exclusively seen through the eyes of Legorjus, and the story zig zags between tension-filled moments on Ouvéa and scenes that portray a calculated military campaign that framed a political stand-off simultaneously playing out in France. This was the public sparring match between François Mitterrand and Jacques Chirac during the fight for the Presidency.

Reviewing the startling archival footage from the debates leading up to the final round of the election (France 2, 2008) allows one to understand the political tension underpinning the events in the film. Chirac, in hawkish mood, marginalises and minimises the role of the FLNKS in any political future of the territory. In this debate, he closes off any possibility of negotiation with them by branding Tjibaou as a 'terrorist' and negating any political support he may have by citing, as proof, the results of the last election, one which the FLNKS and its supporters boycotted. Mitterrand, by contrast, stresses the importance of dialogue and presents himself in the role of arbiter. The eventual Socialist victory paved the way for the tense negotiations at Matignon (pers. interview: Rocard, 2009) and the final agreement that led to the Noumea Accords ten years later.

In retelling the Ouvéa story, Kassowitz positions himself firmly against the Caldoche (white settler) version of the narrative and this, among other things, led the film to be boycotted by all cinemas in the territory. *Le Figaro* roundly criticised it and led their story with the headline 'The lies of Mathieu Kassowitz' [my translation] (Deransart, 2011).

The ten-year preproduction history of the film is an indicator of some of the difficulties that Kassowitz must have faced. The most overt of these was the customary decision not to grant access for Kassowitz's team to film in Ouvéa (French Polynesia eventually became the substitute location). While it is difficult to delineate all the reasons for this refusal, one can reflect on the complex nature of the customary decision-making process that must have led to it. Firstly, a wide range of voices on the island needed to be consulted. These were not only the specific tribes and clans directly involved in the hostage-taking but other tribes (each with their own specific clan structure) who were not directly involved in the event. Refusal of consent does not necessarily indicate unwillingness for the project to be made, but I believe it is a reflection of the fact that this decision-making process is complex and must go through customary channels as it involves wider Ouvéan society.

Kassowitz's proposition to film on the island, in essence, was a request to import a dramatisation of a past societal trauma back into Ouvéan society. In a wider sense it also sought to involve Ouvéans in the reintroduction, in a very public fashion, of ideas of conflict and (as the English film title references) rebellion.

As both Kanak and Caldoche factions are now involved in the end game, which will lead to the referendum for independence in 2018, the sensitivities of this process risk being enflamed by a work that revises and refocuses acts of militancy and one that also links these acts to French political decisions. *Le Figaro's* criticism involves not only the character assassination of the GIGN agent the book was based on (2011) but it negates

any historical analysis of issues that are furnished by *les zoreilles* (literally: 'the ears'—the recent arrivals from France). Kassowitz is firmly placed among those who have pressed le '*bouton canaque*' and who have succumbed and been seduced with:

> ...Melanesian culture that attaches itself to the young, freshly-arrived little Frenchman from metropolitan France…impressed by these native languages where the verb 'to have' is non-existent, these tribes where one is possessed collectively by the bounteous earth, and where the respect of the customary leaders is sacred and determines a collective life where original communism can flourish. [My translation] (Denserat, 2011)

Such is the tenor of *Le Figaro's* piece. It consigns Kassowitz to the role of a misguided outsider who can never understand the reality of life on '*le Caillou'* (New Caledonia, literally, *the rock*) as he, like many others, is 'fresh off the boat'. The review also, in asserting its own verity, comprehensively excludes any possibility that a traditional Kanak conception of society or culture can be relevant, its roots lying in a communistic system of values from which progress will never be made.

What we can see in this critique can be related to a wider societal attitude across a range of Caldoche voices. The revisionism (or reversionism) that was so offensive for Caldoches in Kassowitz's film was twofold. Firstly, it re-exposed New Caledonia's recent history to scrutiny and thus requestioned the motives and actions surrounding events that were essentially military assassinations (and, by extension, the validity of the Caldoche position vis à vis independence). Secondly, though, it focused on a part of history that forced an audience to reconsider militant reactions to oppression and colonialism. We see this fear clearly played out in the article as the author dismembers Kanak support for the FLNKS by minimising the popular support for independence.

There are other aspects to the film that complicate its relationship with the recent view of Kanak history. Using Legorjus's book as the source for his script, and casting himself in the lead role as Legorjus, allowed Kassowitz to produce an effective first person account of the crisis. It also assisted the narrative of the film switch from the site of the crisis to military bases where the political elements of the story could be further entwined with the hostage drama. However, it did relegate Kanak voices to more secondary roles. And while Kassowitz's film widens the story it can distance viewers from a purely Kanak first-person account of the conflict. The militant voice is, in an alternative way, mediated by a Eurocentric view of the conflict.

Tjibaou le pardon (Dagneau, 2006) seeks other goals in its attempt to tell the story of the aftermath of Jean-Marie Tjibaou's assassination. Essentially a Kanak-centred view of the present day stigma of the killing, which has its roots in Djubelly Wéa's individual response to the Ouvéa crisis, it situates itself in a territory where appeasement and apology are the dominant themes. These concepts are linked to Kanak customary ceremonies that then facilitate dialogue and reconciliation. Wéa's confrontational/paramilitary act is subsumed

into a larger story that develops the story of the Wéa clan's reintegration into society. This involves a customary appeasement ceremony— 'le pardon'—which most of the Tjibaou clan accept. Its goals are clearly an attempt to reintegrate historical infractions into a cohesive and united view of the past, one that locates itself within the policies and ideals Jean-Marie Tjibaou negotiated and promoted during his political career.

It ends with a moving interview with Wéa's widow as she declares, tearfully, that Tjibaou's wife is 'now like a sister to me' (Dagneau, 2006). The strong feeling of unity which the film attempts to develop is supported by the voiceover commentary track through a narrator with a specifically Kanak accent. It is clear that Dagneau's intentions are to contextualise the events of the past within a specifically Kanak point of view. Underpinning much of the film is also the idea that mediation and dialogue are the best tools available to process a lived and collective trauma. In emphasising the importance of a customary approach to these issues the inference is that this is the only coherent way of proceeding. These ideas are echoed in most customary ceremonies (*la coutume*) around the territory, where exchanges of money and cloth cement dialogue and emphasise key values of respect and humility. Seen through this lens, the documentary is a reversioning and revisioning of history that includes the possibility of forgiveness and future unity. In this revisioning the radical voices of the past are bound to a clear idea of reconciliation.

Radical responses to environmental crisis in *Cap Bocage*

My own goals were much more modest when I began shooting *Cap Bocage*. My hope was that the film could provide a vehicle that would encourage dialogue in smaller Pacific communities who were examining their relationship with companies involved in extractive industries. I also hoped that the film would help audiences understand some of the benefits and dangers of occupying the firm environmental high ground if it ran at odds with the neoliberal agendas of mining companies. The recent history of indigenous environmental groups being captured and co-opted (Horowitz, 2014) by mining companies and impact and benefit agreements (IBAs) was also reason to present a more militant view of the debate. When the voices of protest are captured and co-opted, what is most often obscured is a clear truth: mining can never be a sustainable industry.

I would like to develop these ideas further by looking at two scenes from the film. Both scenes illustrate different aspects of militant opposition to the mine at *Cap Bocage* and both scenes also speak to some of the themes that I have developed above. The first involves a customary ceremony on top of the Cap Bocage mine. Echoing similar protests in the south at Goro, a group of people from Ba/Kaora and neighbouring tribes drive up to an area close to the landslide. They stage a small ceremony, placing a sacred totem pole as a warning to other Kanaks working on the mine. Once the totem pole is planted a clan leader begins a ceremony of apology to the ancestors for the damage done to the land by mining and neglect. This is followed by another small ceremony where a length of cloth is attached to a small pine tree.

On this journey up onto the mine we also encounter a digger (suspiciously burnt out) and follow the reactions of a variety of people from the tribe as they investigate the dramatic moonscape the mountaintop has become. Interviews edited into the beginning of the scene give the ceremony context. From my perspective, as director and editor, the film illustrates one of the key aspects I have had to consider when making documentary film: the balance between information and action.

The meaning of the ceremony is set up by interviews with clan leaders and others and these are intercut with images of the mine visit. They give context to a Kanak conception of ancestors (who manifest themselves in rocks and stones) and they situate the ceremony as not only one of appeasement but also one that can threaten: 'a curse will fall down onto anyone who tries to remove the totem,' one man tells us. But the background to this ceremony is complex. About a third of the clan leaders from Ba were in attendance, hardly a majority. The burnt out digger also clearly referenced a violent aspect to the protests.

A journalistic treatment of the scene would probably place the ceremony within a tighter rhetorical structure, one that concerned itself with the progression of facts and the investigation (Nichols, 2010). An academic work would better isolate the ceremony, tracking its lineage and the development of the dominant clans in the tribe. But both approaches, I believe, would also insulate us from both the beauty and the pathos of the scene itself, something that audiences have commented favourably upon during screenings. A journalist or current affairs television producer would also (most likely) have a tighter deadline or transmission date and, perhaps, a limited time to place the ceremony within the wider framework of the Cap Bocage protests. I had the luxury of a freer timeline and this was one of the first sequences I edited and brought back to New Caledonia to show people from the tribe and the wider area of Houailou. This helped give a variety of contexts to the footage. It allowed me to clearly identify the balance of the gathering with regards to clan leaders and also gave me specific information on some of the legends and spiritual importance of the site where the totem pole was planted.

Of equal importance was the fact that I could interpret acts of vandalism such as the burnt digger. This is played out quite ambiguously in this scene but later in the film we see Florent stressing to the gendarmes who come to his house that he was elsewhere. In fact, I was with him (and most of Mèè Rhaari) in the south on the weekend the digger was set alight. Several independent sources also provided insights.

The petroglyphs that we see on rocks on the fringes of the mine are part of the cultural heritage of the site. This is one of the avenues of research I also followed and it involved understanding the Northern Province's identification and isolation of sites of cultural importance. The tree that is draped with fabric in the second ceremony also has a unique role in the Cap Bocage environment: it is endemic only to the specific 11km peninsula on which the mine sits.

These matters of context are also tied to one crucial issue: how much do we need to explain and to what extent do the images, in isolation, allow audiences to read the

scene? Understanding and balancing this intersection has been a key point in most of my previous work, but it was specifically important in this case where considerations of tribal legitimacy, culture, commercial interest, spirituality and colonialism were the main background elements of the story.

My final choice for the edit of this scene related to the 'voice' of the work that I was attempting to sustain during the film. As the shooting and editing evolved, it became clear these choices had to relate to Florent—the main subject. He is the protagonist and his actions catalysed the events of the story itself. The 'voice' of the film had to connect to his evolution as a character as the conflict unrolled.

However, there is another complication to understanding how events, actions and people are presented, and this relates directly to ideas of audience. The sum set of cultural understandings a New Zealand audience requires to interpret a scene such as this is vastly different from that of an audience in Houailou or Canala. The initial idea (and my preference) was to run the scene in the most direct manner possible, preferably as one continual observational sequence, dispensing with the cuts back to the clan leaders explaining the ceremony. We quickly realised that New Zealand audiences required context to understand the Kanak relationship between the present and the past, between current members of the tribe and their ancestors. Thus the beginning of this sequence needed edited interview segments that explained actions and gave the non-Kanak viewer context. This was a typical consideration that had to be faced in many of the scenes that we edited. Again, it was the balance between information and action.

The final scene I want to discuss concerns itself with an idea that many people talked about during my visits to the territory: the '*non dit'*, or the unsaid and unstated. The idea of the things that remain unvoiced, either to those outside one's clan/tribe or outside Kanak society itself, came up many times during my visits to the territory. The particular scene I want to refer to is a filmed conversation between Florent and two friends. The scene plays out after I ask Florent to explain the *'non dit'* to me, and comment on the idea of New Caledonia being referred to as the *'le pays du non dit'* (the country where things remain *'unspoken'*).

Florent expounds on this as it relates to his own freedom of speech. He explains he is free to say what he likes. 'Why?' he asks us. 'Because Ballande has total freedom here.' But this scene from the documentary is also undercut with other comments. Florent and his two friends, self-described 'bad boys of the tribe', also go further in explaining the idea of free speech. They tell the camera that there are limits to freedom of speech. '*La parole'*, the agreements and alliances that have been set down as the area has grown, cannot be reworked *('debougé'*). And their ideas on respect and humility also reference a wider problem that disenfranchised young Kanaks face. Everything must happen 'with respect' they tell us. But then they recontexualise this as well. 'Even if you're an old prick ("vieux con") we'll still respect you.'

While humour constantly undercuts ideas of freedom of speech and the constraints of going against *les paroles* (and even on my role as a 'stranger' who should 'go back to New Zealand after the job is finished'), this scene is not only an example of a style of filmmaking that runs parallel to a traditional investigative/journalistic model but also an example of the way militant voices are shaped and constrained within New Caledonian society.

It is also a scene that references the break down in relations between the tribe and the environmental association Mèè Rhaari. Gilbert Assawa, the chief of the tribe, highlights these tensions when he says: 'they started to take over the running of the tribe… nobody really knew.' The inference is that the militant actions of the association risked overturning the structure and stability of the tribe itself. It was my decision not to include sections in the documentary that would historically trace dominant clans and identify their roles in discussions with Ballande. A publication by historian Michel Naepels (2013) meticulously tracks the tribal structures of the area and unpicks the malevolent influence of colonialism on the administration of the area after its first contact with the French state (and missionaries).

Naepel's thesis asserts that the present-day structure of clans and tribes has been largely manipulated by French colonial authorities. This was done to such a degree that the less hierarchical traditional structure (many clans working together under the guidance of a more regional Grand Chef) was drastically subverted. The policing and administration of areas was devolved by French authorities to include specific and appointed tribal leaders (sub chiefs or *petits chefs*). Following this thesis he traces the clan conflicts that exist today and links them clearly to the drastic reworking of traditional structures of governance that balanced alliances and inter-clan relationships in pre-European times.

Naepel's ideas became the framework with which I interpreted this scene and other scenes. To trace the militant voice, the voices of opposition to the structures that were set up by the French administration, required analysis of Florent's place in the community. To disentangle this would require an expository framework, in turn steering the story away from what I saw as the key idea: voicing the *'non-dit'* through a central character. The consequences of Florent's challenge to authorities (both the structure of the tribe and the legitimacy of the mining company's mining permit) are directly played out in the final scenes of the film. In this sense the consequences of Florent's challenge are tangible.

As a filmmaker concerned with creating a personal portrait, this scene also serves to give specific weight to personal conversations. In this way, the timeline of the crisis, the clean-up and the judicial zigzags serve a purpose beyond framing a David and Goliath battle. In fact, we tried very hard to subvert the giant-fighting mythological story structure. In veering towards the personal, and relegating the importance of an omniscient view of the conflict, the film's intention is to engage audiences in another, more subtle, conflict concerned with human and cultural dynamics. Stella Bruzzi talks about the intersection of many of these varieties of truth in documentary when she states that a 'documentary

is itself the crucial point at which the factual event, the difficulties of representation and the act of watching a documentary, are resolved' (Bruzzi, p. 9). In the case of *Cap Bocage,* this act of 'resolution' is still being explored and will be surveyed in further research after the film begins its 'run' in New Caledonia in October 2015. It is here where I will discover if some of the decisions to give weight to the personal, rather than a wider view of the conflict, connect an audience more closely to the validity of the militant voice and the undercurrents belonging to unstated assumptions and the *'non dit'*.

Neo-liberal strategies and the future of nickel

I wish to conclude with some comments on current negotiations between mining companies and Kanak communities. At the time of writing (August, 2015), the territory has been paralysed for the last 20 days by a strike led by the truck drivers' union. Their demands centre around challenging a policy restricting some of the exports of nickel ore to countries like China. Their demands go directly against a careful policy developed by industry and government that seeks to control the way nickel is processed and exported ('La Nouvelle-Calédonie paralysée', 2015). The strikes and roadblocks signal two ideas that I have discussed. The first concerns the tendencies towards militant reactions, which I have mentioned in relation to environmental protest. The strike, in many ways, is an indicator of the volatility of relationships between miners, workers and the government.

The second is anchored to an idea that both Caldoche loyalists and FLNKS leaders see as a cornerstone of the territory's development: the continued and accelerated exploitation of nickel as the stimulus to building either a new Kanaky (for the FLNKS) or a modernised New Caledonia under a French umbrella (in the case of loyalists). There are levels of complication to this strike. One of the main issues centres on the territory's plan to control the market for unprocessed nickel ore. Smaller mining companies (such as Ballande) have been forced to search for markets in China, going against the wider strategy set down for the territory. Thus assuming a militant anti-mining position isolates environmental protest from a complicated mosaic of voices at both union level and across a wide range of varied nickel mining interests. All of these voices are lobbying, in their own way, for the acceleration of nickel exploitation and production. In my opinion, this makes the articulation of the anti-mining point of view even more important.

The question remaining for many who live in the territory is: can the future of the territory be economically viable without mining? Last year I walked through the extensive planting surrounding Do Neva High School. There the emphasis is on training young people how to farm sustainably and how to develop markets for targeted crops, such as organic coffee and food crops. The director of the school specialises in teaching organic farming and the idea of permaculture. He discussed the pull of the mines for young people and catalogued the markets he has developed for crops like organic coffee: markets where supply considerably outstrips demand. According to his calculations, the careful

tending of crops on a family plot for four hours a day will generate more income for the worker than a day on the mine. This is one version of a future for Kanaky and it is one that is often ignored by those pushing mining agendas.

La Rapport Cyclop 2015, a resumé of natural resources and global markets written by academics in France, also comments on the long-term prospects of nickel as a pathway to development. In an interview, Professor Philippe Chalmin, co-author of the study, is scathing about this. He compares New Caledonia's dependence on nickel to a doped cyclist on the Tour de France. When his performance-enhancing drug is no longer available the cyclist stays hooked *('accroc')*. 'It's not a source of economic development,' he says 'but rather it anchors the country's producers in a state of dependence' [my translation] (Jeannin, 2015).

The other key factor in discussing the relationships between mining companies and indigenous peoples is the complex dialogue that begins between all parties once an application is underway for a mining permit. At the time of writing, Ballande has received permission from the tribe to mine other areas of the Cap Bocage peninsula. Almost all of the tribe have agreed to this and most say that their relationship with the miner (and the management of the mine) has improved dramatically since the landslide in 2008. In further research work I hope to cover some of these issues, but the process of seeking and receiving approval to mine is also evolving. Research developed by Horowitz (2014) examines the way power structures shift once indigenous peoples begin to engage with the IBAs mining companies are now obliged to present to them. She sees this as part of a new neoliberal way of engaging with populations, one that can co-opt, capture and delegitimise voices of protest.

My portrait of Florent is intricately founded in my own personal approach to storytelling and to the 'voice' of the film that I am attempting to maintain. But this is also a film addressing an aspect of protest that can be easily sidelined in the rush for economic development and independence. The film was made with the modest hope that it could further dialogue and articulate a current of radical thought and discussion. The militant environmental ideas that Florent expresses are vital to include, and to consider, as Kanaky weighs up its future and reconciles itself with the events of its past.

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9. How skilful communication won the real story

A Timor-Leste theatre of intimidation, retrospective and 'Anti-News'

Abstract: This is an extract from a keynote address by film maker and journalist Max Stahl, director of the Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl Timor-Leste (CAMSTL), at the 20th anniversary conference of *Pacific Journalism Review* in November 2014. Stahl screened the first part of an 'experimental' film, *The Reconciliation*—a kind of 'anti-news'—and spoke about his methodology and stylistic approach in achieving something mainstream news, almost by definition, cannot. It tells the deeper story, or the many possible stories according to those actually involved inside the story, of a week in Timor Leste in 1999 prior to its independence from Indonesia. It is challenging. There are no resumés available. It is outside the privileged world of news.

Keywords: conflict reporting, current affairs, documentary, independence, political journalism, self-determination, story-telling, Timor Leste

MAX STAHL is an independent film maker and photojournalist who has covered conflict from Africa to Asia. His work was recognised by UNESCO in 2012 as a World Heritage. The images he filmed of the Dili massacre in 1991, which documented Indonesian soldiers shooting more than 250 unarmed students, was to institute political change in that nation. This change culminated in 1999, when the Timorese voted overwhelming for independence from their Indonesian occupiers, a stance which was, again, to provoke brutality and violence. Stahl was there again. His work is recognised internationally as pivotal, not only in documenting the trauma and the heroism of Timor-Leste's search for liberation but in engendering political change.

Timor-Leste is perhaps the first nation in history to have achieved its independence through the power of audiovisual images reaching out to the international community. These images of bravery and peaceful commitment inspired people around the world to share in an international intervention to foster a new nation. This was a struggle won by ideas and the story of how a tiny, almost forgotten, nation vastly weaker than its occupier came to inspirit and then involve the world in winning its freedom, breaking new ground in the fields of human rights and international order.

Max Stahl now lives in Timor-Leste with his family, and is the international director of CAMSTL (Max Stahl Active Archive and Cultural Resource Centre) which works to

Figure 1: Max Stahl speaking at the *Pacific Journalism Review* 20th anniversary conference in Auckland in November 2014.

assist the newly independent nation in rediscovering its past and heritage; to unite and secure the identity of the country and its people; to contribute to the forging of a new democratic nation; and to explore and celebrate the living culture of Timor-Leste as an integral part of its life and development.

CAMSTL: tekeemedia.com/camstl/

The Reconciliation and 'anti-news'

Max Stahl: When you make a film you have to choose a scenario within which a work will take shape. Usually, you conduct research which then allows you to tell audiences what happened following a pre-conceived scenario. But that often doesn't actually explain what happened for the people who were part of the scene being filmed—the film is not a faithful record of what happened. That's one reason why people from inside a situation are often silent, bemused even, by later accounts of what occurred. It is not that they are inaccurate, but such accounts rarely conform to the subjects' experience... And this is a tricky issue, but our approach to the film is an attempt—just an attempt—to bridge this

gap. 'Newsmen the world over seek and celebrate "The Story"'. Hour by hour The Story may change, but always The News demands clarity and coherence. This is thought by editors to be an overriding virtue, even a precondition of 'The Truth', and necessary to merit the attention of the public. But this coherence fosters a big lie. For those involved in conflict, those whose choices we are trying to understand, such coherence is often artificial nonsense.

The Film: The Reconciliation Part 1 is the first of a four-part experimental project—four hour films, made by selection of long takes with minimal editing, no extraneous sound and no verbal commentary. Its core premise is to stay faithful to the moment, to the uncertainty which is the essence of the experience of conflict, and to the multiple implicit outcomes which those inside a conflict must as a matter of urgency understand and react to, moment by moment. There is no extraneous or priveliged information, no explanation. This approach I call 'Anti-News' because it documents the people at the centre of multiple co-existing stories, matters of life and death, competing without any definitive thread or conclusion. When, in the end in late September 1999, suddenly the international forces arrive in Timor-Leste—an outcome defined at the last minute by decisions a world away—one of these versions is reflexively posited to be The Story of what happened, and this narrative marginalises and soon excludes the others.

Traces of uncertainty remain of course, even in the 'official' memory of the conflict in Timor-Leste. Today, Timor annually celebrates its original declaration of independence on 28 November 1975, the Restoration of Independence on 20 May 2002 when the UN formally handed over power to a Timorese administration, the referendum on 30 August 1999 when the nation voted overwhelmingly for independence despite systematic intimidation, and 4 September 1999 when the people's desire for independence was recognised internationaly and the result was anounced, despite mounting violence orchestrated by Indonesia. Each of these dates have their constituency and their story. For me and many others the key moment which gave birth to independence was none of these dates.

This approach I call 'Anti-News', which shows everybody's version of events of 1999 competing without any clear thread or conclusion, except in the end suddenly the Indonesian forces actually arrive. For me that was the key day, the moment when independence seemed likely.

In the CAMSTL audiovisual archive, we document many different aspects of the birth of the nation Timor-Leste through many stories: we have 4000 hours of material at present. We don't know entirely what the story will be; we don't do what one would normally do. We try to understand what the themes of significance are—they are not necessarily all political; they could be cultural, they could be sporting, all sorts; any themes that seem to have important aspects of the on-going story of Timor-Leste embedded in them.

When you get an opportunity, when there is a moment, when there is an audience, then you make a film from this archive of a history. You make it for the local people when there is an anniversary or when an issue arises. Or for foreigners who may come.

The process of trying to document the birth of a nation is the ongoing task we have set ourselves in the archive. We draw on materials we have, but also go forward from these, looking to see what the key issues are, what is developing. There can be surprises, but you try to understand or try to keep material that is relevant and important. You may end up with a news story, or an adaptation of a local occasion—it becomes an edit for this, or a selection for that.

Very local people don't really want you to have selected material throughout your edit. To be quite frank, they want to look at as much of the old unedited material as possible. We always try to involve others in making films that are relevant to them. Local people work at the centre and often they go to the mountains and the communities, showing them material and capturing more that then allows us to further develop these stories. It's a constant process and outsiders also are engaged in this. We work with many filmmakers from all over the world: New Zealand, Canada, United States, Europe, France, England, and Portugal and most often, we are creatively involved. We ourselves also look back: this is part of a process which involves the founding memory of Timor-Leste.

It's a sad irony that the very countries that most need a story, a real story not an invented story, a founding story, are the very countries that don't have one, they don't have access to one. They're split and fragmented by different founding stories or different versions, even of one. This is not a trivial matter as was made graphically evident to me during the crisis which exploded in Timor-Leste in 2006. Dili was in flames, there were 150,000 refugees again in a matter of days and it was a conflict it seemed over nothing: over a lack of respect allegedly shown by some officers (from the East) to others in the army (mainly from the West of the country). I remember filming some young men with iron bars and Molotov cocktails who were launching a burning car into the government palace where I worked. I asked one of them—just 17 years old—why? His answer—in the midst of smashing in windows—was instructive: it was a history lesson. The Indonesians, he said, did not invade Timor-Leste through the East, (which does not border on Indonesia), they came through the West.

The issue was one of pride, or dignity, defined by memory. By a founding story. Suffering is divisive. It fragments, humiliates and stultifies communities. But their shared experience can also be defining. Told in a founding story, it can be a powerful means of resurrection. But this is a perilous process dealing with raw sensibilities, explosive truths and half-truths. In 2006 Timor-Leste was thown back into the maelstrom because there was not enough trust shared in a common story.

It was a disaster—hundreds of thousands of people fled and the tensions lasted for years. During this process, some of the key leaders in Timor-Leste's epic struggle were very aware that we at CAMSTL had an important part to play. Our building was taken over by the head of the army police operation, which was sent to look for the militia in the hills.

The commander said to me, 'Look, I want you to go and show films to the people in

these communities, particularly the communities that were involved in this crisis' because they share a story, and that shared story is a foundation of stability, the foundation of an identity. And without an identity you don't have a democracy, you don't have a shared community, you don't have a nation. So, we are a part of that process. We are aware that there is a dimension you could call myth-making. But we do not invent myths. We certainly don't believe in inventions, in falsehoods. We are as rigorous as we can possibly be within our resources, more rigorous than journalists can generally afford to be, because we have more time and much more information. But every powerful story has its mythical dimension; indeed, most fiction films need a mythical dimension that enhances the details of a story before they get funded or succeed. We are active in working with different communities—I'm working with the Brazilians right now, for example—or Australia, New Zealand etc., but our stories have reached a scale where Hollywood is now involved. I just came from Timor and I was approached there by a producer who has raised financing to make a fiction film based upon a documentary, Alias Ruby Blade, which we made with some American filmmakers. The documentary traced the story of Kirsty Sword, the Australian political activist who married Xanana Gusmao—she was with us in the first film that I made in Timor while the country was still under Indonesia occupation.[1]

Audience speaker: *There's one thing that I think you've left out of this narrative, Max, and that is your own role. I recall that terrible time just after the referendum in 1999 when Dili was in flames, and APEC was happening in Auckland. There was one and one only journalist, Western journalist, still left in East Timor, and that was you. You did have a way of communicating with the outside world: I recall hearing you in an interview on Radio New Zealand with Kim Hill. You were in the mountains talking in a low voice so as not to be heard by the Indonesian military, presumably. It felt so authentic—the roosters were crowing in the background, it was really spine-chilling stuff. I know obviously you can't say that about yourself, but you undertook an amazing role that deserves credit here.*

Max Stahl: Well, thank you. The most important thing here is the story itself and the shared role that I played in it is a privilege. But it's a role which was important as part of the nation-building process and that's all I was interested in saying here. Recently I had cancer in 2012, and I was in the UK being treated, and then President, José Ramos Horta, went on TV—I didn't know about this, of course, it was in Timor—he went on TV and said, 'This is Max Stahl, this is what's happening and please pray'. And the result was extraordinary, I don't know if it was just an intervention, but they had made a kind of a totem out of me. I became a way for people to remember and to share the story, as I was part of the story, as Horta said.

But there are many ways in which the government is trying to create the story of a

nation, to put Nelson on his column, in the consciousness of the people. I wore this t-shirt today, which is one of a number that were made in Timor. People who are veterans of the Dili massacre of Santa Cruz wear them especially on November 12 every year, when thousands of people walk the road that leads to the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre. Even in the middle of the crisis of 2006, warring factions of young people who had been fighting each other, came together on that anniversary talking about how they shared the sacrifice of that day.

When I was filming the crisis—there are some images that were fairly hairy—I was in the middle of people firing rocks and even bullets at each other. But both sides were keen to see me, so I wore this hat or a hat like it, it's like a brand. Both of them thought that they were were the ones pursuing the tradition of the struggle for independence, nobody was against it, everybody was for it, but they didn't agree how to continue this struggle. However, I was able to enter their situation, filming people being shot, people throwing rocks. So the earlier story that I was involved with had the potential to bring people together even in the midst of that division, that terrible crisis which threatened civil war at a certain point.

Audience speaker: *What do you think of the way the story's being told through that very expensive national museum?*

Max Stahl: The National Museum, of course, is a part of the National Resistance Museum, and indeed we have been asked by the government to work with them, and they are actually building us a building behind it now as part of the bigger complex. There are various issues to sort out, but I think the museum is beautiful. At a certain level it's going to appeal to people and convey and communicate something important.

The museum will provide one way that memory can be valued and celebrated. My addition is that it shouldn't be the main, or only way to do so. It could provide a base that we should try to open up to reach as many people as possible; not just wait for them to come to the museum, because of course the vast majority of Timor-Leste will never go to the museum. They feel intimidated by such a place even if they could go there.

By engaging in a debate, in a process of communicating with different communities, perception and understanding changes all the time. We have many other concerns and interests apart from the struggle, but memory is of course a key and a core issue for us. We continue to work as people looking for the remains of the dead, which are scattered all over Timor. There are ceremonies, both traditional and Catholic, which surround that process of reclamation. They are part of a memory which is symbolic, like a museum.

How many people actually go to museums? Probably a tiny number in any country. But I bet you the vast majority of them would be very offended if they didn't have a museum. They want there to be a museum, a museum is part of showing that we have a history, that we have a story. Even if you never go there in your entire life, you definitely

want it there. So it's important that it exists and it should look good: it becomes a monument in itself. That process works. I talk at the museum a fair bit and work there, but most of what we do is not there but in the communities or on the editing table.

We work with the French a lot, because their National Archive, which has supported us from 2005, proposed us for registration by UNESCO in a non-physical main programme called A Memory of the World. So we are a kind of the Ayres Rock, if you like, of East Timor. A non-physical one. I don't know if many people are going to look at the 450 hours of footage we have in the French National Archive even if they could. But the fact that it's there is important not just to Timor, it's also important to people around the world. The contribution that people made in New Zealand and Australia, around the world, is part of that story. It is one of the reasons why they registered it, because the story that they were registering was something on the cusp of change, changing the relationship between news and the public.

Timor-Leste is the first country to construct its national story through audio-visual means. A small number of people that I met in the mountains manage to make their voice heard by building museums, kilometres from the nearest road. There is a museum right now, built in the mountains in 1991 for the communities there who rarely watch TV—at least not that sort of TV.

The circle of silence that was surrounding them begins to break—and what was that circle? Silence had stopped them in communicating with people like yourselves, allies outside their country who shared their values. Through producing a shared statement and demonstrating their values, small groups of people around the globe were able to create a movement which was eventually able to overturn the diplomatic 'strategic interest' based alliances which had consigned East Timor to the disposable bin. And by humanising that bin, over a process of time with a cooperation of people, engaged people all over the place, the story changed. And when the story changed, the reality of politics and the cynical declarations of people (like the Australian ambassador) who talked about the suffering of East Timor being a sad reality, was exposed as not only immoral but also lacking in the basic values which most Australians wish to claim. Also not a good move professionally because he lost power!

And that, to me, is the story that is unique about Timor. It is much bigger than the country itself. It shows an ability for a group of people in an extreme situation to communicate through their humanity to people around the world and, through that, to transform the struggle. Timor didn't just keep on struggling until the end. It won by communication, by extremely skilful use of their story.

Note

1. Kirsty Sword Gusmão is an Australian-Timor-Leste activist who served as the First Lady of East Timor from 2002 until 2007. She is married to Xanana Gusmão, a resistance leader against the Indonesians, ex-Prime Minister and former President of Timor Leste. She worked with Peter

Gordon and Max Stahl on the 2012 documentary *Bloodshot: The Dreams and Nightmares of East Timor* (www.bloodshot-documentary-east-timor.com).

The video version of this address, 'Without an identity, you don't have democracy', can be viewed on the Pacific Media Centre channel at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lxo0svoQdHg

Pacific Journalism Review *editors thank Hayley Becht, a Bachelor of Communication Studies final year Television and Screen Production student at Auckland University of Technology, for transcribing this address.*

INTERVIEW

10. *Noho Rewa*
The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai'i

Abstract: The colonisation of the Hawai'ian people is a story shared with Māori and other Polynesian peoples. It is a story of shame, desecration, loss of land and loss of life. The commonality of the historical Pacific experience, however, can too easily mask the variety of outcomes of the decolonisation process, and for Māori and Pakeha New Zealanders, the present-day lived experience of the Hawai'ian people can come as a shock to those who have never ventured beyond the hotels of Waikiki. In this interview with filmmaker and Auckland University of Technology lecturer Christina Milligan, indigenous Hawai'ian filmmaker and activist Anne Keala Kelly discusses her 2010 documentary *Noho Rewa: The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai'i.* For Kelly, the making of the film was not only a lonely and tough five years, It was also an emotional struggle to document the pain suffered on a daily basis by those of her community who evidence the ongoing struggle of a people who remain tenants in their own land.

CHRISTINA MILLIGAN: You've been described as an activist and a journalist by some people and also as a spiritual ruckus maker. How do you see yourself?

Anne Keala Kelly: I am a filmmaker and I am a journalist and if I'm going to be reporting or filming on Hawai'ian issues in a non fiction way, I have to bring the two together.

CM: When you are thinking about your subjects, what's your driving inspiration?

AKK: Survival. Hoping that I can find a way to tell these stories or to show the conditions of Native Hawai'ians who are struggling to survive in their homeland. That's something that most of the world is really unaware of because of the very American portrayal of Hawai'i that simply is not our reality. So that's always behind what I'm doing—figuring out if I can use whatever skills I have to help Hawai'ians survive.

CM: To take you back a little bit: you got a Master of Fine Arts and Directing at UCLA. What was your thinking in going and taking that particular degree?

AKK: I thought I was going to work for Disney. I thought I was going to be doing just fiction. That's really my first love. I have grown to love documentary but my goal had been to do fiction work so getting the MFA in part was just to hone that, the skills for doing that kind of filmmaking.

CM: And where did that start to change?

AKK: It changed with me right at the end. I had actually made a thesis film which was a romantic comedy and that's my favorite genre. You know you just change in your life. I thought I'd be able to make Hawai'ian romantic comedies or Hawai'ian comedies (but) my focus shifted and I felt that it was irrelevant to try to do the kind of films that I really want to do. It felt self-indulgent and I want to be relevant. If the work I'm doing isn't relevant to the people I'm making the films about, then I am not sure why I would be doing it.

CM: I'm interested to know what it was like as an indigenous woman studying film direction in California.

AKK: I think to this day I might actually be the only Native Hawai'ian who's been through that programme. It was a really strange place to be. Mostly it's a white community and the people of colour who were in the programme were African American, some Latinos, some Asian. I was the only Native, in terms of identifying as an indigenous person. But I'm bi-racial. I'm Irish and Hawai'ian and I think I code as Haole (non-indigenous Hawai'ian) in that environment, so it was a really awkward place to be. It was like being in a culture shock.

CM: So was it harder, being an indigenous person, or being a woman?

AKK: Both. I know this has happened to a lot of women who have been through film schools. I wasn't the only person who encountered quite a lot of resistance to just being a woman filmmaker. And I graduated in 1998, so it's still a struggle I think for a lot of females who go to graduate programmes.

CM: Moving on to talk about your documentary now - am I correct that this is the first documentary you've made?

AKK: I've done shorts. I've done a lot of guerilla kind of journalism and guerilla documentary work in Hawai'i. Always it was for political activism. This is the first feature-length [work]. And I waited. It took a while after I finished film school, because you know when you come out of film school, you think, I'm going to go make a movie now. I mean everybody thinks that, and it just didn't go that way for me. I found that, if I really was going to do Hawai'ian filmmaking I was going to have to wait and it took a few years before I came to understand what would be the best subject to focus on.

CM: On the film you were the director and the producer as well as being responsible for some cinematography yourself. I wonder if at any stage you found it too big a load to carry by yourself, producing and directing particularly.

AKK: It was excruciating and I wouldn't recommend it except it is something that if you have to do it, then you have to do it. So I had to shoot it, I had to edit it, I had to direct it, I did everything for it, and that was the only way to make that particular film when I look back on it. I don't figure I could have done it another way. I couldn't have done it with a large crew, with a large camera and a crew, because it just was such an intimate place to be.

CM: Can we talk about the camera and the size of the crew? Can you just talk us through the actual filming process?

AKK: I shot it on a PD170 which nobody shoots on anymore, because right after I started shooting, a couple of years later, everything was HD. But I stayed with that format and it was small enough to fit in a back pack. I had a very small tripod, and it was all shot very guerilla-style. That was the only way to do it.

CM: And the rest of the crew consisted of?

AKK: Nobody. There was no rest of a crew. I was lucky actually I had a good friend, Ben Manuel, and he would come and carry my tripod. And that was my crew. You know the thing about making a film, an independent documentary about something as complex as the Hawai'ian sovereignty movement, is that you have to keep showing up over and over again. So there wouldn't have been another way for me to make an intimate, raw portrayal of what really is taking place there because you can't do that with a crew. You can't get ten people to come over and over again. I just had to go when there was resistance, when there was protest. I had to get in the car and go, and that's not something you get other people to do for free.

CM: So how long was the process in terms of shooting?

AKK: I shot that film off and on for over five years, and I was editing almost from the second year. I shot hundreds of hours, though I don't want to give the impression that I was just shooting wild. These were the same issues I was documenting over and over again, a lot of the same people. But the thing about documentary film is, you still have to direct it and people don't realise that. If their performance wasn't good when they were saying something, that didn't work for me when I went to edit, so I'd have to go back the next time. I knew that there was going to be a meeting for instance, and I would know who to film. By the third or fourth time, you know who might say something rich and then I could position myself so that I could shoot it like it was a three camera shoot basically. You still need the shots to cut, you still need the performances. You don't just need them to be saying something compelling, and that's the thing directing a documentary. You have to get the performances and it's much more challenging I think than in fiction.

CM: Did you have a clear sense of the shape of the film (from the start)?

AKK: It's almost an experimental documentary the way it turned out. I had two demilitarisation activists, and the goal was to document their work. I ended up having to go out on my own after the first two years because I had begun the project with two people who weren't going to be able to take a narrative beyond a certain point. So I struck out on my own after that and developed a film without protagonists, but compelling story material.

CM: The protagonist after all is the actual story itself, isn't it?

AKK: Well that's what we end up with but I think it's a really tough sell in any film situation. You know people have to be really interested in the subject or at least they have to be drawn into the compelling nature of the scenes in the film.

CM: So if I you understand correctly, the drive in terms of making a decision about what to shoot was the political content? I'm thinking in terms of how you made a decision or balance between emotional content and informational content?

AKK: Well luckily it's all such emotional … hot issues, right? Militarism, environmental destruction. I mean it's heartbreaking as a Hawai'ian person, to have to film desecration for instance. Culturally, spiritually, that's a very difficult place to be and it would often depress me. I found I went through several depressions when I was making this film because it was so painful. Typically people are very emotional when they're talking about these things, so I was able to find the emotion with the subject. I didn't have to draw it out of anybody except in the interviews.

CM: Where you able to get all the footage you wanted in the end? How would you know when you had enough?

AKK: I knew because I was doing so much editing. The struggle was to make sure I had scenes, right? Pacing is everything, and even though it's not scripted, it still has to feel and move like a scripted film. So I would work on scenes, I'd be editing and editing and editing and I would know when the scene was done. The subject is never done, and I had to, over the course of several years, come to accept that. This film isn't going to save or stop anything because these issues are ongoing, and for as long as this is going on, this film will have some kind of use. But as a filmmaker I think I kept looking for an ending that isn't. That was a really bitter pill to swallow, because I thought I was going to accomplish something politically beyond just the body of the film.

CM: Can you talk us through the editing process? Was it the story that drove you forward always, that gave you your (narrative) spine?

AKK: I was able to just stay with the material. I think that was the big thing, just staying with the material, day in and day out, knowing I was going to be sitting at that computer. You know I learned a lot in film school and I learned a lot doing things in the community but really, editing this film, I learned so much because I had to suffer all the mistakes of my own producing. You know, somebody would say something brilliant and then I wouldn't have a cut away. I wouldn't have what I need to make the scene work. When you're making a documentary, it comes together in the post- production. It comes together in the editing. I found it to be a very spiritual experience and I don't mean that's a comfortable experience. The material would dictate what I could and could not do with it. And so, after several years, I just had to accept that this is very raw, it's very troubling, I'm never going to make it look beautiful, and it wasn't for lack of trying. You know Hawai'i is a very beautiful place. My film doesn't have any of that in it, because real protests (don't) take place in beautiful places. And so, just by staying with the material, I think that's the toughest part for a filmmaker is to just know. You have to trust your instinct. You have to trust that you are doing the right thing. If you're not, stop doing it. I think that in the genre of documentary film, often times we see documentaries that work against the genre. You know, we force these voice-overs, we kind of force shape and we force structure that takes away from the actual raw material. And with this film I was stuck with it being as raw as it is, and I just learned to love that, and I learned to love that process.

CM: And one of the difficulties in working the way you're working is finding a mode of distribution that can get beyond a very small audience. Once you were coming towards the end of the film making process, you wanted to get it out to be seen.

AKK: There was a lot of political blowback, even in my own community, just to this little movie. It's still incredibly relevant, strangely enough it gets more relevant, seems like every year. People around the world are becoming aware of certain things, Monsanto, militarism, you know certain kinds of environmental destruction. So the film has a lot to say about those issues, but when it came to distributing it, I really couldn't do it properly. That's why I don't recommend people go around and make a movie like this, because it's a tough sell. Nobody wants to see the bad news about Hawai'i. You know it's the one place in the world nobody wants to have a bad feeling. It's like the Disneyland of vacations, right? So nobody wants to feel bad about the way they fantasize Polynesia or Hawai'i. They certainly don't want to look at it as what it is. So it's been a self-distribution process, but I haven't really even promoted it because the politics attached to it made it so uncomfortable for me. It's been a strange experience, you know this is my second time to this country (New Zealand) to show this film. It's of interest in certain places and it's of interest to certain people. It's not a comfortable experience for people.

CM: I think that's very true. Even though I'm moderately familiar with the history of Hawai'ian colonisation, I found watching the film a very uncomfortable and challenging experience, and I just wanted to cry a couple of times.

AKK: And it was a challenging and uncomfortable experience to make it, you see and that's something I think people don't realise. There's no party going on in the edit room. You know there were times where I would shoot for instance Annie Powell, one of the homeless women in the film. She actually died a couple of years ago. And she died out there, you know homeless out there. And I'll never forget coming home one afternoon from filming her and I'm not a wealthy person at all, I was like borrowing a car, you know, to drive all the way out to the coast, and I wept all the way home. Because I thought I don't even have a right to film somebody like that and I felt compelled to film her story, and let people hear what she has to say about her experience of being Hawai'ian. But there's such a fine line between exploitation, right? Between doing something for somebody and doing something for oneself, and as a filmmaker, come on, we're some of the most selfish people in the world when it comes to our films. We know we need to do certain things to make our films live, and we want to do that. So it was often times very painful, because I want to be of service and she wanted to be filmed, but I also understand the medium.

CM: So were there times when you chose not to film even though you were desperate to film a particular event?

AKK: There were times where I couldn't film, culturally. There were many scenes that didn't make it into the (finished film). One was a protest on Hawai'i in an area where one of the last remaining burial grounds on that side of the island was being built over. I went and filmed protests that were going on and it was such an important exchange taking place, an argument between two Hawai'ians. One of them had stopped me, and I knew in that moment I should just keep rolling, but I also knew that I can't. You know I'm Hawai'ian and I have to respect what the people who live here are doing.
CM: It is a very difficult balance, that choice, isn't it?

AKK: That would have been the scene of all scenes because it was the kind of exchange that you don't usually get filmed. There's a scene in the film where the woman from the military base comes out and shouts at the protesters and starts swearing at them and saying what she really thinks of Hawai'ians. We know these things take place but they don't usually happen in front of a camera.

CM: I was going to ask you what was the hardest part but the answer is the whole thing was the hardest part, isn't it? Did you ever want to give up?

AKK: Just about every day. I was always looking for the way out. You know, I should say this about being Hawai'ian. We are genealogical people so if I'm driven to do something about Hawai'ian anything, I'm standing in my genealogy. I can't just quit myself or quit who my ancestors are. So as a filmmaker it was like being trapped in a hall of horrors sometimes, but as a Hawai'ian filmmaker I just knew I had to stick with it and circumstances were going to tell me when it was time. So that was a really bitter experience because I think of myself as a very empowered person and I did not get to run this show.

CM: What do you think the major obstacles are for telling political stories around the Pacific?

AKK: Besides money?

CM: Besides money.

AKK: Having the material resources to tell our stories the way that we need to tell our stories. Now I can say to you this is the upside of having gone through this process that lasted years. I can say whatever I want and own it, okay? I have the same kind of confidence that the most famous filmmakers in the world would have because it's not about arrogance, it's about having to walk it. I barely had enough resources to pull that off but the fact that I somehow managed to do that means that I own that narrative in many, many ways, that will benefit me for the rest of my life whether I make more films or not. To pull something off that really is truly going to represent the experience of people in the Pacific. These are huge challenges. What we really need is community support, we really need people to care. I mean the one thing you learn when you go to film school is that nobody makes a film alone so believe me, for me to say I had to shoot it, I had to do the sound, I had to do all those things, that's a tough gig because I think of filmmaking as a group effort, and I couldn't really do that with this project. I think that I wouldn't want to try to do something like that again because the beauty of making a film, in a way, is the community that you're in when you're doing it. I had to make the political activists my community when I was doing it, you know, but as a filmmaker, boy did I miss being around filmmakers

CM: I just want to ask you one last question, what's your next film going to be about?

AKK: I'm hoping to make a film about Albert Wendt. His work, his art. Actually I made a short guerilla documentary about Al's paintings when he was in Hawai'i, and I want to make a feature length version of what I did with that short film because of who he is, because of how influential he has been throughout the Pacific. So many people have something to say about him. And in documentary when you get people that light up when they talk about somebody and what they telling you—it might even be really

political or really cultural or really painful, but they light up—he's one of those guys that people light up, every Native and non-Native person I've ever talked to about Albert, just light up and that's the kind of movie I want to make. It'll be very serious but it's also so rewarding when you get to hear people tell you something they love about somebody.

This is one of a series of in-depth interviews on the documentary filmmaking process being conducted as part of a flow of research by the members of Te Ara Motuhenga, a research cluster established by the Screen and Television Production lecturers at Auckland University of Technology. This interview took place in April 2014.

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ARTICLES

Why the where matters

A sense of place imperative for teaching better Indigenous affairs reporting

Abstract: Much Indigenous affairs journalism in the Western Australian state capital of Perth reproduces colonial discourse and perpetuates racist stereotypes of Aboriginal people. Against this background the traditional custodians of Perth, the Noongar people, have struggled to find a media voice. Meanwhile, observers in several countries have critiqued a shift from journalism about specific places toward journalism concerned with no place in particular. Spurred by globalisation, this shift has de-emphasised the 'where?' question in the 'what, where, who, why, how and when?' template of journalistic investigation. Reporting from a project in which journalism students collaborated with Noongar community organisations, we argue that an understanding of Indigenous Australians' profound connection to place can inform journalists about the underlying character of places about which they report. We suggest that working with Indigenous people can transform the way journalists conceptualise their careers, and help secure a sense of place for Indigenous people in the media. Finally, collaborating with Indigenous people can teach journalists to view their professional practices through a sense of place lens, re-emphasising the 'where?' question in its application to both geographic place and the realm of a journalist's imagination.

Keywords: Aboriginal affairs journalism, action research, Australia, habitus and place, higher education teaching and learning, Indigenous affairs journalism, Indigenous media collaboration, Indigenous media representation, Indigenous voice, Pierre Bourdieu, Noongar voice, sense of place, service learning, SOTL

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IN this largely theoretical article we argue that placeless representation can, through exposure to the place-based reality of Indigenous people, be transformed into place-based representation that repositions the 'where?' question back at the centre of journalistic investigation and practice. Reporting from a project that partnered six journalism students with four Indigenous community organisations to produce stories that were published online, we explore how independent journalism in the context of collaboration with Indigenous sources can achieve a more authentic articulation of place at three

levels: by achieving more inclusive representations of the places on which journalists report; at the level of journalists' evolving practices (or their sense of place in the journalistic field); and by helping to lever a sense of place for Indigenous people in the media.

Initiated at Curtin University, the project became known by participants as Aboriginal Community Engagement, or ACE. In this article we position ACE within the context of calls to embed Indigenous perspectives into tertiary education. We follow with a critique of Indigenous affairs reporting in Perth and a project rationale that recognises the leading role of Perth's Noongar people in the struggle for Aboriginal land rights in Australia's capital cities. We then describe the pedagogical framework for ACE, following this with a review of literature on the potential for Indigenous sense of place to inform reconciliation between Australia's Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Recognising the broader context of this work, analyses that apply sense of place theory to the practice of text-based journalism are considered. Several of these analyses critique a globalised-era shift from journalism about specific places, to journalism concerned with no place in particular—a trend that has marginalised the 'where?' question in the 'what, where, who, why, how and when?' template of journalistic investigation.

Beyond this important reinstatement of 'where?' as it applies to geographic place (that is, the context in which 'where?' is normally understood), we illustrate how collaboration with Indigenous sources can teach journalists to view their professional practices through a sense of place lens. In order to apply the concept of place to professional practice, we draw parallels between sense of place theory and two other theoretical constructs: the conceptual tool of habitus advanced by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu; and studies that address Indigenous media voice.

Background

Indigenous perspectives in higher education

In 2009, the National Indigenous Higher Education Network (NIHEN, p. 7) recommended in its report to the United Nations that tertiary institutions should "systemically embed Indigenous perspectives in curriculum and acknowledge the scholarly contributions of Indigenous communities in developing a culturally ethical framework to underpin research and learning". In Australia, the most comprehensive move toward this end was Universities Australia's (2011) framework 'for embedding Indigenous cultural competencies within and across the institution in sustainable ways which engender reconciliation and social justice by enabling the factors that contribute to social, economic and political change'. The framework is premised upon five guiding principles, two of which are crucial to ACE:

- All graduates of Australian universities will have the knowledge and skills necessary to interact in a culturally competent way with Indigenous communities; and
- Universities will operate in partnership with their Indigenous communities and

> will help disseminate culturally competent practices to the wider community. (p. 8)

Many Australian universities have responded by embedding Indigenous culture and intercultural competency across curricula and incorporating Indigenous cultural competency within their graduate attributes. Newsome (1999), however, has highlighted the limitations of such initiatives if they are removed from the lived experience of Indigenous culture and traditional Indigenous protocols for sharing knowledge. Such abstract learning can lack the intercultural relationships required to promote reconciliation and deeper understanding of Indigenous ways of seeing and being (Mackinlay & Dunbar-Hall, 2003). Against this background, service learning has emerged as a valuable tool for community engagement and the advancement of the civic mission to create well-rounded graduates and constructive change (Winter, Wiseman & Muirhead, 2006).

The service learning project described here was initiated by two lecturers in the field of text-based journalism, one screen arts lecturer, and a project leader with an arts education background. We chose to work in partnership with Perth's Noongar people for five main reasons. First, Noongar people are the traditional custodians of the land now occupied by Curtin University. Second, although Noongar people are the only Aboriginal people in Western Australia to have seen a metropolis rise on their traditional lands, and were the first in the state to face the brunt of colonialism, major elements of their traditional culture remain. Third, the Noongar community is the largest Aboriginal nation by population in Western Australia (Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 2013). Fourth, the Noongar nation has continued to struggle to establish a media voice (see, for example, Kerr & Cox, 2013). Fifth, we wanted to create relationships with local Noongar people so that students might begin to see them as part of their own community.

Noongar people, media voice and media misrepresentation

In 2011 an estimated 88,270 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people lived in Western Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013), making up 3.8 per cent of the Western Australian population. This equated to 13.2 per cent of Australia's total Indigenous population and was the third largest Indigenous population of any Australian state or territory. The Noongar Aboriginal people are the traditional custodians of south-western Australia, a 242,000 square kilometre (South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council) corner of the continent that, in terms of area, is roughly the size of New Zealand. Noongar country includes metropolitan Perth and extends from north of the town of Jurien Bay, 220km north of Perth on Australia's west coast, to east of Hopetoun on Australia's south coast. The area is home to 14 distinct Noongar groups. Members of one of those groups, the Wadjuk Noongar people, are the traditional custodians of metropolitan Perth.

Our project was located in metropolitan Perth, which in 2011 was home to 32,836 people who claimed Indigenous heritage (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In 2013

the Western Australian Department of Aboriginal Affairs estimated that 34,600, or 39.2 percent, of the state's Indigenous people lived in metropolitan Perth and the 20 surrounding local government areas. These areas lie mainly in Noongar country (Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 2013).

At the time of writing, several decade-long native title claims over south-western Australia, including Perth, had only recently been settled. In a summary accompanying his September 2006 interim decision on those claims, Justice Murray Wilcox concluded that 'the contemporary Noongar community acknowledges and observes laws and customs relating to land which are a recognisable adaptation to their situation of the laws and customs existing at the [1829] date of settlement' (Bennell v Western Australia, 2006). He noted that:

> The Noongar community was enormously affected by white settlement. Aboriginal people were forced off their land and dispersed to other areas. Families were broken up. The descent system was affected by the fact that many children were fathered by white men. Probably in every Noongar family there is at least one white male ancestor. Over a long period, mixed-blood children were routinely taken away from their parents. Notwithstanding all this, and surprisingly to me, members of families seem mostly to have kept in contact with each other, and families with other Noongar families. Many, if not most, children learned at least some Noongar language. Many, if not most, were taught traditional skills, such as for hunting, fishing and food-gathering, and learned traditional Noongar beliefs, including in relation to the spirit world.

Justice Wilcox found that the Noongar people held native title over some parts of the land and waters within Perth (National Native Title Tribunal, 2006). This interim judgment was the first to recognise native title over an Australian capital city.

In the immediate wake of the judgment, much speculation ensued, nationally, about where native title might apply in Australia's capital cities. Federal Attorney-General at the time, Phillip Ruddock, claimed that the ruling would have 'significant' implications for Australia's capital cities (cited in Peatling, 2006), where public access to beaches and parks might no longer be guaranteed (Guest, 2006). In October 2006, the National Native Tribunal moved to allay such fears by publishing a newsletter that stated:

> In the context of the metropolitan area, there might be very small pockets of unallocated crown land and some reserve land where native title rights and interests may have survived. However, even over areas where native title is found to have survived, where others have rights and responsibilities over the same area (including public rights), the law gives their rights priority over native title. Existing public access and enjoyment of public places such as beaches, parks, waterways and foreshores is protected by state legislation that confirms that access continues. (National Native Title Tribunal, 2006)

This struggle over land demonstrates that sense of place is complex and contested. On appeal by the Western Australian government and other parties, the Full Bench of the Federal Court in 2008 held that Justice Wilcox had failed to consider whether there had been continuous acknowledgment and observance of traditional laws and customs by the claimants from 1829 until recent times. The Full Bench also questioned whether the claimants had a connection with metropolitan Perth as opposed to the wider claim area (Bodney v Bennell, 2008). It left the question of native title in Perth open for further consideration.

In 2009, State Cabinet decided the Western Australian government would abandon its legal challenge and instead negotiate direct with the Noongar people (Thomson, 2009) and, in 2013, the State government presented the South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council (the native title representative body for the Noongar people) with a 'final offer' to surrender the claims (Barnett & Mischin, 2013) in exchange for what the state Premier Colin Barnett asserted was '$1.3 billion in land and other assets and benefits' (Barnett, 2015). Following 'exhaustive negotiations' (Barnett, 2014), in March 2015, a vote of the Noongar community arranged by the South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council agreed to accept the government's offer. The offer included a promised Act of Parliament recognising Noongar people as traditional owners of the state's Southwest.

This background, which outlines something of the scope and depth of the Noongar connection to place, also connects to voice—who is heard in the media and how they are heard and represented. The extent to which the Noongar voice is, or is not, adequately represented by Perth's big media organisations was demonstrated quite recently by the coverage of the Noongar 'tent embassy' established in 2012 at Matagarup (Heirisson Island), which is located not far from Kooraree (the grounds of Government House near the Perth CBD) (Aboriginal place names from Hughes-Hallett, 2010). Kerr and Cox's analysis of reports by big media corporations during the embassy's six-week presence at Matagarup concluded that, with few exceptions, the embassy was depicted as an illegal, menacing 'Aboriginal protest camp' (2013, p. 5). This representation, and selective reporting practices, were considered to have legitimised repeated police raids on Noongar people who had gathered for discussions on native title at a state-listed Aboriginal heritage site (2013, p.5).

Although Perth is the fourth largest city in Australia, the reporting of the Noongar Tent Embassy is but one indicator of a poor standard of Indigenous affairs journalism more akin to the city's onetime position as a remote colonial outpost. For other examples, see the Western Australian underlying issues volume (section 18) of the final report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIACIC, 1991); and Donovan, Wilkes, Fielder and Jalleh's 2013 study of *The West Australian* newspaper's refusal to accord due prominence to the publication of an Australian Press Council finding of misleading material in a front-page story about an Aboriginal man.

These examples and analyses illustrate and explain the often poor relationship between big media corporations and Aboriginal people in Western Australia. Further insight emerged from a 2013 panel discussion following a lecture given by former *Media Watch* host Jonathan Holmes at Curtin University. During the discussion, *The West Australian's* editor-in-chief, Bob Cronin, told an audience of 400 people that in his experience positive journalism stories about Aboriginal people, especially on the front page and with an accompanying photograph, were usually followed by a slump in newspaper sales (Cronin, 2013). An indication of the prominence *The West Australian* now places on Indigenous affairs reporting is that, for the past several years, the newspaper has had no specialist Indigenous affairs reporter.

Such structural impediments to good Indigenous affairs reporting are nothing new in Western Australia, and we do not wish to suggest there are no good Indigenous affairs reporters in the state. In 1992, for example, a former Western Australian correspondent for Australian Associated Press observed that despite harassment by authorities, some Western Australian journalists continued to write stories about Aboriginal deaths in custody because of a belief the public should know how Aboriginal people were being treated by the law, police, courts and government (Plater, 1993, p. 203). Such journalists still practise in Western Australia.

One of the aims of our work through the ACE project was to increase the stock of such Indigenous affairs reporters in Western Australia. The project was informed by previous work integrated learning projects, including: the Curtin University *Noongar Dandjoo* television series (documented in Johnston & Bishop, 2013); a collaboration between academics, journalism students and Indigenous media participants in Queensland (documented in Stewart, et al, 2010); and the placement of Edith Cowan University journalism students with Aboriginal communities in two Western Australian towns (documented in Cullen, 2010).

Much work has been done elsewhere in the Pacific to encourage engagement between journalism students and Indigenous and local communities, with social justice objectives in mind. The award-winning work of students from the University of the South Pacific in reporting the Fiji coup in 2000 (documented in Cass, 2002, and Robie, 2001, 2010), and efforts at Divine World University in Papua New Guinea in the early 2000s to reorient the journalism programme there toward 'social justice and the need to provide a voice for the voiceless, while holding the powerful to account' (Rooney, 2003, p. 76), are two notable examples.

The ACE Approach

ACE was part of a broader Australian National Office for Learning and Teaching-funded project to establish service learning projects with Indigenous communities at three Australian universities (Bartleet, Bennett, Power & Sunderland, 2014). The project was intensive, involving 13 students who were undertaking online journalism, journalism

feature writing, and screen studies units. Most students were in their second or third year of undergraduate study, one was undertaking her honours year and another was in the first semester of a Graduate Diploma in Journalism. As this article's focus is on journalism education it reports on the work of the six text-based journalism students. The students, all of whom were young women, worked to source, research, write, photograph and produce stories in the context of a relationship with Noongar sources, but as independent journalists.

Theoretical framework

We adopted a post-colonial approach to explore 'alternative possibilities to the forces of colonisation' via 'hybrid historical productions' (Somerville & Perkins, 2003, p. 255), by:

- recognising and reconceptualising categories which maintain borders, for example, Indigenous/non-Indigenous (Giroux, 1992);
- acknowledging hybrid subject-positions, for example, 'temporal and contextual coalitions' (Haig-Brown, 2001) or the 'third space' (Soja, 2000);
- redrawing boundaries between constructions of experience and power (Giroux, 1992); and
- questioning who has a right to speak and what is appropriate in particular contexts at particular times (Mackinlay, 2008).

One of Bourdieu's main conceptual tools, *habitus*, allows for the position of a social actor—in this case, a member of an Aboriginal community group, a student or lecturer—in a field of practice, such as journalism, to be identified and considered. Habitus, as a set of dispositions, represents a practitioner's internalised history (Wacquant, in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16) and, as a relational concept, is about how practitioners see themselves and other people, and therefore how they practiSe, within a field (Mason, 2014, p. 166). It is therefore capable of taking account of and explaining categories and where the boundaries are drawn, hybrid subject-positions and context, and power relations—features of the post-colonial approach set out above. Importantly, when considered in terms of Noongar people's lack of media voice, habitus provides a platform from which to theorise the position and voicelessness of people dominated and disadvantaged by existing power relations (Mason, 2014, p. 165).

To enable the intercultural interactions envisaged by the post-colonial approach outlined above, we employed service learning to enrich student learning while strengthening communities (Furco, 1996), and to provide transformative social and personal experiences (Robinson & Meyer, 2012). ACE focused on authentic relationships, social change and power redistribution, and encouraging students to critically question broad academic and journalistic discourses.

ACE combined service learning with 'participatory action research', which creates positive change through action and change that results in action. Action researchers often refer to themselves as facilitators who work with community organisations, members of

which participate not as subjects but as co-researchers 'in the production of knowledge through rigorous, well-planned, structured and self-aware methods' (Tacchi, Slater & Hearn, 2003, p. 13). Better described as a philosophy than a methodology, action research is a democratic and inclusive way of working that recognises the life experience and knowledge of community participants. For a full description of the action research approach employed in ACE, see Johnston, et al (2015).

Structure

A call for expressions of interest nominated pre-requisites that ensured the students had sufficient skills to complete story-based projects (interviewing, writing and production skills, for example). Journalism students enrolled in one of two journalism units, undertaking a blend of subject-specific and service learning tasks. For the usual story production components of the journalism units, students were required to produce Indigenous affairs stories emerging from their collaboration with Noongar people. Action research allowed a primary focus on the *process* of creating stories rather than on the *product* each student was required to submit for assessment. There was an emphasis on taking time to listen and talk to, and establish relationships with, community partners.

Before their involvement in ACE, only two of the six students had engaged with Indigenous people or culture to any great degree. During the first month of semester, four three-hour workshops introduced the students to action research and Noongar culture and history. An action research expert and three Noongar people with backgrounds in the creative industries played leadership roles in each of those workshops. The project team involved all participants in regular readings and guided reflections.

Along with the students, we attended a day-long field trip led by then director of Curtin University's Centre for Aboriginal Studies, and Noongar Elder, Associate Professor Simon Forrest. The field trip retraced the 1834 journey of Western Australia's first governor, James Stirling, and about 25 police officers, soldiers and settlers who, on a punitive raid from central Perth to Pinjarra, 86 kilometres to the south, killed an estimated 14 to 30 men, women and children of the Bindjareb group of the Noongar nation (Stasiuk, 2015). The massacre was a watershed moment in the shared history of Noongar people and people of European descent (Forrest, 2014). Participants in the field trip paid respect to lives lost and heard Simon Forrest call for a shared understanding of Australian history. By imparting aspects of the largely hidden Noongar history of well-known sites along modern-day Stirling Highway, and beyond to Pinjarra, the field trip introduced students to the theory of contested sense of place as advanced in Wadjuk Noongar country by scholars including Cox (2012).

We used existing networks to ask local Indigenous organisations whether there was anything to which the students might feasibly contribute. This led to several project ideas that were matched with the timeline of ACE and the capabilities of students and lecturers. Student projects were initiated with four community organisations—the Langford

Aboriginal Association (which runs programmes related to culture, health and well-being), Indigenous Community Engagement and Awareness (a youth-run reconciliation and community awareness foundation), Kart Koort Wiern (an Aboriginal reconciliation and cultural awareness training consultancy), and the Wirrpanda Foundation (which aims to empower and build capacity among Indigenous people).

In collaboration with each group and their participants, students produced in-depth stories that formed the backbone of a new Aboriginal affairs reporting round on Curtin University's InkWire journalism website (inkwirenews.com.au/category/aboriginal-affairs/). The journalism teaching technique of simulating a deadline-driven newsroom, in which students are required to extract stories from sources in a compressed timeframe, was deliberately inverted so that students could concentrate on stories that their Indigenous sources were willing to share. Each student visited their community group many times for several hours at a time, and the focus was on building genuine relationships before story sourcing commenced.

At the end of semester, students displayed their stories at a public showcase. The showcase gave a voice to Aboriginal community participants and to students, who publicly reflected upon ACE and its impact. It also provided an opportunity for partners, students, senior university leaders, academics and members of the public to engage in the learning that emerged from the project and to celebrate the results of the students' hard work.

Data collection and analysis

Once ethical approval had been secured, data collection involved semi-structured interviews, student assessment and reflection, documentation of researcher reflections, short pre- and post-surveys, and analysis of student and community partner reflections at the public showcase. Analysis incorporated inductive independent coding (Janesick, 2000) by two members of the research team, after which coding was compared to create a final codebook. The voices included in this paper are derived from interviews, and public statements made by participants at the showcase.

Discussion and findings

This section presents our research and learning in relation to what Indigenous Australians can teach non-Indigenous Australians about the underlying character of places, and how consideration of Indigenous perspectives of place might positively influence Australian culture. We provide an overview of literature across three continents that considers the practice of journalism from a sense of place perspective. Parallels are drawn between sense of place theory and the Bourdieusian concept of habitus to demonstrate how an understanding of Indigenous sense of place can inform and transform the professional practices of journalists, by imparting a better understanding of their place and the place of others in the journalistic field. Drawing on student feedback, we conclude by considering the practical implications of this for journalism education and practice.

Indigenous sense of place and journalism

Guffey (2008, p. 2) ties together the practice of service learning, the journalistic mainstay of storytelling, and the concept of place by describing the building of:

> a 'strong link' from indigenous ways, the earth and nature into the larger society. … I ask the question: how do people learn to find and know themselves in this world? The answer that I have come to is two-fold: first, by encountering and establishing spiritual connections with the earth through the senses, the intellect and the emotional body. Second, through the inter-relationship of storytelling and service learning. Think of storytelling as a needle and service learning as the thread. The story makes an impression and creates an opening, then service learning follows. Together they draw the fabric of life: people, places and nature together in new experiences.

Far from the dominant, Westernised construction of space, for Australian Aboriginal people:

> country is sentient, country has agency. Country assumes the social form of persons. Indeed, country is inhabited by various other-than-human persons, and it is these beings, and their traces (which are consubstantial with the beings), that vest the country with such sentience. (Glaskin, 2012, p. 305)

While cautious of generalising across Australia's 500-plus Indigenous nations, Rapoport (1972, 3-3-8) notes that Aboriginal people do not 'move just in a landscape but in a humanised realm saturated with significations', and put great importance on the naming of places. The importance of place names is one aspect of a sense of place that is especially pertinent in south-western Australia which has the largest proportion of preserved Indigenous place names of any region nationally—with more than 50 percent of the currently used names being of Noongar origin (Collard, et al., 2011, p. 1). Collard, et al. (2011, p. 7) observe that while relationships between colonisers and Indigenous Australians have been vexed, the preservation of Noongar place names resulted from cross-cultural collaboration of the kind that could inform and enrich the future of Australia. Plumwood (2005, p. 386) sees a return to Indigenous place names as a form of 'deep republicanism' that respects 'the uniqueness and power of place as well as recognising its prior naming and occupation by Aboriginal people'.

For Birrell (2006, p. ix), 'the integration of an Aboriginal worldview in non-Indigenous persons may [already] be leading towards the development of a new sensitivity that connects [non-Indigenous people] with place, more informed by Indigenous ways of being'. Plumwood agrees: there are 'many good reasons to conclude that a rich, deep connection with land and place is a key part of a healthy human culture' (2005, p. 371). She continues:

> There is much to be said for working for cultural convergence, to evolve what Aboriginal philosopher Mary Graham … calls 'the embryonic form of an intact,

> collective spiritual identity for all Australians, which will inform and support our daily lives, our aspirations and creative genius'. (p. 371)

While the geographical places in which the students sourced their stories were often familiar to both the students and the organisations with which they worked, the meanings and connections of each place were vastly different for Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. Reinterpreting their relationship with Perth represented one of the greatest challenges for the students. It was also the source of far deeper cultural understandings and friendships between students, lecturers and community participants. Feedback from one participating student is salient:

> I remember the first time I arrived [at the premises of the Indigenous community group]. It just looked so empty and I'd never been to the suburb, anywhere near there. I was just like: 'Oh'. As soon as I walked in it was fine. As soon as you walk in there and all those ladies are just sitting around that table laughing, it's a warm environment. (Student 4)

Oddly, for a profession where practitioners are taught to answer the main 'where?' question in every story they write, a literature search of the English speaking world confirms that in the years since Griffin (1999, p. 17) noted a dearth of 'commentators who have considered the role of place in journalism', text-based journalism has largely avoided the gaze of sense of place researchers, except to a nascent extent in North America, the United Kingdom and Australia.

North American observers have delineated and critiqued a shift from journalism about local places toward journalism of a regional, national or international scale, or that focuses on no place in particular (for example, Buchanan, 2009; Funk, 2012; Walrus Research, 2006). In part, this shift is a natural extension of a trend recognised since at least the mid-1980s (Meyrowitz, 1985) in which electronic media were seen to intrude into private and local places, and to erode the uniqueness of those places. Buchanan's (2009, p. iii) analysis of two Canadian newspapers attributes the shift to, among other factors, rising corporate influence on newspaper priorities and a gradual process that appears to favour the national and global over the local. In the United States of America also, a transformation from local to national and international ownership of mainstream news media has been shown to play a part (Pauly & Eckert, 2002). Funk adds to this discussion by making the point that: 'In the online era, it seems newspapers are principally concerned with the business of being a newspaper—not of being a community entity or a local organisation' (2012, p. 584).

Buchanan also notes that the shift from local to more geographically generic journalism has posed a direct challenge to the prominence of the 'where?' question in the 'who, what, where, when, why and how?' template that has long been the foundation for journalistic investigation (2009, p. 16). The experienced and multiple-award winning

journalist Robert Fisk (2014) has criticised one manifestation of this shift as inaccurate and disrespectful, the now common practice of publishing geographically generic news photographs to illustrate stories about specific occurrences in specific places.

A survey of public radio audiences in the USA reveals a perception that metropolitan daily newspapers lack quality and quantity of local coverage (Walrus Research, 2006, p. 6). In another study, Pauly and Eckert note that, although keywords that journalism uses to describe itself, such as 'independent', 'public' and 'objective', have been thoroughly studied, the term 'local' has escaped similar scrutiny in the USA. Yet, they also argue that the 'myth of the local has been equally as rich and potent' (2002, p. 2).

In the United Kingdom, analysis has focused less on sense of place and more on the related concept of localism. In one example, Harcup documents the demise of the alternative local newspaper—a phenomenon of the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s—in the United Kingdom. He concludes that 'the discernible irony is that the demise of these newspapers coincided with the arrival of computers and desktop publishing technology which might have made their production cheaper, quicker and less labour-intensive' (1998, p. 115).

In Australia, a decade-and-a-half later, and with the enabling power of software and personal computers multiplied by mass access to the internet, Richardson (2012, p. 123) notes that 'metropolitan media has finally realised that the local stories that are the staples of community media are the fuel that drives the digital engines of contemporary media'. For Richardson, 'the cornerstone of this localism is its capacity to deliver and engage audiences in a way that offers opportunities to build loyalty and potentially create a new kind of revenue model' (p. 123). He argues that 'the advent of online news has delivered community newspapers a combined paper-online audience that is greater than ever' (p. 124).

Richardson's analysis is insightful in delineating a potential pendulum-swing back to localism and, through that, implicitly to the fluid nature of interactions between publications and audiences over time. However, his analysis is problematic because, with the exception of a passing observation about locally owned newspapers, it focuses on the majority of the nation's local newspapers that in their ownership structure have nothing to do with being local. Richardson rightly notes (2012, p. 127) that most of these newspapers are owned by News Corp (the largest print news publisher in the English-speaking world) or Fairfax Media (Australia's oldest and second-largest newspaper publisher). But virtually ignored is the role of newspapers and news websites that are locally owned and which, in their distribution areas, generally exert a greater impact than their Fairfax or News Corp competitors on the articulation of localism. Future analysis of the role of these truly local newspapers—in Perth's case the locally-owned Herald Publishing and *The Post* local newspaper groups—would help paint a clearer picture of how well local news is travelling in Australia.

In a recent article that stands out in Australian journalism studies for applying sense of place theory to journalistic practice, Hess & Waller (2014, p. 121) argue that employing the

term 'community' to describe such 'small commercial news outlets that have geography as their primary characteristic' is problematic because the word 'community' overshadows the importance of geography. They advance instead the concept of 'geo-social journalism' as a framework for better 'understanding how these news outlets and audiences connect via the notion of "sense of place"'. While arguing that the importance of geography should not be discounted in understanding small newspapers, they acknowledge that a 'journalist's "place" in the journalistic field is a strong factor in the construction of news' (p. 126). It is this level of place-based articulation—where journalists imagine their own place and the place of others in the field of journalism—which we discuss next.

Sense of place, and habitus

By adding an inside perspective, critical reflexivity is seen as a means of enriching approaches to journalism studies that have examined the profession from the outside (Mason, 2014, p. 158). One way to employ critical reflexivity, or critical self-awareness in the practice, is through '"self work" where individuals come to a conscious understanding of their dispositions' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, cited in Mason, 2014, p. 167). Because the dispositions of habitus shape practice and position, journalists may also seek and gain self-awareness through identifying where the self is located within a particular set of power relations and structures—in Bourdieu's term, within a 'field' (Bourdieu, 2005). As habitus evolves, the practices and experiences that are shaped by and shape habitus also evolve. Self-work makes this process of change conscious, therefore giving the practitioner more awareness and agency, and more conscious control over their practice.

It was predominantly this self work that ACE aimed to engender among students, and it was the dispositions of habitus, and concerns about representation, that were predominantly addressed in student feedback. Most of the students found that through this process they engaged more genuinely with interviewees, as opposed to employing story extraction techniques to which they had previously become accustomed. Students also began to deconstruct their own colonised understandings of self and other, developing a 'sense of belonging within their host communities' (Stachowski & Mahan, 1998, p. 159) that would lead to critical self-reflection and to greater understanding and appreciation of Perth's Indigenous people. This is illustrated in the students' comments:

> When writing stories usually you probably just phone people up and there is a certain element of harassment (laughs), but with [ACE] we did build relationships … Yeah, I [recommend] just doing the research but not research using Google kind of thing, doing research by really speaking to different people. (Student 1)

Beyond considerations of sourcing technique, ACE prompted the students to consider their philosophy of—and future in—journalism, for example:

> I don't really like to harass people and bombard them … [I] definitely would recommend this approach of giving people your time, rather than just instead of just wanting [their answers] and [delivering] what you'd want … I guess for me personally that kind of the stereotype of what a journalist is really isn't for me … I think, to be honest, before I started [ACE] I was kind of set that I didn't really want to go into journalism when I finished my degree, so I think it has changed a little bit. (Student 1)

As the concept of habitus enabled students to become more aware of their practice and how it could evolve, habitus has also assisted us to conceptualise the experiences and interpret the data arising from this study.

Bourdieu (1989, p.19) draws connections between habitus and the notion of place, stating that habitus 'implies a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others"'. Expanding upon the link between habitus and place in a book of collected works, *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, to which Bourdieu contributed a chapter, Hillier and Rooksby (2005, p. 21) conceptualise habitus as 'an embodied, as well as a cognitive, sense of place'. They assert that Hirst, another contributor to the book, 'demonstrates the importance of [the concept of] exclusion to [the workings of] habitus, and in particular to a sense of the other's place' (p. 21).

When applied to the field of journalism, this link between habitus and sense of place reconceptualises the waning 'where?' question of journalistic investigation as the main question (that is, 'Where do I/they fit?') that needs to be answered when journalists consider their place and the place of others in their field. Student feedback provided evidence that the Bourdieusian imperative of considering the place of others had been enacted, in relation, but not limited, to, Indigenous people:

> I think there's a real lack of cultural awareness in a lot of areas … There's just some terrible stereotypes, I think … The media play a huge part in the way Aboriginal people are represented. (Student 1)
>
> [ACE] definitely made me more culturally aware, not even just with Indigenous people, just with everyone. (Student 2)
>
> All journalist students should have to do [ACE] … There just needs to be some sort of cultural understanding. Because it's not just about Aboriginal Australians. It makes you rethink your attitudes towards every other race that you have prejudice against. (Student 4)

In helping journalists reimagine the sense of their place and the place of others, the extension of 'where?' from geographic space (that is, the context in which it is normally understood) to imagined place repositions the question of 'where' back to the core of the journalistic profession. In relation to media voice, 'where?' can also be conceived as a question that Indigenous people might ask when considering how they engage with the media (that is, 'Where do I fit?'). Observations made by community partners at the end-

of-semester showcase helped illustrate this point. One community partner commented on the stance his group had taken on racist reporting in a recent publication. In relation to a story produced by an ACE student about the racist coverage, the community partner explained: *"It was great to have some, you know, real competent journalist students to follow through and do some really good quality articles about that*".

An Indigenous participant from another community partner organisation spoke about a video produced by ACE screen arts students. Her comments reflected the feedback from all partner organisations:

> Well, I got really sick half way through and ended up in a hospital. So, I actually didn't lose any weight [as part of a healthy eating program about which the student video was produced]. But I actually did give up smoking [applause]. And, so the students actually then turned that into a community message which I thought was just absolutely amazing that, instead of focusing on one thing, they used their own initiative to say: 'Well, what can we do to make this a bigger thing?', and that really impressed me from a bunch of young people that they could actually do that … Hopefully we can see more community messages that's gonna help our mob, because I think that's really important too that basically you've got the resources and we've got the knowledge and let's get together and actually make something bigger, 'cause I think this is the beginning of a new story.'

Each of the 10 feature stories produced by journalism students, for a new Aboriginal affairs round that was set up on the InkWire website, was an integral part of ACE. This helped our community partners establish a greater media voice. The new reporting round also helped articulate a more inclusive sense of Perth as a place. Since the foundation of ACE in 2013, the new reporting round has provided a locus for more Indigenous affairs stories from students in other journalism units who have been encouraged and guided by the existing exemplar stories. With the second and third iterations of ACE having concluded in the first teaching semesters of 2014 and 2015, multiple stories were added to the InkWire Aboriginal affairs round. A stand-alone 'Aboriginal Community Engagement' page (inkwirenews.com.au/ace-2015/) was produced in 2015 to showcase the work of that year's students, and to facilitate entry of the stories as a cohesive publication in the 'Best Publication' category of the national student journalism awards run by the Journalism Education and Research Association of Australia.

Closing comments

Reporting from a project in which journalism students collaborated with Noongar community organisations, we have argued in this paper that an understanding of Indigenous Australians' profound connection to place can inform journalists about the underlying character of places about which they report. It is hoped that exposing students to a deeper, richer mode of reporting will:

- increase the likelihood of more specific stories and better Indigenous affairs stories;
- inform the journalistic practices of students, whether or not they choose to follow an Indigenous affairs reporting path; and
- serve as a prototype for forms of work integrated learning that position people and place back at the centre of journalism.

We have suggested that genuine engagement with the ancient, place-based culture of Australia's Indigenous people can do much to revive the 'where?' question of journalistic investigation. We have illustrated this revival in practice, drawing examples from the ACE project that led students to produce journalistic stories that contributed to a more inclusive articulation of Perth as a place.

Our experience is such that once students' consideration extends to the level of habitus—dispositions and position—their engagement with Indigenous people adds further significance and relevance to the question of 'where?' In our case this was achieved through the profound transformation of students' sense of their own place and the place of others in the field of journalism. Further, at this level of reflection, 'where?' was shown to be equally significant for participating Indigenous people, who achieved a greater sense of how they might negotiate a place in the media. Through this process we have found that Indigenous people can see the potential to find a voice through which they might achieve fairer media representation and be able to participate on an equitable basis.

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If it bleeds, it leads?

Changing death coverage in *The New Zealand Herald*

Abstract: Death has become more prominent in the news in the past four decades. Articles about a murder or accident, which in the past may have featured on page five or seven of daily newspapers, now often take up all of the front page of *The New Zealand Herald*. New categories have also emerged, including the threat of death or near death. This is evident from the increase in human interest stories which not only report the details of the incident but also capture emotion. This article follows the increased visibility of death stories on the front page of New Zealand's largest newspaper, *The New Zealand Herald*, and investigates how that coverage has changed over time. International scholars have examined the visibility of death in the media closely. However, research is sparse about exactly how this large body of work correlates with New Zealand print media. Therefore, this study aims to close this gap by using content analysis to discuss the prominence of death in *The New Zealand Herald* over four decades from the 1970s, and the reasons for increased coverage of threats of death or near death.

Keywords: death, fear, front page, human interest, newspapers, news values, New Zealand

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WHETHER it is a car accident, a murder or a shark attack, death has become a ready source of content in daily newspapers. It is increasingly easy to access, involves minimal cost and is in constant supply.

> Happy stories don't sell, we are told, and people want their tornados, collapsed walkways, big-cat attacks and crashed helicopter stories. The media is more than willing to supply them. Death sells. If it bleeds, it leads (Coleman, 2004, p. 6).

Hanusch (2010) contends that the development of mass media during the twentieth century led to a higher proportion of death stories.

> News organisations are competing as never before for the attention of audiences. This supposedly leads to increasingly sensationalised news coverage, where the old motto when it bleeds, it leads rules (Hanusch, 2010, p. 13).

It appears that *The New Zealand Herald* is following the trend towards more sensational content. As the editor-in-chief, Shayne Currie, told a class of journalism students at Auckland University of Technology in 2012: 'Whatever can kill you will make the front page' (Barnes, 2013).

Newspapers exist to make money and so circulation must be first priority. Therefore, greater care is being taken to ensure that stories that sell take the lead in the newspaper. As Conboy and Steel (2008) argue, the primary goal of the paper is to produce readers rather than news. Therefore, editors must create a selection of news tailored for a particular readership to create profit and/or exert influence on that readership (p. 651).

This article reports on news coverage of death as it has evolved and changed in New Zealand over four decades (Figure 1). We first outline previous studies on death in the media and the role of the front page. Using content analysis the authors found clear themes emerging which suggest that New Zealand is not only following international trends but confronting dilemmas associated with sensationalism. The article also traces the death story from simple fact-based reporting to narrative-themed stories that are now commonplace.

Figure 1. The changing front page of the newspaper, from left: 1973, 1993 and 2013.

Scholarship of death

A strong trend of many Western newspapers has been a move towards more sensational content, where trauma and grief have become news staples (Cote & Simpson, 2006). Articles about death are now ubiquitous: they have been propelled to the front pages, sometimes replacing obituaries, which have consistently been run at the back of most newspapers (Barnes, 2012a).

The selection and organisation of news stories is often a hurried decision-making process because of the pressure to be first with the news. Galtung & Ruge (1965) who proposed a list of news values to help in the selection process, included negative news,

that which involves trauma or distress, as attractive to the reader. Masterton's (1998) updated version of news values adds support to this research. His theory suggests there are three core elements present for any information to be considered newsworthy: interest, timeliness and clarity. Stories about death are usually intriguing, easy to understand and are reported as soon as possible after they happen. As Walter, Littlewood and Pickering (1995) highlighted: 'The deaths boldly headlined and portrayed by the news media are extraordinary deaths. That is why they are so eminently story-worthy as news' (p. 564). But deaths which make the news are not always extraordinary anymore. Even one fatality still provides enough content for a news story. Ultimately death draws on many news values beyond negativity, such as when the death is unexpected or happens to an ordinary person, or private citizen (Duncan, 2012).

As Rees (2004) points out, this is because it tells readers about threats that can affect them or their communities, and it can galvanise active responses that may reaffirm our sense that life has value. Walter et al (1995) suggest that readers may identify with the characters in a story whose emotional intensity and social vulnerability are being displayed 'not out of any macabre vicarious pain or voyeuristic pleasure, but as a reminder of their own mortality' (p. 586).

Tiffen's 2010 Australian study found little evidence in either frequency or prominence of stories to support the argument that news coverage had become more negative but concluded that there has been 'an increased emphasis on deaths by violent means' (p. 49). He suggests this leads to the media's reportage of death becoming less representational of the causes of death in real life. Comb and Slovic (1979) found newspapers overemphasised murders, accidents and crime but underemphasised deaths caused by disease.

Many scholars have examined the prominence of death in the mass media and how this has changed over the decades (Christensen, 2004; Hanusch, 2008; Moeller, 1999; Tiffen, 2006). While analysing the newsworthiness of stories that involve death, as well as the causes of death that were most reported, these studies offer an understanding of the ways in which death is approached by different areas of society. Hanusch (2008) provides an essential overview and thematic analysis of the large body of work that has been conducted on death in the media. He contends that death is extremely visible in the media, although historically this has not always been the case.

In Western societies, death was once a subject of taboo but it has now moved away from being a private matter and into the public arena. Death largely became more privatised by society during the twentieth century, therefore fewer people witnessed the process of death occurring and did not know what death looked like (Hanusch, 2010). He demonstrates that the media detected and filled that gap as it became more important for audiences who wanted death recognised. His theory supports the findings of Walter et al, who, after examining the deaths of 'peacetime private UK citizens', challenged the 'public absence of death' thesis by saying 'there is one arena that is very public and in which death makes a more-than-daily appearance: the mass media' (1995, p. 581).

Tiffen (2010) examined the coverage of death in Australian newspapers between 1965-2006. The papers included the major Sydney and Melbourne broadsheets and tabloids, two regional dailies and, in 2006, the national daily, *The Australian*. He noted that there was minimal change in the number of deaths reported in newspapers during this time, which he essentially attributed to a change in the size and presentation of the newspapers.

> All papers have increased the relative proportion of stories of deaths stemming from crime, but the quality newspapers less than the other two, with the regional papers showing the sharpest increase. The differences between the types of papers should not be exaggerated, but the tabloids and regionals do have a more parochial set of priorities, and perhaps in their shorter stories present a more frightening view of the deaths occurring in the world. (p. 49).

This article extends Tiffen's research with a focus on New Zealand and specifically the front page of *The New Zealand Herald*, the country's largest metropolitan newspaper.

Death in a New Zealand context

The sample for this study was constructed by gathering the front page of *The New Zealand Herald* for two weeks over three different time periods and included all stories that involved death. Within the resources available, this sample allowed the researchers to analyse the evolution of front-page death stories over four decades using content analysis. Each year sampled was separated by a decade. The timeframe chosen was from October 18 to October 30 in the years 1973, 1993 and 2013. This meant 36 front pages were collected for analysis, including all weekly and Saturday publications of *The New Zealand Herald.* The fortnight period in October was a random two weeks at the end of the academic year. No deliberate time period was chosen to ensure the randomness of evidence, making the comparison of decades possible.

This qualitative analysis revealed definite trends in how death is now covered in *The New Zealand Herald.* A quantitative analysis could not be carried out with any degree of accuracy because of the change in the number of stories that featured on the front page of the newspaper but it did identify trends. *The New Zealand Herald* adopted a tabloid format in 2012 and, although the editor claimed it did not mean the editorial would reflect the new shape, it is clear that the front page of the newspaper has changed, not only in content but in composition. For example, in 1973, the front cover averaged 12 stories; in 2013, there is generally only one feature story. The authors agreed that in order to identify the evolution of change in death coverage, the number of stories that clearly covered someone's demise should be divided by the average number of stories featured on the front page.

Each front-page story that reported the death of at least one person is categorised under one of the following headings: Natural causes, accident, crime, natural disaster, political turmoil, anniversary of death, court case or coroner report and funerals. Initial

data gathering made it apparent that another table of sub-categories should be developed to allow for the examination of other patterns within the selected stories. The category titles, or clear themes to emerge, were: Children, suicide, romance, photos and international/foreign news.

Another trend that became apparent as analysis progressed was the 'threat of death' or 'near-death' articles. These categories were deliberately separated from these figures because it was obvious that there was an increase in the number of stories in which a person was at risk of death and either survived or could still die.

Using content analysis, it was necessary to look for themes to build a picture of the patterns which emerged in the coverage of death over the past four decades. This form of methodology was chosen as some of the most sophisticated analyses in content analysis have been carried out with a focus towards news. It has been used 'for decades as a microscope that brings communication messages into focus' (McMillan, 2000). Examples of content analyses include a Canadian study of the portrayal of mental illness in Canadian newspapers (Day & Page, 1986) and determining if the coverage of female and male athletics was a function of the gender of the sports newspaper personnel (Whisenant & Schneider, 2003).

Krippendorff found empirical inquiries into communication content that dates back at least to the 1600s when newspapers were examined by the church because of its concern about the spread of non-religious matters. Krippendorff identified four advantages of content analysis: it is unobtrusive; it accepts unstructured material; it is context sensitive and it can cope with large volumes of data. With newspapers, maximum sampling efficiency involved sampling procedures, for example, simple random sampling or constructing a week to represent all days of the week or selecting a convenient sample of seven consecutive days, as well as sample size.

In 1951, Stempel examined front cover photographs in a six-issue-a-week (no Sunday edition) of the Wisconsin newspaper. He found 12 days—two constructed weeks—sufficient to represent the year, and suggested that increasing sample size could be a poor investment of a researcher's time.

Using a similar sampling procedure, content analysis allowed the researchers to gather material that could be clustered together according to different categories for interpretation of the data across decades. Examining the changes and consistencies in news coverage then provided insight into the changing nature of new values and priorities of the news.

Definition of categories

Categories that emerged for the study were each defined to ensure consistency: a death by *natural causes* was defined as a death attributed primarily to illness, age or anything not influenced by external forces. An *accident* was an unexpected and unintentional event that resulted in death. A *crime* story was determined as intentional harm caused, which resulted in death and would be classed as a criminal act under New Zealand

law. *Political turmoil* was defined as death caused by war, protests and political unrest, for example, civil war. *Anniversary of death* included articles that were a follow-up or memorial of the event of death—this included aspects such as book releases about the death. A story about death that revolved around a *court case, police investigation or coronial inquest* story was defined as civil or criminal legal proceedings following death or investigation surrounding the death of a person. Finally *funerals* encompassed stories about any ceremony or service held after a person's death.

The sub-categories were also defined as followed: a story categorised as *children* referred to the death of a child (person between 0-16 years) or if a child/ren was directly affected by the death of the deceased. *Suicide* was defined as death caused intentionally by the deceased. *Romance* referred to stories of death that focused on the deceased's relationship with a lover, partner or spouse. The category *photo included* was defined as when a death story was illustrated by a photograph. The *foreign* category was defined as death that occurred outside of New Zealand, including New Zealanders who died overseas.

Broadsheet to tabloid

A total of 37 stories were collected during the research time frame which mentioned the death of at least one person. Initial calculations showed a decrease from nine stories about death to six stories in 1973 and 2013 respectively. Furthermore, data from 1993 showed a significant outlier of 22 death stories reported (Tables 1, 2). However, further analysis acknowledged that this was a result of a change in the total number of stories featured

Table 1: Death causes reported on *New Zealand Herald* front page

	1973	1993	2013
Natural causes	-	-	-
Accident	4	9	4
Crime	1	4	-
Natural disaster	-	1	-
Political turmoil	1	3	-
Anniversary of death	1	-	1
Court case/Coroner	2	4	1
Funerals	-	1	-
Total	9	22	6
Average no. of stories[1]	12	8.1	1.45[2]
To average no. of deathstories	0.75	2.7	4.1

Note: Death only - Excludes stories that allude to threat of death, i.e. rescues, near deaths, sickness.
1. Number of stories featured on the front page. In regards to 2013 this is a story that features on front page with sub-heading and heading and is not a contents box.
2. Stories are classified as text of more than two paragraphs.

Table 2: Death reports sub categories

	1973	1993	2013
Children	3	3	3
Threat of death	4	4	3
Suicide/taboo	-	1	-
Romance	-	2	8
Prominent/elite figures	-	-	-
Photo included	1	4	9
International/foreign news	4	8	1

on the front page of *The New Zealand Herald* and that it was impractical to compare like with like. But an estimate shows that by dividing the total number of stories by the average number of stories, featured on the front page during the research period, decreased from an average of 12 stories in 1973 to an average of 1.45 stories in 2013. When these figures were taken into account, the average number of death stories increased from 0.75 in 1973, to 2.7 in 1993 and then almost doubled to 4.7 in 2013. This signalled that the number of stories that feature death on the front page of *The New Zealand Herald* has risen approximately by 3.95 stories over the last four decades.

This analysis also highlighted the fact that there was an obvious increase in the number of unexpected and tragic deaths: 66 per cent of the stories analysed from 2013 were categorised as an accident, which was an increase from 44 per cent in 1973—signalling a rise in the prominence of reporting on unexpected deaths. Death by natural causes, such as illness and old age—which is a significant cause of death in society—was unrepresented in the sample as no stories on the front page covered the topic. This was expected as Tiffen's (2006) research of newspapers between 1956 and 2006 alluded to the point that frequent causes of death stayed stable, whereas unexpected causes of death, particularly stories related to violence and crime, doubled over the research period.

Facts-based to narrative-themed

A vast amount of research surrounding death in the media is geographically limited and does not offer data that can be analysed from a New Zealand angle. New Zealand's representation of death in the media is of great interest due to the country's small population and geographical size. New Zealand has been described as one of the world's most intimate countries with only two degrees of separation—a local colloquial theory that draws upon Frigyes Karinthy's (1929) idea of six degrees of separation. The idea proposes that everyone on earth is connected through a chain of up to five acquaintances. A variation of this idea has been adopted by many in New Zealand, including a national mobile company, in order to describe how interwoven relationships can be in New Zealand society.

Large news stories often draw interest due to a connection the reader may have with the subjects or the proximity of the event. Therefore negative news stories involving death, or an extraordinary death, often affect a wide range of New Zealanders due to our limited connections and the increased likelihood of a connection with the deceased. For example, a story about a dying doctor's wish to survive to see the birth of his first child made the front page on 24 October 2013. The likelihood of others knowing the family or identifying with the family was highly likely, which made this human interest story popular.

Masterton (1998) alludes to the evolution of the newspaper and the representation of death by pointing out changes in news values; he suggests the increase in the prominence of human interest stories as a news value in its own right. 'Human interest' is defined by Masterton as people wanting to know about other people and this includes 'almost anything which stirs human emotion in any way' (p. 97). Human interest stories have always had an appeal and are usually the first read (Masterton, 1998). But as newspapers have moved away from breaking news stories, now that the internet is immediate, and newspapers take time to print and distribute, there has been a move away from fact-based stories to more narrative-style stories (Duncan, 2012). These articles are written in a way in which the reporter is the narrator and provides emotional engagement for the reader (Duncan, 2012). For example, rather than 'A 30-year-old farmer was killed when his tractor overturned…' the article may begin with 'Father of three Darren Smythe died after his tractor overturned… This is a more personal narrative which reflects on respectable character or the futility of the death.

This increase in the human interest angle, or narrative, may also account for the notable number of articles involving romance. In 2013, 53 percent of the stories regarding death, or threat of death, involved a reference to the relationships of the deceased or victim. For example, the young doctor who was likely to die of cancer before his first child is born. The narrative follows the age-old tale of a young hero facing early death, again supporting Duncan's identification of the futility of death (2012, p. 595). This style of narrative also reinforces societal values (Brewer, 2009) as 'we reflect on our own value-laden beliefs, and make moral or ethical judgements on the characters we hear about' (p. 171).

Subsequently the narrative provides context to tragic events (Duncan, 2012) as well as enabling the reader to associate with the story. It does this by allowing readers to think they understand the motivations of the characters in the story and the details of their relationships (Brewer, 2009). In many ways it creates a 'like us' factor, where readers identify with the experiences and 'reinforce the emotional authenticity expressed within the story' (Duncan, p. 592). Brewer (2009) uses social contructivism to carefully analyse a number of articles in women's magazines which she argues are embedded with societal expectations. She concludes that people in the articles are 'presented to us in caricatures, as stock characters, not unlike some of those in the fairy stories of the Brothers Grimm' (p. 182). This was evident in the Romeo and Juliet themed story of the death of two people who drowned at Auckland's Muriwai beach. *The New Zealand Herald* ran with

the headline 'Lovers die in failed rescue' (27 October 1993) in a bid, it would seem, to narrate the failed rescue as a fairy-tale-like tragedy.

The change from facts to narrative-themed stories can be illustrated by a 1993 *New Zealand Herald* story about a babysitter accused of murdering two young girls (October 23, 1993). The story, although featured on the front page, focused solely on the facts of the case and contained no narrative elements. Based on the findings in this article, if the story were run now it would have been a full front-page feature that painted a picture of the babysitter and the young girls, stirring emotions so readers could associate with the story, by questioning the motivation of a supposedly trustworthy figure.

The infrequency of death in society may also explain the fear factor that has emerged from the data which is labelled as the 'threat of death' (Coleman, 2004). Although there must always have been fear of impending or inevitable death, it was clearly not played up by the media decades ago. As Combs and Slavic (1979) demonstrate, 'heavy reporting of homicides and accidents as news probably occurs not only because it sells more newspapers, but because these hazards represent sources of societal vulnerability about which people need to be informed so that they can take precautions or institute appropriate controls' (p. 824).

It begs the question, however, as to why is it now that death has become more sensationalised and used to achieve such an emotional response from the reader? It could be assumed that a decline in the prominence of death in day-to-day lives, due to longer life expectancies, makes death more surprising and almost detached from the daily lives of the newspaper reader. This aspect deserves further investigation, particularly when it comes to the psychological point-of-view behind a reader's response or interest in stories regarding death.

Another obvious difference in the representation of death, that became apparent over the period studied, was the increase in the number of stories with an accompanying photograph. All front-page stories in 2013 were accompanied by a picture, which was not the case in previous decades. In 1983 photographs accompanying stories were very uncommon and it was rare to see so much as a head shot featured. There are a number of possible reasons for this: photographs, which were once an expensive option as they took up space that was once filled by columns of text, are now relatively cheap to include due to technological advancements. Photographs can now be taken by the journalist or even a citizen journalist, then emailed, placed and cropped on the page within minutes. This offers an element of immediacy which is vital in the newspaper industry which is competing against the accessibility of news stories and news images on the internet (Conboy & Steel, 2008).

Images play a vital role in the narrative of a news story: As with the colour illustrations in a child's book, a photograph tells its own story. However, reliance on images to narrate a story is of concern, particularly when it comes to the visibility of death. Hanusch (2008) raised this issue when studying the prominence of images to portray

death in the media. While the study concluded that visible death is still largely absent, he noted that the treatment of death had changed over the years and the 'small amount published in today's newspapers may in fact be higher than, say, 50 years ago' (p. 316). Further research would be beneficial in comparing the change in the visual representation of death over the years.

Another interesting observation from this research is the decrease in the number of stories related to death from foreign sources appearing on the front pages. There could be a number of reasons for this. Part of the explanation is the new layout of *The New Zealand Herald* and the introduction of a world news section which specialised in foreign news. It also follows the increased independence of New Zealand as an economic entity. The *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* followed a similar pattern, of replacing foreign celebrities on its covers with local celebrities, as part of the move towards 'celebrating our own' (Barnes, 2013b).

It is also worth noting that the timeframe chosen for this sample focuses on only 12 days a year, which is a limited basis for generalising. Yet clear trends did emerge. The researchers agreed that to ensure findings were reliable, the samples should be taken from the same time period each year. A further study could compare different time periods and over a longer timeframe.

Conclusion

This article has established that death has evolved to become a prominent feature on the front page of *The New Zealand Herald* over the last four decades. The number of stories involving death increased from 0.75 in 1973 and virtually doubled to 4.7 in 2013, although this figure does not compare like with like. The transition from the broadsheet and tabloid newspaper has made this trend progressively obvious, even as the number of stories occupying the front page dropped from an average of 12 stories in 1973 to 1.45 in 2013.

The way the death story is told has also changed in the *Herald*, from fact-based articles that simply report the facts—who, where, when, why and how—to narratives that capture emotions and feelings, reflecting the age-old entertainment value of a good story which features villains and heroes, and reinforcing societal values that good wins out. To make these articles all the more appealing and personable, strong imagery appears to have become the deciding factor in news selection.

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Tweeting, friending, reporting

Social media use among journalism academics, students and graduates in the Asia-Pacific

Abstract: This reflective article describes and analyses the use of Facebook and Twitter over a five-year timeframe by two journalism academics in Australia, whose industry and research expertise are in the Asia-Pacific. The use of social media has made possible for journalism educators an active electronic space in which to conduct discourse on development, publication, networking and career opportunities with students and alumni. This discourse and the educators, students or alumni who engage in it reflect the nature of the global media industry as inherently network-based (in contrast to employment approaches found in other industries such as graduate programmes in commerce, law or engineering). Because it operates using electronic communication, such discourse also reflects the industry which journalism graduates seek to enter as not being geographically confined to one city or state within Australia—instead, reflecting a rapid rate of movement between cities and states, or between countries, or between urban and rural locations. Using active participant observation, the researchers argue that social media can be used to develop and retain links with their students and alumni, by making use of the social connectedness that is coming to characterise communication. The researchers were early adopters of Facebook and Twitter communication with students. The article argues that social media has been beneficial in the conduct of these activities while exploring the use of social networking in relation to the politics of 'friending' or 'following' and 'being followed' by students.

Keywords: Australia, journalism academics, journalism education, media, social media

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> I don't tend to poke students any more—but I have every intention of continuing to poke a graduate from three years ago who should have got a job by now instead of swanning around the world—One of the authors of this article, on her research blog

MANY academics argue that they shouldn't friend students on Facebook. But as journalism educators we believe that we have an obligation to not only approve students' friend requests on Facebook, but to also follow students (on

Twitter), because we see these practices as beneficial for the students' development and professionalism. We argue that they make journalism educators better at teaching, and allow journalism educators to connect students and former students with opportunities in their chosen field.

This reflective article describes, analyses and justifies our use of Facebook and Twitter in our work from 2007 to 2012 as two journalism academics in Australia, whose industry and research expertise are in the Asia-Pacific. The use of social media has made possible for us as journalism educators to engage in an active electronic space which we use to conduct discourse on development, publication, networking and career opportunities with students and alumni. Our premise is that such a discourse and the educators, students or alumni who engage in it reflect the nature of the global media industry as inherently network-based (in contrast to employment approaches found in other industries such as graduate programs in commerce, law or engineering). Because it operates using electronic communication, such discourse also reflects the industry which our graduates seek to enter as not being geographically confined to one city or state within Australia—instead, reflecting a rapid rate of movement in media jobs across the Asia-Pacific region and beyond, between cities and states, or between countries, or between urban and rural locations.

Using active participant observation and an ethnographic approach, we try to build a case that social media can be used to develop and retain links with students and alumni, by making use of the social connectedness that is coming to characterise communication. We were early adopters of Facebook and Twitter communication with students, telling university administrators who warned against such interactions on social media that students who plan to work in journalism must learn to engage with it in a professional manner. This article draws heavily on our personal experiences to discuss the use of social media as a way of networking, sharing employment or publication opportunities, and providing advice after students graduate. Our article argues that social media has been beneficial in the conduct of these activities while acknowledging the concerns fellow educators have encountered or observed in relation to the politics of 'friending' or 'following' and 'being followed' by students on social media.

Social media and higher education

The subject of social media use by journalism educators in the course of teaching future journalists has not been subject to extensive research, although there is a growing body of work on the way that social media has had an impact on journalism practice. The intersection of social media and journalism constitutes nothing less than a paradigm shift in the media industry, according to Ludtke (2009) in that journalism has changed from a lecture to a conversation. Newsrooms have reacted in different ways to the adaptation of new technologies (Boczkowski, 2004). While many journalists were immediately aware of how social media enabled improved communication between newsrooms and the

public, others were cautious about adopting such tools given the challenges involved, such as the accuracy of information shared on social media.

Rather than playing the role of the Fourth Estate in monitoring government and holding those in power accountable (Gentzkow, Glaeser, & Goldin 2006), as media adopts new technologies it is forced to negotiate and incorporate the principle of talking and sharing associated with the internet, and in the process make the adaptation of social media a duty incumbent on journalists (Ludtke 2009). There are parallels in our envisioning of social media as a form of participatory publishing with the work of Nguyen (2009), who believes journalism educators need to embrace (both theoretically and practically) social media use because of predicted changes in the role of the profession they are preparing their students for, from a gatekeeper of content to a listener, facilitator and participant of conversations.

In our journalism practice we have witnessed the increasing role played by social media in the creation and consumption of news. Reflecting on this increased role, Stassen (2010) states that journalists have an obligation to engage with audiences, who are electronically connected to media outlets to an extent never seen before. This engagement can take the form of adoption of new methods of delivery for stories, as well as building communities around content on Twitter, YouTube and Facebook (Stassen 2010). According to Newman (2009), major global stories are indicative of how social media has changed journalism practice, in particular the street protests against the G20 summit held in London and the contested Iranian elections, both of which took place in 2009. Twitter and Facebook became sites where Iranian activists and those following the elections gathered to disseminate and discuss information which Iranian authorities attempted to control through television and radio. Because of the harassment faced by international correspondents including restrictions on movement and deportation, the content posted by citizen journalists became an integral part of the Iranian election narrative, even when mainstream and professional media outlets were unable to verify the photos and footage (Newman, 2009).

In terms of the impact on the work of a journalist, the competent use of social media is now a skill that is integral to many journalism roles, which call for reporters to be producers of content across platforms instead of being tied to a particular platform such as radio, television, or print (Beam & Meeks 2011; Hirst & Treadwell, 2011). As professional journalists, we have been required to fulfill the pressing need of producing stories for various online formats, despite our print and radio-focused backgrounds. Recently, BBC staff were not merely encouraged to use social media, but instead forced to, with the British public broadcaster's management taking the position that using social media is part and parcel of being an effective staff member in a media organisation (Qualman, 2012). The topic of social media usage in the day-to-day work of media professionals is one that has also been explored through the lens of public relations, in relation to how

practitioners in that industry connect with producers and journalists (Waters, Tindall & Morton 2011). In 2009 the use of social media as an information source by business journalists was not as widespread as the use of 'static' sources such as websites or online directories, although public relations practitioners were urged to prepare for a time when social media played a larger role in the news cycle (Lariscy et al., 2009).

The omnipresence of social media in today's newsrooms has implications for the teaching of journalism. As Bor (2014, p. 243) notes, 'It is not enough for graduates of journalism school to possess oral and written communication skills. They must also be effective in using an array of web-based platforms such as social media sites to report news'. We found that integrating social media into journalism curricula posed challenges for us as educators. Such challenges are also elaborated on at length by academics at AUT University, who found their journalism students to be technically savvy but unaware of how to use social media professionally or to create news-like content through blogs or YouTube, instead using social media sites in a predominantly personal capacity (Hirst & Treadwell, 2011). Looking specifically at the use of social media in journalism education, they outlined their goal of making the journalism curriculum at AUT reflective of the changes in journalism practice brought about by the use of social media. They note that where technologically-driven changes take place in journalism and in the journalism job market, journalism education quickly adapts even if the question of *how* to integrate social media into the curriculum is a vexed one for journalism educators. Social media-driven changes in news production are not cosmetic or restricted to basic journalism practice (sourcing talent, for example) but also affect audience engagement with news, therefore, 'the industry and the academy cannot be blind to these trends' (Hirst & Treadwell, 2011, p. 447). Diekerhof (2013) also warns against assuming that the youth of journalism students means they are digital natives in a professional sense; while they may be technologically savvy, their comfort with new technology does not automatically equate to an ability to put social media to use in conjunction with key journalism skills such as news gathering and telling a story. Empirical evidence exists to support these assertions by Hirst Treadwell (2011) and Diekerhof (2013). A study of three undergraduate broadcast journalism subjects at a United States university found that the integration of social media in assignments made students aware of the potential of social media use for career development, but also that students faced some difficulty in understanding the personal versus professional or journalistic use of social media (Bor, 2014).

The social group that is the focus of this paper consists of journalism students, alumni and educators from Melbourne's RMIT University from 2007-2012. RMIT offers long-established journalism programmes at undergraduate or Bachelor and postgraduate by coursework Masters level. Its undergraduate programme sees more than 1300 applications annually for forty publicly funded places (*Crikey*, 2009). We were the journalism educators within the group—one is of Indonesian background and helped set up Melbourne's first Indigenous radio station before working for an Australian public broadcaster specifically

committed to multicultural broadcasting, and for a news station in Singapore where she also taught journalism. She then lectured at a Melbourne university with a predominantly international student cohort prior to joining RMIT in 2006 (and leaving in 2012). Her doctorate looked at internet usage among Muslim communities in Australia and Southeast Asia. The second journalism educator taught journalism in two Australian universities and spent three years teaching Arab women in the United Arab Emirates. She also worked for more than 20 years as a journalist or journalism educator in Ireland and South Africa and is completing a dctorate looking at journalism education conducted by Australians and New Zealanders. During the time frame examined by this study, we maintained our industry practice at the international radio division of Australia's main public broadcaster, covering stories on the Asia-Pacific region.

One of the criticisms of participant observation as a research method is the external status of the researcher as an outsider to the social group and context being studied—a status which can limit the breadth and depth of the data which is able to be collected (Johnson Avenarius & Weatherford, 2006). In order to overcome this, we are using an active participant methodology where we are a part of the group that is the focus of the study. Our analysis draws on our experiences in the use of social media with local and international students and alumni from both journalism programmes at RMIT. It takes an ethnographic approach to the analysis and uses active participant observation as a reflective methodology. There are some key benefits of taking such an ethnographic approach to research involving a defined social group. Ethnographic research looks at the behaviour of group members within a natural environment instead of a constructed one (offering more scope for data that is richer in authenticity), as well as allowing the researcher to step into the shoes of the members of the group being studied—seeing things from their perspective and learning the 'language' used to communicate by the group (Elliott & Jankel-Elliott, 2003).

Social media and journalism education caveats

Although social media interaction between students and educators can be described as an emerging area of study, research has already established concerns over the use by academics of such sites. For example, Hewitt and Forte (2006) found that of the 176 US-based tertiary students they surveyed over two years, two thirds were comfortable with academics being on Facebook, but the remainder cited various concerns including students' privacy and a belief that the relationship between students and educators should remain professional, instead of social (which it was perceived to be as a result of interaction on Facebook). The privacy of educators, on the other hand, was an issue identified by Mazer et al (2007) who found that an educators' credibility in the eyes of students could be affected by what she or he posted on Facebook.

In terms of using social media as a reporting tool, we acknowledge and are aware of a few limitations. Social media reaction has become de rigeur in reporting (particularly of

lifestyle, celebrity, or sports news) and is viewed by media organisations as a convenient and quick way to interact with audiences and gauge public reaction to events (Stassen, 2010). However, it is rarely the primary reason for a news story, although we will teach students about those exceptions where social media is in fact the key point of the story, including the use of social media as a campaign strategy in the US elections of 2012, or cases of Facebook-advertised birthday parties which turned into riots when thousands of people turned up. A subsequent example that has arisen following the timeframe in which we conducted this reflection is the case of the communications professional whose racially insensitive Tweet cost her a job (Bercovici, 2013), which we would argue teaches journalism students two things—how a genuine story based on classic news values that is about social media might look like, and how important it is not to make such remarks on your Twitter feed or your Facebook timeline. We are also aware (through both research and our own professional practice) that there is a trade-off that Twitter in particular seems to make when it comes to speed for the cornerstones of journalism—accuracy and objectivity. Although Twitter is instantaneous, when social media is relied on as a news source, errors are amplified through re-tweeting, and again a primary example has since arisen following the timeframe covered by this paper in the case of the wrongly identified suspect in the Boston marathon bombings (Shih, 2013). We also teach students that social media often tests the journalistic aim of objectivity through the selection of some viewpoints to the detriment of others. For example, in the Iranian election of 2009, news narratives about the use of social media tended to favour the viewpoints of younger and more technically savvy Iranians, who were supportive of the opposition candidate (Newman, 2009).

In terms of using social media to build a community of graduates and current students for networking and distributing intra-group publishing, paid and volunteer opportunities, we have identified some cultural issues which pertain to our experiences as educators outside of Australia, and in societies that are starkly different to our own. We use Facebook to keep in touch with former students from the different parts of the world where we have taught including the United Arab Emirates and Singapore, and we are conscious of the different attitudes our Asian, Middle Eastern, European and Australian students have to things such as nudity, partying and drinking. While neither of us has ever defriended a student or former student, we have deleted some of their posts on our page, because some of our former students come from cultures where the behavior of young Australians can be confronting (and conversely for an Australian student, some of the viewpoints or photos that our international students post can be confronting). We ask all our students to consider how someone from a different society might react before they post things on our walls.

Towards professional social media practice

We are aware of and acknowledge the privacy, journalistic, and cultural concerns that come with the use of social media in journalism education but we are also aware of the

increased use of Facebook and Twitter as part of industry practice, given our work as professional journalists. So we approached our use of Facebook and Twitter as journalists, educators and human beings, from the position that the use of these two social media sites would quickly end up as a norm for groups of journalism students and educators. Over a timeframe of five to six years, we discovered it was useful to define three overall ground rules from the beginning (such as the first class of a semester) that would cover our collective use of Facebook and Twitter with the students.

1. **Neither of us initiates friendship with students on Facebook although we will accept friend requests, but we will often follow students on Twitter**. In both instances, this is dependent on the student being identifiable (using his or her name, a photograph or mutual friends or followers – who are often other students). We approach Twitter differently because fewer students use it, and we introduce it by explaining the benefits we found as practising journalists of following other journalists on Twitter whose work we admired, and pointing to concrete examples of recent students or younger journalists using Twitter to line up interviews or source background. We will often encourage a new cohort of students to sign up to Twitter, and then follow those students to get them started, and we have discussed in class journalists and newsmakers in different fields whose accounts are worth following. We differ in our views on whether students should put us on limited access on Facebook and in the end we feel that is a matter for them to decide.
2. We warn them that we use social media in a personal as well as a professional sense, but that **we try to adhere to the basics of never disrespecting our partners, colleagues or universities on Facebook or Twitter**, and that as tempting as it is to mouth off on social media, social media isn't the place for that. Nevertheless we let them know that we do often use social media, especially Facebook, to post personal or family related content, and that we have mad families, as they probably do too. Some evidence exists to suggest students who see educators sending only social or personal tweets viewed them positively in terms of the educators' credibility (Johnson, 2011). We send such personal and social tweets well as professional ones (in our case, news and current affairs related tweets), and on Facebook share photos of our families and friends because it is good for students to know that they are not the only ones who are important in our lives—and at times they will have to wait for assignment feedback because we have, for example, sick children. We also post news articles, journals and musings, which we think they will find interesting. Most of our Tweets or Facebook statuses relate to journalism, some relate to our fields of academic research or other interests, or some are just funny. We sometimes talk about students collectively but not to ridicule or to shame them—generally we

mention them because they have done something great. Often we link to their journalism work, or congratulate a student or graduate when she or he gets a new position, or advertise (at the request of the former student concerned) a journalism role when a graduate moves on to another position.

3. **We respond to assessment-related confusion or questions on social media, but not complaints.** If students ask each other about assignments that we have set or are marking and we see that, we will often jump in to answer. If the question is a complaint or a grumble about an assignment we tend to ignore it. In class we often state that complaints about assignments should be communicated through the student's university email account to our staff email accounts. If we see a comment on Facebook or Twitter disrespecting a fellow student, a colleague or a working journalist (and one of us has only seen this twice, the other only once), we privately communicate our concern. On the occasions we have done this, students have removed the comment and thanked us for pointing out the dangers of saying things on social media which may come back to haunt them professionally.

With both of us having spent a considerable amount of time as broadcast journalists, we see social media as a kind of broadcasting—so we tell our students that they will not see us publicly drinking, smoking, lying, complaining about colleagues, or doing anything that reflects badly on our professionalism. But what they will see are ways where the use of social media intersects with journalism practice. As discussed by Diekerhof (2013) our students may be digital natives, but in order to explain to students in concrete terms about the benefits of professional use of social media and its use in journalism practice, we urge them to consider the following.

1. The use of a standard email address (firstname.lastname or a variation of this) that is kept only for job-related purposes (applying for internships, making pitches for freelance work, or registering for professional development opportunities).
2. The use of online file storage (we explain that we use Gmail so as to be able to connect with Google Drive, but students could equally use Dropbox or another online storage facility) to keep contact lists, rundowns for community radio and television shows they might be volunteering on, story ideas, and so on. We show them screenshots of our own contact lists with telephone numbers and email addresses blacked out, and explain that from experience, they may well end up juggling different casual jobs initially on graduation and therefore need quick access to their contact lists at different newsrooms.
3. The art of turning the bio for their Twitter account into a resumé, and following the accounts of journalists and relevant organisations in the field they are attempting to enter. We show them screenshots of recent graduates' Twitter

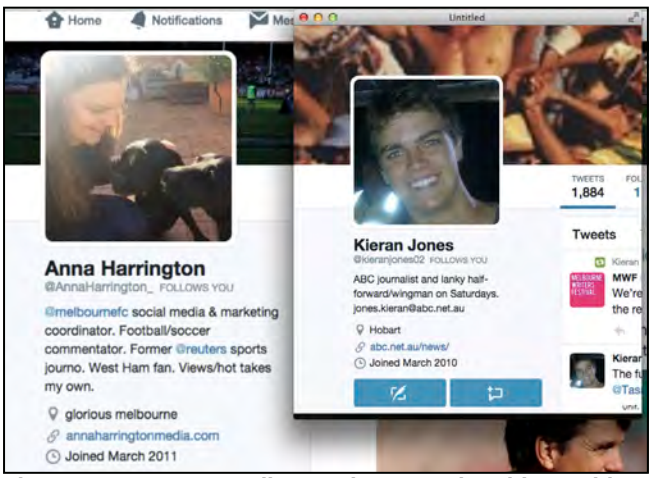

Figure 1: Recent Australian graduates' Twitter biographies.

biographies, which we view as exemplars (see Figure 1) in that they demonstrate where a graduate is working, a link to their online portfolio, and something personal that shows a human side to the graduate/ Twitter account holder.

Because of our emphasis on, and experiences teaching, journalism as a cross-border industry, we are careful to include a range of such examples reflecting different countries and cultures including that of a Malaysian former journalism student who had worked at the Australia Broadcasting Corporation's Asia-Pacific desk (see Figure 2).

4. The joining of key Facebook groups such as the one we set up for students about to graduate and recent graduates, where jobs and publishing opportunities are often posted, and the use of Facebook to crowd-source talent or interviewees for human interest and soft news stories (or hard news stories, using postings to groups or pages).

Historically, Australian journalism has been an industry where 'getting your foot in the door' involved building up experience and networking, with work placements and contacts a key factor in getting journalism-related roles (O'Donnell, 1999). One of the key benefits of using social media to interact with students is the ability for us as educators to continue to stay in touch with students once they graduate, enter the workforce, and often provide mentoring and career opportunities for the students who have come after them. Against this background where networking is critical to securing work, we are training students to be journalists in a highly public online world, where everything celebrities do and say is taken and

Figure 2: A recent international graduate's Twitter biography

used against them in the media. One of the most important things for us to do as journalism educators is to prepare our students for that same kind of scrutiny. As educators, we do this in a classroom environment but by having us as Facebook friends or by following us on Twitter, we can act as reminders not to post something that could later come back to haunt them, while we teach them what we have found works from our journalism practice, and that of previous journalism graduates. Facebook and Twitter let us know where our students have gone, letting us keep in touch with them, which in turn means we are able to link current students to past ones.

Conclusion

At the World Journalism Educators Conference in South Africa in July 2011, one of the authors of this paper had lunch with four journalism educators who specialised in digital news. When the topic of social media use came up, one of the journalism educators made a strong case that we should allow students their own private space. Others believed that journalism educators should be active in the Facebook and Twitter world, but do so through means where the private and personal is clearly separated. While understanding these concerns, we disagree. Our disagreement stems from both the benefits that we have witnessed from engaging with our journalism students on social media and the grounding in theory of this engagement, which we are aware of. The subject of social media use specifically by journalism educators in the course of teaching future journalists has not been subject to extensive pedagogical research, although there is a growing body of work on the way that social media has had an impact on journalism practice through interaction with audiences and providing new sources of content and reaction or response from interviewees. Our industry and research experience covers the Asia-Pacific and in our journalism practice we have witnessed the increasing role played by social media in the creation and consumption of global news. As active participant observers and early adopters of Facebook and Twitter communication with journalism students, we have come to the conclusion that social media can be used to develop and retain links with journalism students and alumni. We acknowledge that there are concerns with the use of social media among students and educators, including issues of privacy, the credibility of the educator being compromised through social media use, and a belief that the relationship between students and educators should remain academic and professional without veering into the social or personal. There are also concerns over the use of social media in journalism practice such as the trading of speed for accuracy and objectivity, and the danger of relying on social media as the primary reason for a news story, although we acknowledge that sometimes this is the case. Finally, given our experiences as journalists and educators in the Asia-Pacific region we acknowledge the fact that there are cultural differences among our social media circles, and that if we are connected to our students and former students on Facebook and Twitter they need to be aware of those differences.

However, our journalism practice has led us to believe that students who plan to work in journalism must learn to engage with social media in a professional manner. Drawing on our personal experiences, we discussed the use of social media as a way of networking, sharing employment or publication opportunities, and providing advice after journalism students graduate. In this article we have argued that despite the concerns, our use of social media has been beneficial in the conduct of these activities while acknowledging the pitfalls that other researchers have identified, in relation to the politics of 'Facebook friending' or 'following' and 'being followed by' students on Twitter. In our use of Facebook and Twitter over a five-year timeframe we have identified some basic ground rules governing our interaction with students on social media, including differences in how we initiate or respond to social media contact (passively on Facebook by accepting friend requests and actively on Twitter by following students who are new to the site, and always dependent on being able to identify the student), using social media personally as well as professionally but never disrespecting our universities or the people we are connected to, and 'nipping in the bud' confusion about assessment that may be aired by students on social media while sticking to email to respond to complaints about assessment.

Actively engaging in social media with our journalism students and graduates is a reflection of the nature of today's media industry. We know that our students are likely to change jobs, or to move out of journalism altogether, and to move from cities to country locations or to move across countries. We know that they often obtain jobs through contact with alumni and graduates. Our industry and the industry we are preparing the students for is global, digital, and network based, and the competent and professional use of social media is a skill without which future journalists would be disadvantaged.

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Celebrated French *Rainbow Warrior* investigation echoes Watergate

RÉMI PARMENTIER is director of the Varda Group, an international strategic consultancy specialising in environmental advocacy and project development www.vardagroup.org. *He was a veteran of early Greenpeace campaigns on board the original* Rainbow Warrior *in the 1970s and early 1980s, and later Greenpeace International's political director.*

La Troisième Équipe—Souvenirs de l'Affaire Greenpeace, by Edwy Plenel. Paris: France. Editions Don Quichotte, 2015, 140 pp. ISBN 978-235-949-462-4

Rémi Parmentier alongside the 1985 *Rainbow Warrior* 'scoop' front page in the foyer of *Le Monde*.

IF YOU visit the headquarters of the newspaper *Le Monde* in Paris, on the wall facing you in the main hall after you've passed security you'll find, side-by-side, the large reproductions of two covers of the daily newspaper which has been for decades the hallmark of the French intelligentsia. Testimonies of passed times, nearly three decades separate the one on the right side of the wall, 'Marshal Stalin has died' (March, 1953) from the one on the left, 'The *Rainbow Warrior* would have been sunk by a third team of French military' (September, 1985).

Why did someone choose to juxtapose two stories that bear no relation? Maybe it is because both events marked a new point of departure in the psyche of the Parisian left: Stalin's death opened the key to the Soviet Pandora's box, and the sinking of

the *Rainbow Warrior* 30 years ago by a French secret service squad in Auckland harbour to prevent Greenpeace from protesting against nuclear weapons testing in French Polynesia is now seen as the most grotesque illustration of François Mitterrand's presidency (1982-1995) renunciation of his Socialist Party's stated values.

The *Rainbow Warrior* front page story was the outcome of weeks of investigation by Edwy Plenel, then a young reporter in his early thirties and now 30 years later, the founding director of Mediapart, the leading French investigative news online publication.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the *Rainbow Warrior* bombing, in *La Troisième Équipe-Souvenirs de l'Affaire Greenpeace* Plenel shares anecdotes and reflects on the ways the world has changed since that time, for better or worse—mostly worse.

Plenel's book should be on a list of recommended reading for all young journalists, political scientists and politicians who have reached adulthood only after the internet and the end of the Cold War changed the way global political action and communication takes place.

'The landscape of the Greenpeace affair is a world that is reaching its end and does not know it,' writes Plenel three decades later. 'The tension around nuclear weapons and the disregard for environmental challenges, the political resort of state terrorism by the French state in New Zealand was anchored in this old world.' (p. 23).

In 'A Story From Before', the first of four chapters, Plenel reminds us that it took four weeks for *Le Monde* to figure out that what had happened in Auckland, in the antipodes had a French political dimension; four weeks during which the newspaper had only published a handful of brief agency dispatches, with the exception of a larger piece from *Le Monde's* environment correspondent. The sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* took place on 10 July 1985; Plenel explains in the book that it was almost by accident this story fell onto his desk, at a time when the newspaper's offices had been largely deserted in August for the summer holiday.

Chapters 2 to 4 contain Plenel's first-hand account on how he collected one by one what he describes as the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. He was supported and worked in synergy with a few journalist colleagues from within and outside his own newspaper, but Plenel also describes how his work was undermined and sabotage was attempted by many other French journalist colleagues whose goal was obviously to deliberately conceal the truth in order to protect the military.

Indeed the strong ties, at least at the time, between French media and the country's secret services was, during the summer of 1985 one of the most destabilising factors for everyone involved closely or remotely in trying to uncover the truth—the author of this book review included.

Plenel also refreshes our memories with his description of the infamous Tricot report, named after Bernard Tricot, a former close collaborator and political appointee of General de Gaulle in the sixties and a member of the Council of State (the French equivalent of the Supreme Court

for administrative justice) at the time of the *Rainbow Warrior* affair. In a desperate attempt to cover up, President Mitterrand commissioned Tricot to undertake an 'investigation'.

Released on August 25, little more than 6 weeks after the explosion of the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland, the Tricot report concluded that, if French agents were present in Auckland at the time of the *Rainbow Warrior* bombing, it was only to watch (spy on) the Greenpeace vessel, not to attack it.

Only those who wanted (or were told) to believe Tricot did, but the vast majority took his report for what it was: a gross, utterly predictable whitewash.

In the three weeks and a half that followed after Tricot, there was a race among a handful of French journalists to get to the bottom of the truth. Bits and pieces were released here and there. But nothing conclusive until Edwy Plenel signed (under the supervision of his boss, the head of the newspaper's Justice Section Bertrand Le Gendre who was co-signatory) the outcome of his investigation which was published on September 17: 'The *Rainbow Warrior* would have been sunk by a third team of French military.'

Until then, everyone had paid attention to two different teams of French agents in Auckland: the false 'Turenge' couple that was arrested in Auckland almost immediately after the bombing, and another group that had come from New Caledonia on a yacht, the *Ouvéa*, and which had escaped from New Zealand, and later Norfolk Island, in time to be rescued by a French nuclear submarine in the high seas.

Both groups had played a role, but they both had covers to suggest that they could not have possibly dived under the hull of the Rainbow Warrior to fix the two limpet mines with which she was sunk.

By uncovering a third team, Plenel caused the collapse of the fragile house of cards assembled by French authorities to cover their backs. The *Ouvéa* team's mission was 'only' to sail into New Zealand with the two bombs on board; the 'Turenge's' role was 'only' to catch up with the *Ouvéa* outside Auckland and to deliver the bombs to the third team that had gone unnoticed until Plenel figured it out.

In his book, *La Troisième Équipe* (The Third Team), Plenel explains that in the first draft of his story he was not using the conditional tense '… would have been sunk by a third team …' that was imposed by the newspaper's executives. However that was enough to unmask the truth. It took 48 hours after the release of Plenel's story for Prime Minister Fabius to sack Charles Hernu, the Defence Minister, and Admiral Pierre Lacoste, the head of the secret services.

Many of the protagonists of the *Rainbow Warrior* affair are now dead. The former Defence Minister, Charles Hernu was the first one to go, in 1990. François Mitterrand remained President of the Republic until 1995 and died in 1996.

In 2005, nine years after Mitterrand's death and 20 years after the *Rainbow Warrior* bombing, *Le Monde* published a leaked document that proved that in 1986 the head of the secret services, Pierre Lacoste, had testified in a classified document commissioned by a new Defence Minister, that President Mitterrand had been aware of early on and had approved the plan to sink

the *Rainbow Warrior*. 'I would not have undertaken such an operation without the personal authorisation of the President of the Republic,' Lacoste was reported as saying.

One character who is still alive and well is Laurent Fabius, then the youngest ever French Prime Minister who was in his late thirties in 1985. It is generally thought, unless proven wrong, that Fabius inherited this poisonous affair and had been kept in the dark by President Mitterrand until it took place, some say even until Plenel's story came out.

Thirty years later, Fabius is currently President François Hollande's Foreign Affairs Minister, and as such he will be chairing the critical Paris Climate Summit in December this year. Fabius is deploying great efforts to make the so-called COP 21 Climate Summit a resounding success. It is too early to know whether he will succeed, but his eagerness to be seen as a green leader on the world stage is a good illustration of the way the political environment is changing—in this case for the best, we hope.

There is one other character who is still alive, according to Plenel. Throughout the book, Plenel calls him *le Consul*, the Consul. That was Plenel's informer from within the French administration, throughout that summer of 1985. Rather than a straight informer, Plenel describes him more like a guide or a coach who puts him on the right tracks, and warns him when he's making a wrong turn. Very much like the 'deep throat' of Bob Woodward and Carl Berstein of *The Washington Post* during Watergate. But with a notable and very French difference: Plenel was meeting his deep throat in exquisite Parisian restaurants apparently, not in a parking lot like Woodward and Bernstein. Ah … *Paris sera toujours Paris!*

Rainbow Warrior after the blast

Death of a warrior

ISLANDS BUSINESS correspondent David Robie, 40, was among several journalists on board the Rainbow Warrior when she sailed to the Marshall Islands to evacuate the "nuclear nomads" of Rongelap atoll. He was with her for 10 weeks, until the night before she was bombed in Auckland harbour.

By DAVID ROBIE

It was just before midnight. Some of the

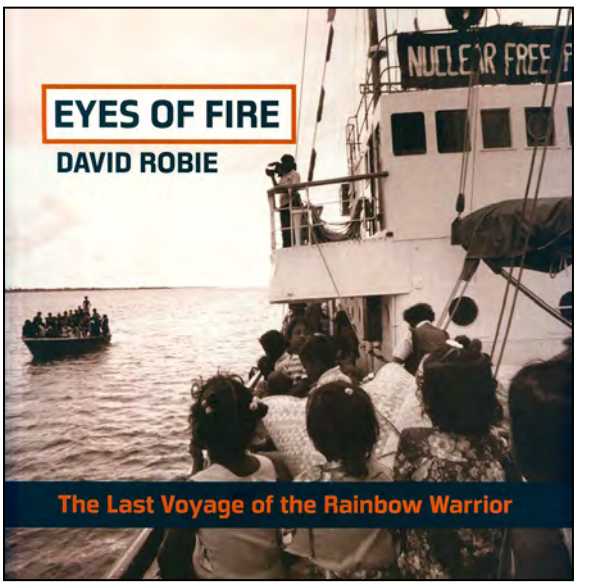
nuclear-free nation, had been assassinated, terrorists struck in New Zealand last month and scuttled the Rainbow Warrior's protest

arrest warrants for three Frenchmen last seen headed for New Caledonia. Air searches continued for the New Caledonia

How the Pacific regional news magazine *Islands Business* reported the sabotage, 1985.

Pacific insights into the *Rainbow Warrior* legacy

MICHAEL SERGEL is a journalist who reported on the 30th anniversary of the Rainbow Warrior *bombing.*



***Eyes of Fire: The Last Voyage of the Rainbow Warrior*,** by David Robie. [30th Anniversary Ed.] Auckland: Little Island Press, 2015, 194 pp. ISBN 978-1-877484-28-5

THE 1985 bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* is often remembered as the deadly consequence of a small Pacific nation taking a defiant stance against nuclear testing by major powers. Thirty years on, the updated edition of David Robie's *Eyes of Fire* moves beyond the David and Goliath narrative that puts New Zealand at the centre of the story.

Prime Minister David Lange called the bombing a 'sordid act of international state-backed terrorism' and an 'unprecedented affront to sovereignty' (p. 128). Months earlier, he had defended New Zealand's anti-nuclear position at the Oxford Union. Years later, he said the lack of international support had only strenthened the country's resolve (Young, 2005).

But Robie reminds us the bombing was far more than a key date on New Zealand's political timeline. The former British fishing trawler had been part of missions to stop whalers, sealers and nuclear warships in Scotland, Ireland, France, Spain, the United States and Peru. It had even been at the centre of a diplomatic Cold War clash during a visit to Siberia.

Eyes of Fire starts with the very beginning of Greenpeace—the 'floating farmhouse' of Canadian ecologists, lawyers, journalists and hippies who sailed out to stop a five-megaton nuclear test at Amchitka in the North Pacific in 1971 (p. 1). It presents a movement so diverse its supporters could not even agree if the Pacific should be nuclear-free.

Robie covers the confrontations between Greenpeace boats and French authorities in 1972 and 1973 and the legal action by New Zealand that forced France to abandon above-ground atmospheric testing at Moruroa Atoll. Later, he covers the flotilla the *Rainbow Warrior* was supposed to lead against France's underground nuclear testing in 1985.

But the main focus of *Eyes of Fire* is the observations Robie made during his time on board the *Warrior* on its final Pacific voyage from Jacksonville to Auckland and 'Operation Exodus' in the Marshall Islands. As deckhand Grace O'Sullivan jokingly put it, the ship became 'the Greenpeace Atoll Cinemas, as well as the *Rainbow Warrior* Furniture Removals and the evacuation-education-and-entertainment team' (p. 87).

What began as an environmental publicity campaign through the Pacific to gain support for the anti-nuclear movement became a humanitarian mission to evacuate the people of the Rongelap Atoll, who were still suffering from the effects of radiation from Castle Bravo tests three decades earlier in March 1954.

The bomb was the largest nuclear device ever detonated by the United States, and the culmination of an eight-year testing programme at Bikini Atoll following on from World War II. The people of Bikini had already been asked to temporarily evacuate for the 'good of mankind' in 1946 and have never been able to return (Weisgall, 1980).

The ash from the Castle Bravo bomb spread to Rongelap, where it fell on homes and contaminated water supplies. Rongelap mayor John Anjain recollected how 'some people put it in their mouths ... one man rubbed it in his eye ... people walked in it... children played in it', but everyone was oblivious to what it was or what dangers it posed (p. 21).

The islanders were evacuated by US officials three days later, suffering burns, hair loss and radiation sickness. Three years later the US deemed it safe to return. But when the *Rainbow Warrior* arrived three decades later, Robie said the islanders who had returned were facing nightmare-high rates of cancer, miscarriages and boneless 'jellyfish' babies.

One man who had already left the island said the detonation of Castle Bravo was an act of murder and living on the island was a death sentence (p. 52). Australian filmmaker Dennis O'Rourke said the US was aware of the risk to the atoll when it detonated the bomb, and used the outcome as a test case for the effect of radiation on people (p. 52).

Many writers have described how displacement forces people to move from one set of dangers to a whole new set of problems–whether it be mass migration of Jewish people after the Holocaust (Warhaftig, 1946), the violent partition of South Asia (Butalia, 1998), or the evacuation of the Carteret Islands due to sea level rise (Edwards, 2013). It is a point likely to be raised again during the world's current refugee crisis.

Robie makes the point in *Eyes of Fire*. He explains how Rongelap islanders were left with a deep sense of regret—their church was 'padlocked and shuttered, waiting for the day when [they] might be able to return' (p. 67). But he is also keen to point out how they left with a great sense of urgency, worried their children could be exposed to further radiation.

The Rongelap people relocated to Mejato on Kwajalein Atoll, where they were safe from radiation but faced severe food shortages and had to rebuild their homes. Many pregnant women and children were taken on to nearby Ebeye Island for medical

attention from the 'overtaxed, understaffed local hospital'—an island where many Rongelap people already lived (p. 69).

Ebeye faced many of its own problems after the United States military moved thousands of islanders there to make way for the Kwajalein Missile Range. Robie describes it as a 'plywood shanty island' and the 'ghetto of the Pacific'—crowded and poor because of US military testing but economically dependent on it (p. 71).

The US downplayed the effect of radiation on Rongelap and the need for evacuation. One American official said there was no radiological or medical reason for the islanders to move (p. 45). Another said the evacuation had been 'instigated by outsiders who misled the islanders', and the islanders had been 'tragically... victimised' (pp. 67-68).

Robie claims anti-nuclear and independence movements were also falsely accused of having Soviet ties. On one occasion he says, US researcher Dr Glenn Alcalay, on board for part of the voyage, was contacted by the FBI and accused of Soviet loyalties after a casual meeting with a Soviet embassy secretary (p. 71). On another, he says Greenpeace faced accusations of Soviet links in Kiribati (p. 81).

Vanuatu and New Zealand were also ostracised for their anti-nuclear positions. Robie recounts a security guard on the US base on Kwajelein Island who told him New Zealand had 'gone all commie' by banning US nuclear ships, and the Marshall Islands was lucky the US was saving it from 'commie' invasion and interference (p. 75).

In his other recent book on Pacific human rights, *Don't Spoil My Beautiful Face*, Robie goes on to compare the Rongelap nuclear refugees to climate refugees fleeing rising sea levels in the Cataret Islands and Takū Atoll in Bougainville (Robie, 2014). The low-lying Marshall Islands could be next for evacuation, and once again major powers have stood by and watched.

New Zealand may associate the *Rainbow Warrior* with one unjustified bombing and one tragic death, but the ship sailed the Pacific to raise awareness of many bombs and many deaths. Robie hopes new research and compensation claims will force super powers to not make the mistakes of the past. But to do that, they will need to accept they made mistakes in the first place.

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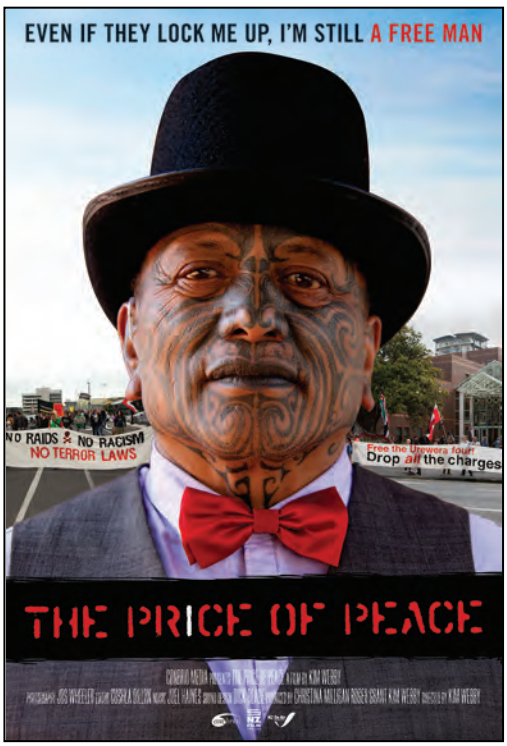
The other side of the Tūhoe raids

ALISTAR KATA is contributing editor of Pacific Media Centre's Pacific Media Watch project.

The Price of Peace [documentary], directed by Kim Webby. English and Te Reo Māori. 2015, 87min. www.nziff.co.nz/2015/auckland/the-price-of-peace/

MOST New Zealanders will remember when Tūhoe activist Wairere Tame Iti shot the national flag, during a powhiri ceremony, at a Waitangi Tribunal Hearing in 2005. New Zealanders will also remember when Iti, along with three others, was tried and found guilty of firearms charges as part of what the media coined, the 'Urewera Four' (Gay, 2012) trial. The man with a full facial Tā moko is regarded throughout the mainstream media as somewhat of a rebel, and by the state as a 'dangerous proto-terrorist intent on infecting New Zealand' (Hill, 2012).

But a new documentary, *The Price of Peace,* by award-winning director and co-producer Kim Webby provides exclusive access to the world of Iti, and gives an alternative approach to the story of the Urewera training camps and the 2007 New Zealand police raids on the Tūhoe community. The film, which made its debut at the New Zealand International Film Festival this year, addressed how the raids specifically affected the Tūhoe community, how the media covered the debacle and the importance of reconciliation and the state of race relations in New Zealand.



Webby says that it was important to show Iti as more than just an activist. Webby wanted to show the backstory of the way he was raised, the place he was raised and what inspired and sparked him to become an activist. She wanted to show the sides of Iti that the public rarely get to see; the father, grandfather, marae committee member and community leader.

Throughout the film the audience watches him interact with family members and his mokopuna (grandchildren) through his trial, bringing a greater understanding of what kind of person he is away from the spotlight and showing the effect of the trial on the people closest to him.

Secondly, the film confronts the emotional, physical and psychological impact the raids

had on the Tūhoe community, namely the people of Ruatoki. The emotionally charged testimonies from Iti's partner Maria Steens and her daughter Amie Rangihika give a personal perspective to the situation and show the very real effects of the New Zealand police's actions. Both Steens and Rangihika describe being taken outside their flat, separated from each other and witnessing police hold Iti face down on the ground with guns aimed at his head. In the Sky City cinema on the afternoon of the film's premiere, there was a thick silence and a few sniffles as these very personal stories rolled onto the screen. Webby said the significance of these testimonies was not only to show the traumatic impact of the raids on all involved, but to give an understanding of the legacy they have left on the Ruatoki people, leading into the process of reconciliation.

Thirdly, the documentary focuses on the media's portrayal of Iti as a sensationalised character and reporters branding him as an extreme activist. With a background in journalism, working for shows such as *Fair Go* and *60 Minutes,* Webby understands the nature of news is to always pick the most polarising aspect and for stories to be told in sound bites. But the film provided the opportunity for more in depth coverage of Iti and the Urewera story. One of the most poignant scenes in the film is where Iti emerges from the Auckland High Court and is met with a media scrum. He starts answering their questions in his native tongue and then starts to recite the nursery rhyme 'hey diddle diddle' in Māori, as if to counter the circus that the media had become during the trial.

Through Iti's tale of adversity, the history of race relations in New Zealand is looked at. The documentary shows the reconciliation between Iti's family, the wider Ngāi Tūhoe community and the New Zealand police, represented by Commissioner Mike Bush. These are beautifully spiritual and moving scenes that allow space for a wider dialogue on the misunderstandings and differences between Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and the Pākehā world. In the film Iti's lawyer, Russell Fairbrother, talks about Iti's trial being a case of two worlds that don't talk easily with each other. He couldn't have painted a more accurate picture of the history and state of race relations in the country.

Not only is the film Iti's personal story, but his journey represents the struggle of the Ngāi Tūhoe people and their 170-year battle with the state (Joseph, 2015). Towards the end of the film, Webby highlights the significance of the monumental Tūhoe-Crown settlement, which is a fitting way to round out the film and bring closure to the whole story.

There is one element of the film that lends itself to negative critique. The documentary is largely told from a Tūhoe perspective, and unapologetically so. But as a spectator, I found myself thinking back and constantly referencing the coverage I had seen throughout the New Zealand media. I had seen Iti outside the courtroom, I had seen Iti in security footage in the training camps, and like the rest of New Zealand I had seen Iti sitting in the docks of the High Court. The fact of the matter was that I had never seen this side of the story. I had never seen Iti face down on the ground while police were pointing guns at his head,

I had never seen Steens and her daughter taken from their home by armed officers, and, just like the rest of New Zealand, I had never seen Iti, full-face moko and all, laughing and playing in his backyard with his mokopuna.

What this film calls audiences to do is to understand Māoridom on a deeper level. For the people of Tūhoe, Māori culture isn't something that people are used to seeing just on the marae or whenever the occasion calls for the display of traditional customs, it is a way of life. Tūhoe is a way of life and this film achieves a greater understanding of that notion. It allows the public or audiences to make their own mind up about a man and a community who have previously been misunderstood.

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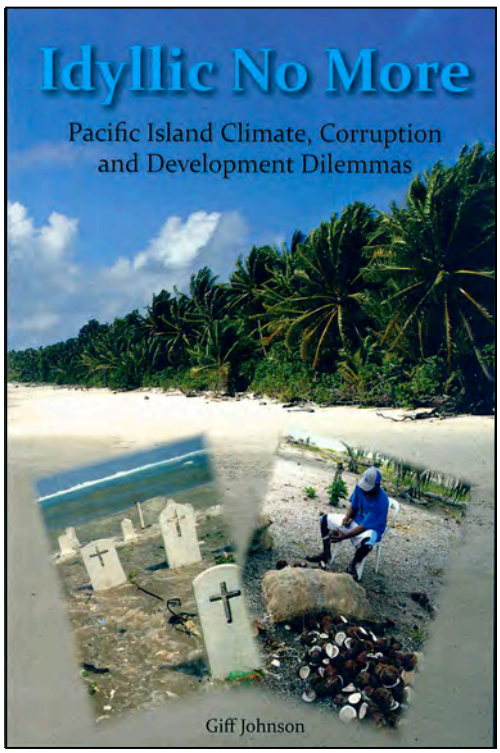
Why the Pacific status quo is no longer an option

FATHER FRANCIS X. HEZEL is a Guam commentator and blogger on Pacific issues. He was the founder and long-time director of the Micronesian Seminar in Pohnpei.

Idyllic No More: Pacific Island Climate, Corruption and Development Dilemmas, by Giff Johnson. Majuro, Marshall Islands: CreateSpace. 2015. 153 pp. ISBN 978-1-512235-58-6



GIFF Johnson's latest work, *Idyllic No More: Pacific Islands Climate, Corruption and Development Dilemmas*, is a call to serious planning and more. The *Marshall Islands Journal* editor summons leaders to recognise that life has changed in the country and the status quo is the road to disaster.

There was a time when this might not have been true—when people who wanted to kick back and live a simple island life could quietly opt out of school and retire to the family land to provide for themselves as their ancestors had done for generations in an island society that offered the resources, physical and social, to support its population.

But times have changed, the author convincingly argues through this collection of essays, drawn largely from his blog at the Vanuatu-based Pacific Institute of Public Policy. That kind of idyllic fallback is no longer an option. Residents of the Marshall Islands, including those outer atolls where life was simple and cheap, are voting with their feet.

The outflow of Marshallese to the United States is steadily increasing, slowly emptying the remote atolls even as it drains the population of the two large population centres, Majuro and Ebeye. Islanders today expect meaningful employment but find none at home.

Marshallese today want more but seem to be getting less. Water supplies are contaminated in many places, the copra industry which once provided modest disposable income for those who worked the land has gone south, and the quality of education is not what it once was.

No wonder people now describe them-

selves as 'poor'. Normal household tasks have become more challenging with the breakdown of the old extended family on which they relied. As a result, even basic care of children often leaves a lot to be desired.

In today's world no island is simply an island. All nations have subscribed, willingly or not, to standards that are spelled out in global millennium development goals (MDGs).

Measured by these standards, progress in the Marshalls has stalled.

Donors may open their hearts and wallets to the Marshalls, but the money given is all too often regarded as a treat to be passed around the table and sampled by everyone rather than for its real purpose. Consultants come in and craft a report outlining reform measures that goes unread and unimplemented.

Government employees fly off to attend meetings that multiply each year and leave them little time to provide the public services their people so badly need.

How does this small island nation chart a new course for itself? One that offers it the hope of finding new resources while conserving those it now has? One that provides a pathway to the development that government and people claim to want for themselves? One that is, in that overworked phrase, sustainable?

The answer is not nearly as elusive as it might appear, the author suggests. But making this happen will require reform: a change in habits, especially on the part of the government, and a readiness to implement practices that we know can be successful but threaten our own interests.

That's what it will take, no matter whether we're dealing with global warming, preserving fish stock in national waters, improving education and health services, or trying to make the heavy emigration work to the advantage of the Pacific.

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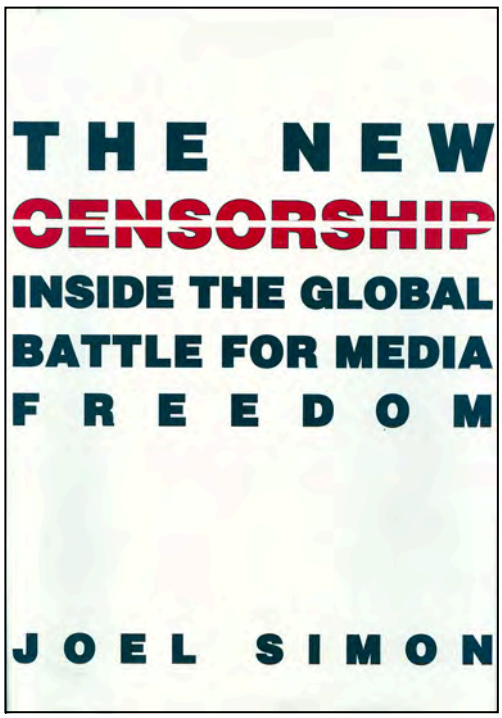
Giff Johnson's PiPP blog: pacificpolicy.org/author/gjohnson/

The struggle for media freedom amid jihadists, gaggers and 'democratators'

DR DAVID ROBIE is director of the Pacific Media Centre and convenor of the Pacific Media Watch freedom project.

The New Censorship: Inside the global battle for press freedom, by Joel Simon. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. 236 pp. ISBN978-0-231-16064-3.



ONE of the ironies of the digital revolution is that there is an illusion of growing freedom of expression and information in the world, when in fact the reverse is true. These are bleak times with growing numbers of journalists being murdered with impunity, from the Philippines to Somalia and Syria.

The world's worst mass killing of journalists was the so-called Maguindanao, or Ampatuan massacre (named after the town whose dynastic family ordered the killings), when 32 journalists were brutally murdered in the Philippines in November 2009.

But increasingly savage slayings in the name of terrorism are becoming the norm. In early August 2015, five masked jihadists armed with machetes entered the Dhaka home of a secularist blogger in Bangladesh and hacked off his head and hands while his wife was forced into a nearby room.

According to the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, 2015), 506 journalists were killed in the decade between 2002 and 2012, almost double the 390 slain in the previous decade. (Both Reporters Sans Frontières and Freedom House also reported escalating death tolls and declines in media freedom.)

While there appear to be far more democracies in the world than ever before, the committee's executive director Joel Simon says there is a sinister new threat.

And this is in some respects more troublesome than the old style dictatorships. Simon describes this new scourge in *The New Censorship: Inside the Global Battle for Press Freedom* as the 'democratators', those leaders who profess to be democratic but are actually subverting their mirage of open governance.

> What are these differences between dictators and democratators? Dictators rule by force. Democratators rule by manipulation. Dictators impose their will. Democratators govern with the support of the majority. Dictators do not claim to be democrats – at least credibly. Democratators always do. Dictators control information. Democratators manage it. (p. 33)

Simon points out that democratators win elections yet while they may be free, they are not really fair, meaning they are decided by fraud.

He has a growing list of leaders that fit this label, including Latin American 'populists' like Rafael Correa of Equador and Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, 'European backsliders' like Viktor Orban of Hungary and Viktor Yanukovych, the deposed former president of Ukraine, and African leaders such as Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Jacob Zuma of South Africa.

Undoubtedly, Fiji's prime minister Voreqe Bainimarama should be on this list too since being elected last September, ending 8 years of military backed dictatorship and providing a figleaf of legitimacy while continuing to manipulate public debate and information.

However, according to Simon the most successful democratators include Turkey's Revcep Tayyip Erdoğan—with regular crackdowns on the media (more journalists imprisoned than in China and Iran) - and Russia's Vladimir Putin and the oligarchs. Joining them would have been populist Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, only he died in March 2013 after a decade and a half in power.

It is critical for the democratators to win popular elections so that they can manipulate power and the institutions to perpetuate their control. Once elected they claim to be carrying out a popular mandate and acting within 'international norms'.

Also high on Simon's list of media threats is the way terrorism has impacted on how big media groups currently go about their global news-gathering. Conscious of the ever-present threat of ritualised kidnappings and bombings, journalists are sometimes forced to report from bunkers and are less enthusiastic about meeting uncertain sources in case they might be abducted.

Even the appearance of journalists sometimes makes them look like an extension of the military—with helmets, flak jackets and camouflage fatigues. This accentuates their targeting by fundamentalist groups who regard them as an extension of the 'state'.

China is the elephant in the room when it comes to freedom of information. While China's leaders embrace the internet, they believe they can, and ought to, control the web. It is clear that China has the technological means and resources to make internet control a reality.

With up to 700 million netizens (p. 96), it is already by far the largest online audience globally. China has also succeeded in creating and controlling its own parallel platform technologies, such as Sina Weibo—the equivalent of the blocked Twitter; the Facebook-like (also blocked) Renren and Kaixin social media sites; YouKu (equivalent to YouTube); and TomSkype, a joint venture with Skype.

Chinese authorities use monitoring and filtering to keep a lid on the cyberspace 'conversation' to prevent repercussions.

Far more serious is the leadership—and successful model—that China is providing among countries that want border 'sovereignty' over the internet.

While global freedom of expression advocates, including the United States, argue for a continued open policy, China and its supporters believe that 'a free and open internet *and* [author's emphasis] massive US surveillance are equally threatening to its national interests'. China wants the US-based internet infrastructure, including domain naming administration rights, to be transferred to the United Nations.

Also, US responses to the Wikileaks scandal in 2013 and the massive surveillance revelations by Edward Snowden encouraged allegations of hypocrisy from critics pointing out that Washington's commitment to internet freedom dragged when its own geopolitical interests appeared threatened. As Simon notes:

> In the Internet Age—when information moves at the speed of light—censorship should be a thing of the past. But it isn't. Around the world information is censored for a variety of reasons. In China, 'subversive' websites are routinely blocked, and critical comments are routinely removed from social media platforms. In the advanced democracies of Europe, censorship is practised under a different and obviously more legitimate rubric. (p. 183)

Joel Simon believes that the global mediascape will continue to be chaotic into the future with world news groups competing with regional and national outlets, activists, bloggers, citizen journalists and political organisations to 'meet the world's information needs'. But it isn't all bad news.

He argues that journalists should join forces with media freedom advocates to form a grand coalition to defend the free flow of information, as expressed in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It is only when information is 'democratised and decentralised, when news is truly harder to control and manage,' … 'that the voices of the marginalised and disenfranchised are heard'. Only then will the full potential of the 'information revolution' unleashed by technological innovation be able to be finally fully realised. This book's analysis is an essential part of digital democracy and ought to be accessible in all journalism school libraries.

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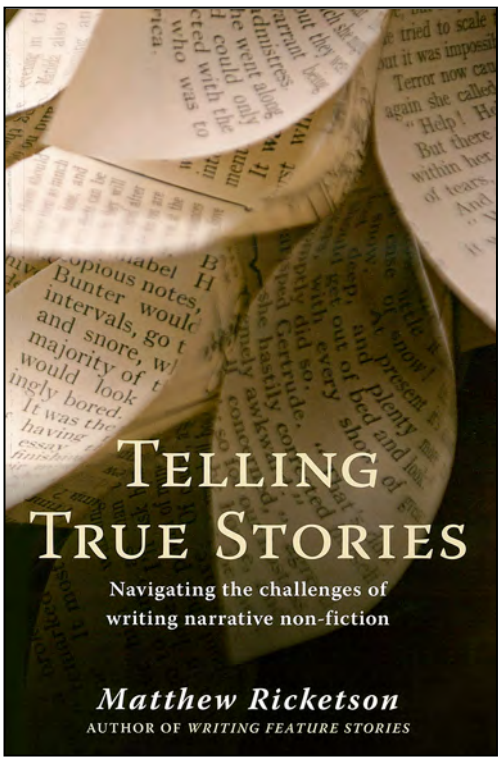
Searching for the truth of book-length journalism

DR BONITA MASON is a journalism lecturer at Curtin University in Western Australia.

Telling True Stories: Navigating the challenges of writing narrative non-fiction, by Matthew Ricketson. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2014. 282pp. ISBN 978-1-742379-35-7



AUSTRALIAN journalism academic and practitioner Matthew Ricketson's new book opens with two quotes: one from South African writer Nadine Gordimer on the enduring presence of 'beauty' in the quest for truth; the other from US comparative literature professor Peter Brooks on the impossibility of separating our own humanity and imaginations from what we write. Gordimer has also written elsewhere of the writer's responsibility, as a social being, to take part in their world through their writing—to become 'more than a writer' (1985, p. 141). The kind of writing Ricketson seeks to define, and describes, analyses and advocates in this book (much of which is also investigative), comes closest to meeting these roles and responsibilities for the non-fiction writer.

As a young journalist, Ricketson covered the Ash Wednesday bush fires in 1980s Victoria. He was struck by the gulf between what his short news reports could convey and the enormity of the fires and people's experiences of them. Years later, as he began studying and teaching journalism, Ricketson discovered 'just how supple and enlivening are the various forms of journalism' (p. 4). He has been writing and studying long-form journalism for a long time—a commitment and breadth of work evident in the pages of this book.

Ricketson begins *Telling True Stories*, as many of us do in journalism research and writing, by establishing the human, political and democratic importance of long-form journalism, and with problems of definition. He notes the inadequacy of the term 'non-fiction', explores the alternatives and settles on 'true stories' (see Chapter 2)—a category of writing that has been variously identified as literary journalism, long-form

journalism, narrative journalism, reportage, creative non-fiction and literary non-fiction. In this book, Ricketson contributes to the knowledge and understanding of an important form of journalism practice and production relatively neglected by scholarly research. He also advocates the recognition of book-length journalism within the journalism field, and as a reading, writing and publishing genre alongside other works of non-fiction, such as true crime, history and biography.

However it is labelled and whatever form it takes in print or online, for Ricketson, a true story is book-length work demonstrating journalistic research methods and a narrative style of writing for a broad audience (p. 29). Beyond news and distinct from the novel, but somewhere along a continuum between the two, a true story offers 'fresh information, more information, information set in context and information whose meaning has been mined and shaped into a narrative that fully engages readers' minds and emotions' (p. 39).

Such engaging writing may act more powerfully on story subjects, sources and readers, and on the journalist themselves, than either news or fiction and therefore magnifies the potential ethical problems that arise from its practices. This understanding, and Ricketson's belief in the power of true stories to contribute to democratic conversations, underpins the strong and consistent ethical thread running through the core of this book.

Telling True Stories provides an analysis of many (and many well-known) works of book-length journalism, and presents that analysis within the context of scholarly and interview material from academics and practitioners who have studied and practised aspects of it, including its methods and representation. Ricketson focuses his analysis and discussion on books, mostly from North America and Australia. He examines various works and practices from Bob Woodward, Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*, Janet Malcolm's *The Journalist and the Murderer*, Gitta Sereny's *Cries Unheard: The Story of Mary Bell*, Helen Garner's *The First Stone*, David Marr and Marian Wilkinson's *Dark Victory*, John Bryson's *Evil Angels* and Margaret Simons's *The Meeting of the Waters*, among others. He examines these texts for what they offer our understanding of book-length journalism and for their lessons in ethical practice. His ambitions are scholarly and practical. *Telling True Stories* contributes to our understanding of the form, and is both a caution and guide for writers and readers of book-length journalism.

The book is structured according to the three phases of the book-length journalism production process: research, including journalist-source relationships (chapters 3, 4 and 5); writing, including similarities and differences between fiction and non-fiction and authorial voice (chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10); and reception, which focuses on cultivating 'informed trust' in the reader (chapters 11 and 12). This categorisation is rough and aspects of research, writing and reception necessarily weave their way in and out of most if not all of the chapters.

In the research chapters, Ricketson focuses most keenly on ethical concerns in

the journalist-source relationship that are present in all forms of journalism but magnified in the extended, book-length form, where the capacity for closeness, intrusion and harm is greater. The comparison of Woodward and Carl Bernstein's *The Final Days* and Capote's *In Cold Blood* sets up the ethical issues (Chapters 3 and 4), which are further elucidated in the next chapter, focusing on developing trust with sources while maintaining editorial independence and critiquing Malcolm's *The Journalist and the Murderer*. These chapters explore the boundaries, tensions, ethics and, less explicitly, the rewards of the journalist-source relationship, and the veracity contract that exists between writers, story subjects and sources, and readers.

For Ricketson, comparing Woodward's (various works) and Capote's methods and works 'cracks open crucial issues for anyone wanting to write or understand true stories' (p. 41). Such issues include, but are not confined to: the dangers of an over-reliance on anonymous sources (Woodward); an expectation that the reader trusts what you write because of your reputation rather than for your transparent, sound and ethical practice; the belief that facts and values can be kept separate; concerns about accuracy and invention; and allowing literary merit (Capote and, perhaps, Malcolm) to both trigger and mask questionable practice.

Also explored are questions about the writer's presence in the text—the inclusion of 'I' in the narrative as an ethical, modest choice—and the 'omniscient narrator's voice' (p. 54), questionable because it suggests there is only one way of seeing and representing what is taking place. Ricketson revisits voice and the writer's presence in the text in the writing section (see chapter 7), where he identifies voice and representation as existing along a spectrum from realist (eg, Capote) to modernist (eg, Joan Didion).

While he acknowledges that different approaches to voice will suit different kinds of stories, he advocates a more nuanced approach to voice than that envisaged at either end of the realist-modernist spectrum: one that is transparent about its research and writing process, and what it learns through telling the story, but does not get in the way of or overwhelm the story. Marr and Wilkinson achieve this in *Dark Victory*, which is written in narrative style—powerful, like a thriller—and which 'provides readers with ample means to scrutinise its sourcing and methods' (p. 142). In *The First Stone*, for Ricketson, Garner's voice tends to overshadow the story.

As for his own voice, Ricketson practises what he preaches. This book is reflexive. Ricketson is present in the text as both practitioner and scholar, in the way he advocates: enough to let us into relevant aspects of his subjectivity—his dispositions as Bourdieu would have it—but not so that his presence detracts from or overwhelms the story he is telling. *Telling True Stories* is more complete for it, as it also contributes to the conversation about the need for more reflective journalism.

Although *Telling True Stories* is written primarily for academics and writers of book-length journalism, Ricketson is also concerned with the 'everyday reader',

which he focuses on in the third section of the book. Here he develops the idea of 'informed trust for narrative non-fiction works' (p. 215): earned through transparency, where the work's factual basis and truthfulness is demonstrated through 'paratextual material', such as acknowledgements, endnotes, a bibliography and notes to the reader on methods (see Chapter 12). Again, he demonstrates how this has and can work through his analysis of book-length journalism, including the different approaches taken by Malcolm Knox in *Secrets of the Jury Room*, and by Simons in *The Meeting of the Waters*.

The three parts in this book—research, writing and reception—form a framework for reflecting and doing. In *Telling True Stories* Ricketson devises his framework with acknowledgement to journalist and literary academic Daniel Lehman, who developed a similar framework for understanding the relationships between the reader, writer and subject in literary non-fiction. Ricketson's framework provides a guide—a series of recommendations—for ethical practice, drawn from the mistakes and successes of the writers he studies. Ricketson focuses his framework more closely on writers, and would-be writers (also useful for students), of book-length journalism, and hopes its relevance and applicability will mean its ready take-up by practitioners.

Time will tell. In the meantime, Ricketson wants us—writers and readers of book-length journalism—to think more critically about what we produce and how we produce it, as he encourages us to tell stories that express 'truthfulness, independence and social justice—with the capacity to engage readers emotionally as well as intellectually' (p. 156). Perhaps, to become more than a writer.

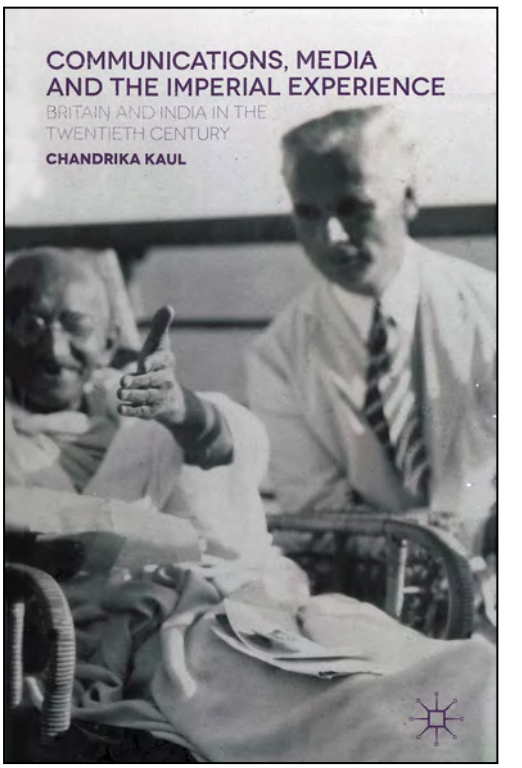
Reference

Gordimer, N. (1985). The essential gesture: Writers and responsibility. In *Granta 15*. Cambridge, UK: Granta Publications Limited.

How news media responded to India's relationship with Britain

DR PHILIP CASS is PJR reviews editor and senior lecturer in the Department of Communication Studies at Unitec, Auckland.

Communications, Media and the Imperial Experience, by Chandrika Kaul. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 278 pp. ISBN 978-0-230-57258-4



CHANDRIKA Kaul's latest book begins and ends with what she regards as carefully stage-managed displays of British power designed to establish enduring images of imperial rule; in one, Indians and Britons bonded by their love of their King-Emperor and in the other, a noble, benevolent Britannia handing power to India as its civilising mission comes to a natural and peaceful end.

Kaul, from St Andrews University in Scotland, has written or edited a number of books exploring imperial media systems and in this latest volume she explores how the media reacted to various stages in India's relationship with Great Britain during the 20th century.

One writer described Britain and India in the 20th century as being like two people who had been dancing together for so long that they could not work out how to disentangle themselves without losing their dignity. It is this process of disentanglement that provides the background for Kaul's book.

She begins with an exploration of the Delhi Durbar in 1911, the great pageant designed to make real through the presence of George V the claim that the British monarch was also emperor of India. It would be, the editor of *The Observer* wrote:

> …an event raising conscience and imagination alike to a higher power [it] will be no hollow process of grandiose pomp and glittering ostentation, but will be for the permanent good of India and the renewed strengthening of the Monarchy in the sight of all the people over whom the sceptre of Britain stretches its sway. (p. 25)

Quite apart from its local political significance and the fact that parts of the British press were able to claim that its success demonstrated that Indians and Britons alike were bonded in loyalty to the King Emperor, it also provided audiences with some of the earliest colour film of the British empire, a ceremonial cavalry charge having been recorded in a two-tone film process. This is not, however, simply another book about Britain and India. Kaul looks at how the American journalist William L. Shirer (later to become famous as the author of *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*), J. A. Mills and other members of the American media covered the Indian story and helped to create the Ghandian myth.

Kaul traces the first inkling of the situation in India among American readers to Mark Twain's visit in 1896. American support for the Indian nationalist cause among its intellectual classes sits, in retrospect, somewhat uneasily against the American government's own imperialism of the time and its readiness to invade Latin American countries south of the Rio Grande and suborn their governments as it saw fit.

Nevertheless, by the time of Ghandi's march to the sea, political action by Indians in America and their local supporters had ensured that he garnered international coverage to such an extent that despite efforts by the British administration to make Ghandi invisible in the local media, the Postmaster-General of Bombay had to admit that there was nothing he could legally do to hinder the sending of telegrams by the journalists covering the march.

As the century progressed, a half-hearted attempt was made to establish a radio network, modelled along Reithian lines. Kaul devotes a quarter of the book to examining Indian radio's first, faltering steps, and paints a sympathetic picture of Lionel Fielden, the British official sent out to breathe life into the system, only to face obstruction and indifference at almost every turn. One Indian leader declared: 'The villager doesn't want your beastly wireless: he wants food and soap.' (p. 162) Elsewhere he rubbed up badly against the government of India and although some of his successors, at least, recognised that his achievements under the circumstances had been monumental, he was effectively fired in 1940 after five years' service. Fielden lamented:

> I hated Indian inefficiency…inferiority complex…noise and…dirt, just as much as I hated British cruelty…patronage…complacency and… bad taste. And so, loving nobody, I found myself, so to speak, in the middle of an Asiatic rugby scrum in which I kicked everybody and everybody kicked me. (p. 164)

One of the curiosities of history that Kaul notes in this chapter is that the BBC's founder, Lord Reith, longed to be Viceroy of India, and was bitterly disappointed when the position went to Lord Mountbatten. It is Mountbatten who dominates the final chapter on independence.

Mountbatten's war-time career had not been unblemished. He lost his ship, the HMS *Kelly*, and masterminded the disastrous Dieppe landing, a catastrophe for which Canadian veterans never forgave him. These were matters for which any ordinary officer would have been court-martialled, but being a quasi-royal, he was instead packed off

to India to serve as overlord of the allied campaign against the Japanese, in which capacity he performed well.

Having been given the Vice Regency, his task was to extract Britain from India, keep the press on side and make sure that he was always in the limelight. This he did, with the assistance of a devoted team, his wife Edwina (who dallied with Nehru) and his daughter Pamela.

Unable to persuade the Muslim leader Jinnah to agree to a united India, Mountbatten subdivided the subcontinent into India, West and East Pakistan and set a date for independence. He was indefatigable in organising and managing the media, either by himself or through his subordinates, charmed the BBC into submission, organised newsreel coverage and generally set the tone for the coverage.

As Kaul demonstrates, the tone—in the British press at least—was generally one of satisfaction that Britain had done its job, educated the Indians to the point where they could take over the reins and was able to walk away with dignity and a sense of quiet satisfaction.

Mountbatten wrote:

> We started off with the utmost pomp of which we were capable and I was determined that we'd go down with colours flying very high. (p. 217)

And then he admitted:

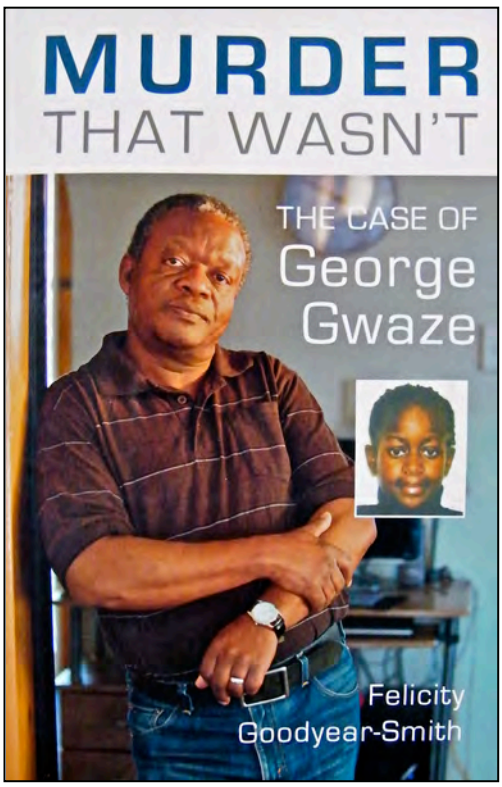
> It was a close race, we just pulled it off. (p. 217)

Since India gained independence in 1947, British, Australian and New Zealand flags have been lowered across the Pacific. *Communication, Media and the Imperial Experience* will hopefully inspire an equally intimate examination of the role of the media in their stories.

Harrowing story of prejudice and religious blackmail

PAT CRADDOCK is a broadcaster and media consultant from Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Murder That Wasn't. The Case of George Gwaze, by Felicity Goodyear-Smith. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015. 180pp. ISBN 978-1-877578-99-1



THIS harrowing book is about George Gwaze, an African migrant to New Zealand who was tried twice for the rape and murder of his 10-year-old niece. It is also about prejudice, HIV/AIDS and our legal and medical processes when trauma is being investigated. One Saturday morning in January 2007, Charlene, the 10-year-old niece of George Gwaze was found in her bed gasping for breath, lying in a pool of diarrhoea and was rushed to hospital. Charlene was diagnosed with aggressive acute sepsis believed to be the result of violent assault and suffocation. She was also HIV positive.

Next morning Charlene was dead. The police began their inquiries. Their job sheet said that Charlene was thought to be the victim of 'blunt force trauma inside of anal cavity. Brain injury possibly caused by being suffocated'.

One theory, quickly rejected, was that an intruder had broken into the house. The inquiry then focussed on the male members of the family—George Gwaze and his sons, George Junior and Tafadzwa, who were both university students. Nothando, George Gwaze's adult daughter who shared a bedroom with Charlene, was identified by police as a crucial witness.

The police inquiry now moved into a theatre of assumptions to enact a performance of racial prejudice and emotional religious blackmail. A police media release on the day that Charlene died, reported her death as homicide. All the police then had to do was to find the criminal and the Gwaze family were the prime suspects.

Detective Johannsen interviewed George Gwaze, saying that Charlene had internal bruises 'consistent with something being forcibly pushed up her bottom'. She

had a tear in her anus and was brain dead, which was 'consistent with someone trying to suffocate her or holding something over her head'. The detective tried to get a confession out of George Gwaze saying he could decide to '… cleanse his soul'.

Detective Tinkler was sure that 20-year-old Nothando had the key to resolving the inquiry. She was subjected to a mode of questioning that I hope, has now been abandoned by the police.

Nothando reported that she was interviewed by two detectives who pressured her to confess. They promised to find her a flat away from the family. One detective said he was a Christian, a faith that he shared with Nothando and that if anyone had harmed Charlene it was right to confess. He quoted scriptures saying that she had to choose between God and her family and to tell the truth.

The two Georges, father and son, received their share of prejudicial comment from the police. Detective Johannsen interviewed George, saying that 'AIDS is prevalent in up to 80 pecent of the adult population in Africa' and that having anal sex with a virgin would drive AIDs away. Neither father nor son had AIDS, so the suggestion that either would rape Charlene to cure themselves of AIDS was illogical. Furthermore. George Gwaze vehemently denied that anal sex was acceptable in Zimbabwe as it was regarded as 'taboo'.

Enter Felicity Goodyear-Smith, a forensic physician and the author of this book. Her initial impression was that the physical evidence against George Gwaze was overwhelming, as Charlene had tears in her hymen and rectum, there was sperm in her underwear and she had collapsed from suffocation. However, her closer reading of the file showed much clinical information was missing and she set out to find it.

Her draft report looked at the arguments for and against sepsis and suffocation. This was a critical analysis. Goodyear-Smith doubted the initial medical findings, as it appeared to her that the 10-year old girl could have died from the side effects of the HIV virus. Charlene had contracted HIV from her parents in Zimbabwe. They were dead. Tests showed that neither George or his son were HIV positive.

The case came to court. The sperm on the Charlene's underpants might have come from the regular laundering of the family adult and child clothing. Professor Rode, a South African specialist who was unable to attend the trial, said that he had seen a number of children between 8-10 years with congenital HIV who suddenly became sick and died. The jury took less than five hours to acquit George Gwaze of murder and sexual violation.

A dissatisfied Crown appealed and won by arguing that the evidence from Professor Rode was hearsay and inadmissible. George Gwaze was to become the first person in New Zealand to be found innocent of murder and then tried again on the same evidence.

In the first trial, there were no witnesses for the defence, no New Zealand medical experts available and no legal aid to bring in overseas experts. The second trial was different. Expert witnesses spoke for both the Crown and the defence.

Charlene was already dying when the medical staff first saw her and they did all

they could to help. However, the possibility that the tear in her anus might not have been caused by trauma was excluded from expert evidence given by the Crown, despite the fact that the information had been on hand. It became clear that Charlene had HIV from birth and this had wrecked her body. Inquiries showed she had frequently been sick, often had diarrhoea and missed school.

George Gwaze was acquitted for the second time. But there can be no simple acquittal for the assumptions of the medical, police and legal staff who worked on this case. As this book shows, there was tunnel vision from both medical and police staff. Was there also racism in the inquiry? It appears so and it is mentioned several times in the book. The police acted as if the family were ignorant and uneducated. Nature also interfered with the judicial process as the family was living in Christchurch when the earthquakes happened. The court was destroyed and the office of the Gwaze defence lawyer was damaged.

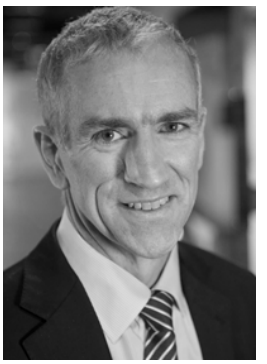
Murder That Wasn't is an important book, which should be used in workshops and read by police, legal and medical personnel who want to improve the standards of their professions. Journalists need to read this book too, as assumptions can be dangerous for any of us.

A couple of improvements could be made in any reprint, such as providing an appendix giving names and positions of police and medical staff involved, and a medical terminology glossary.

JEANZ Journalism Education Association of New Zealand Incorporated

The 2015 Jeanz conference will be held at Massey University's Journalism School in Wellington, New Zealand.
December 17-18, 2015.

The conference theme is: "Journalism: Rebuilding public trust"



Keynote speaker: Mike Darcey

Chief executive officer, News UK, publisher of *The Sun, The Times* and *The Sunday Times*

Mike Darcey, a New Zealander who has lived in England for 25 years, became head of News UK in 2013. He will speak about managing the company in the post-*News of the World* environment and will outline his vision for the company's future.

We welcome papers on the theme, and on journalism education and practice generally. Please email your abstract (max. 300 words) as an attached Word document, no author identification in the abstract, by Sept 30, 2015, to Dr James Hollings: **j.h.hollings@massey.ac.nz**

Registration is available via the Jeanz website, **jeanz.org.nz**

We look forward to seeing you in December!

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

NOTED

Awakening from the slumber before too late

Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism, by David Harvey. London: Profile Books. 2015, 338pp. ISBN 978-1-78125-16-4

NOW available in paperback for the first time, American-based scholar of Marxism David Harvey's analysis of the current crisis in capitalism provides an intriguing and thought provoking read.

Harvey's familiarity with Marx is demonstrated throughout the book. He makes it clear, that while thoroughly grounded in the Marxist tradition, his analysis is not meant to be orthodox. The book is accessible to those not entirely familiar with Marx beyond the usual slogans, but he demands attention from his readers as he takes them through a variety of economic concepts.

Nobody would argue with Harvey's basic principle that capitalism is facing yet another crisis, indeed he argues that crises, as the product of the many contradictions inherent in capitalism, are precisely what keep capitalism going.

Unfortunately, as capitalism reels from one crisis to another, attempts to find remedies are all too often solutions to the previous crisis, not the present one, so that solutions are out of kilter with reality.

This means that all too often the landscape created by capitalism remains the same, or else is constantly recreated. As Harvey sadly notes:

> How easy it is to take descriptions of contemporary labour conditions in, for example, the electronics factories of Shenzen, the clothing factories of Bangladesh or the sweatshops of Los Angeles and insert them into Marx's classic chapter on 'the working day' in *Capital* and not notice the difference. How shockingly easy it is to take the living conditions of the working classes, the marginalised and the unemployed in Lisbon, Sao Paulo and Jakarta and put them next to Engel's classic 1844 description of *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and find little substantive difference. (p. 292)

Harvey places his hope in people and trusts that they will wake from their sleep before it is too late. He counsels against many of

what he sees as the follies of modern leftist thought, especially its concentration on identity politics at the expense of class action and analysis, and urges his readers to recognise the existence of potential allies among the many expressions of the secular and religious humanist tradition.

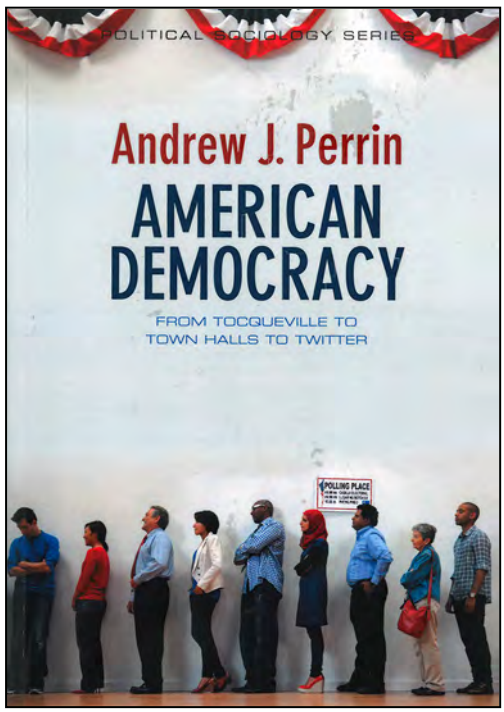
He ends with a suggestion for 17 points of discussion to keep the dialogue alive and to concentrate people's minds on what may be to many, unimaginable, solutions so that a way may be found to implement them.—*Dr Philip Cass is PJR reviews editor.*

Disengagement and idiocy

***American Democracy*, by Andrew Perrin. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2014, 228pp. ISBN 978-0-7456622-32-9**

PERRIN'S study of American democracy is as exhausting as it is exhaustive in its explanation of how it is supposed to work. It begins by stating what has become a commonplace fear in many democracies, that people have become cynical and distrusting of the democratic system and that apathy and political disengagement are widespread. Only multi-millionaires backed by capitalist corporations with the deepest pockets can afford to run for office in the United States and nobody in power seems to be in any hurry to do anything about it.

American democracy was a first attempt to fashion a form of representative government that has been rendered unfit for purpose in recent decades by the greed, corruption and stupidity of elected officials and the disengagement of large sections of the public.



To outsiders it often seems that the American parties are simply two groups of capitalists, with the Democrats being only left of centre by the merest whisker and the Republicans apparently consisting of raving lunatics. It is difficult to believe that any of the 24 percent of Republicans who Perrin claims think that Obama is the Antichrist should be allowed anywhere near a ballot box, let alone a gun.

Such extremes of disengagement and idiocy are dangerous precisely because they silence the voices of those who need to be heard the most. (Perrin says that African Americans would probably be far better off under a Parliamentary system). Such disengagement from the democratic process is dangerous, he argues, for the people only become a political force when they become

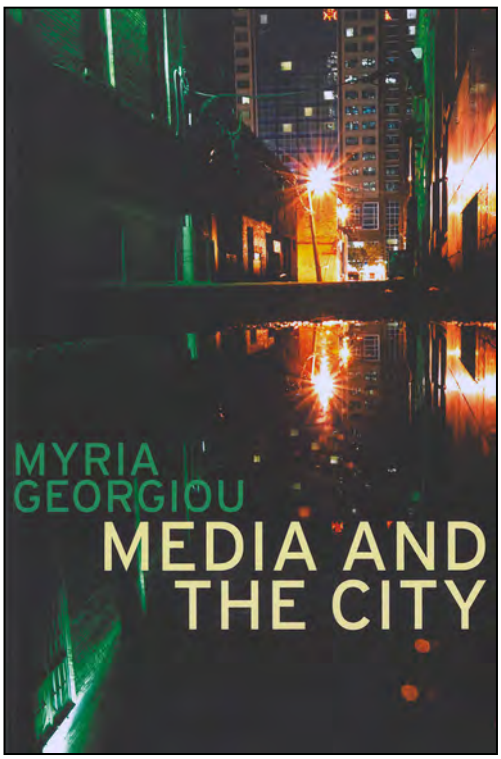
a polity, a public with a sense of purpose and power. Citing Bergin (2011) he argues that priority needs to be given to

> … preventing radical disengagement … and to promote political attention and activity among those segments of the population most likely to suffer when disengaged. (p. 185)

Perrin's book is a useful reminder that democracy can only survive when citizens are fully involved.—*Dr Philip Cass*

Media representations of global cities

Media and the City, by Myria Georgiou. Cambridge, Polity Press, 2013, 184pp. ISBN: 978-0-7456-4855-2



IN *Media and the City* Myria Georgiou claims 'global cities' such as London aren't just examples of diversity and difference, but are also responsible for creating those very qualities. However, it's never entirely clear how this is actually achieved.

She suggests the way we feel about urban centres is influenced by the media representations of them we consume as well as our own individual imaginings of what the spaces we inhabit mean to us. If there's a unifying element to her discussions of ethnic media, the urban poor, street art, bohemian hipsters, protest movements and rioters, then it would be an intentional critique of neoliberal capitalism and an idealised celebration of anything that resembles counterhegemonic resistance to it.

Georgiou does convincingly convey the tensions inherent in any environment where significant disparities between affluence and influence exist; but in prose so dense that as we approach the 20th anniversary of the Sokal hoax it might be timely to reflect on what those who use critical cultural approaches have learned since.

This reviewer would be the first to admit his cognitive abilities might not be up to following the book's sophisticated arguments. Yet any work which so quickly dismisses the role and relevance of one of the world's premiere financial districts while lauding the alternative middle-class lifestyles parodied in *Portlandia*, perhaps deserves to be questioned.—*Steve Ellmers is a Unitec tutor.*

Pacific Journalism Review
PACIFIC MEDIA CENTRE

Vol. 22, No 1, May 2016

Call for articles and commentaries:

Endangered journalists

Edition editors: Professor David Robie (AUT-Pacific Media Centre) and Dr Philip Cass (Unitec);

Frontline editor: Professor Wendy Bacon (ACIJ)

Reviews editor: Dr Philip Cass (Unitec)

The UN Security Council has recently unanimously adopted an historic resolution on the protection of journalists in armed conflicts. At the same time, it is almost 40 years since the murders of the Balibo Five television reporters and then Roger East who went to investigate their killings in East Timor. There has so far been no justice in their cases. Implementation of an international law on the safety of journalists is vital. Papers are sought for a special themed edition based on these and related issues, with a special focus on the Asia-Pacific region, including:

- UN Resolution 2222 on the right to freedom of expression as envisaged in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Protection of journalists during armed conflicts
- UN peacekeeping and the safety of journalists
- Violations of international instruments on human rights against journalists
- Global media freedom agency strategies on press freedom
- Risks for "citizen journalists" and "fixers"
- Media freedom in the Asia-Pacific region

The above list is an abridged guideline and more details are on the *PJR* website. The journal has an unthemed section and other papers related to journalism studies, and journalism education, theory and practice will also be considered.

The double blind peer-reviewed journal has five main sections: Research articles, Commentaries, Frontline (journalism-as-research), Forum and Reviews.

The APA-based style guide is at: www.pjreview.info/style-guide

Submissions: pjreview@aut.ac.nz

Managing editor: Professor David Robie david.robie@aut.ac.nz

Articles: up to 6000 words

Commentaries: up to 1500 to 3000 words

Frontline (journalism-as-research): up to 7000 wds

Example: http://tinyurl.com/pyf5zkt

Forum contributions: up to 800 words.

Reviews: up to 1500 words (*Noted* short reviews: 300 words).

Must be commissioned by the Reviews Editor.

Submissions deadline: January 20, 2016

www.pjreview.info

Notes for contributors

Pacific Journalism Review, founded at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1994, is a peer-reviewed journal covering media issues and communication in the South Pacific, Asia-Pacific, Australia and New Zealand. It is now published by the Pacific Media Centre, AUT University, and has links with the University of the South Pacific. While one objective is research into Pacific journalism theory and practice, the journal is also expanding its interest into new areas of research and inquiry that reflect the broader impact of contemporary media practice and education.

A particular focus will be on the cultural politics of the media, including the following issues—new media and social movements, indigenous cultures in the age of globalisation, the politics of tourism and development, the role of the media and the formation of national identity and the cultural influence of New Zealand as a branch of the global economy within the Pacific region. It also has a special interest in environmental and development studies in the media and communication—and vernacular media in the region.

Main sections:

• *Research:* Academic research and analysis papers (up to 6000 words)
• *Commentary:* Industry insights, developments and practice (1500-3000 words)
• *Frontline*: Reflective journalism research (up to 6000 words)
• *Reviews:* Books, films, online developments, multimedia (800-1500 words).
• *Noted:* 300-350 words.
• *Forum:* Letters, brief commentaries (up to 800 words)

Submission of papers:

Within the editorial scope of the journal, we invite the submission of original papers, commentaries and reviews. Submissions are reviewed by the editor, or editorial committee.Submissions are double blind peer refereed.

Editorial deadline for next issue:

January 20, 2016. Submissions should be emailed to the managing editor,

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Style: Use *APA (American Psychological Association) Style* for author-date system of referencing. See style guide at **www.pjreview.info**