The Story of Aliko and Ambai:
Cinema and Social Change in Papua New Guinea

A project submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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June 2017
Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone; the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award; the content of the project is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program; any editorial work, paid or unpaid, carried out by a third party is acknowledged; and, ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed.

Mark Asbury Eby

30 June 2017
The Story of Aliko and Ambai

Cinema and Social Change
In
Papua New Guinea
Acknowledgements

I thank my senior supervisor, Professor Heather Horst, for supporting me through the writing process of this project. Heather has never wavered in her steady, measured, conscientious and thoughtful responses to the constant stream of writing I have created in regards to my film production practice over the last few years. My overly-narrative writing style may not have been the best fit for academia but Heather’s patience, good humour, monthly word quotas, and continued requests for more analysis and less description has guided me to the finish line. I also appreciate being mentored through the academic publishing process, resulting in a publication at the end of last year. I am truly grateful for the support and insight she has provided, based on her own experience as a highly accomplished researcher and author.

I also thank my associate supervisor, Dr Verena Thomas, who has been my colleague and friend since 2010 when I first became associated with the University of Goroka. She was crucial in the application process for the Pacific Media Assistant Scheme (PACMAS) grant that supported the film production that made this project possible. In addition, as director of the Centre for Social and Creative Media (CSCM) at UOG where I was a researcher and lecturer, Verena helped me navigate producing the film while working full time and being enrolled in a PhD program. Verena’s exemplary research, production and writing on the themes of engaging with local communities, indigenous research methods, and collaborative production processes has guided my own research in parallel and highly productive ways. Her feedback on my many drafts has also been insightful, since she was present during the production process and is aware of the many challenges and pressures that process entailed. I am grateful that Verena has always found the time for a chat and knows when to use the whip (so to speak) and when a kind word of encouragement is needed.

Professor Jo Tacchi with her extensive knowledge and expertise in the area of Communication for Development (C4D) was integral as an associate supervisor during the first half of the PhD process and I appreciate her input, insight and support.

In addition to CSCM at UOG, I acknowledge the organizations that made this work possible. This includes PACMAS who supported the production process with an
Innovation Grant for the project Love and Violence in Melanesia: Melanesian Youth producing a feature film for regional distribution. Thanks to Dominic Friguglietti, Head Pacific and Mekong, ABC International and Michael Mel, PVC at UOG, for being signatories to the grant and Talita Tu’ipulotu at PACMAS and Kate Raseta at ABC International Development for administration and feedback. My writing, research and PhD scholarship was supported by the RMIT Mobilising Media for Sustainable Outcomes in the Pacific Region, which was an ARC Linkage Project Grant (LP120200705) with thanks to the chief investigators, Professor Heather Horst, Professor Jo Tacchi, and Domenic Friguglietti, Head Pacific and Mekong, ABC International. Thanks to CARE International and project manager Anna Bryan who also supported the film production with a very generous grant. In addition, I am grateful to the School of Media and Communication for a partial fee waiver in my final quarter of enrolment in 2016 and the Digital Ethnography Research Centre (DERC) at RMIT for providing a cohort of supportive colleagues. Additional thanks to the Australian Mediatheque at the Australian Centre for the Moving Image (ACMI) and Siobhan Dee from the National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA) who facilitated many hours of viewing rare footage from the early days of PNG cinema.

Thanks to Dr Jennifer Anayo, Sheba Mohammid and Marion Muliaumaseali’I, my PhD colleagues who spent many hours together with me, reading and critiquing each other’s work and I am pleased we have all neared the finish line together. I especially appreciate Marion’s close proximity, listening ear, and willingness to chat over the last few months. Dr Jessica Noske-Turner has helped critique my work from the beginning, in addition to sitting on one of the milestone panels, for which I am grateful. Thanks to Dr Christine Schmidt who was also part of the ‘reading and feedback team’ and provided copy editing on an early ‘final’ draft. Additional thanks to RMIT milestone panel members for critical feedback and input, includes Professor Sarah Pink, Associate Professor Craig Batty, Dr Leo Berkeley, Dr Daniel Binns and Dr Linje Manyozo. I am particularly grateful to Dr Manyozo for his kind and gracious words of encouragement at my completion milestone that have helped me through several periods of discouragement writing up my final draft. I would also like to thank Dr Jane Landman, who I met at the Pacific History Conference at UOG in 2010, and whose research sparked my interest in reviewing early colonial films in Papua and New Guinea.
Producing a film requires an enormous amount of good will and cooperation. I thank my core creative team collaborators, Diane Anton, Jenno Kanagio and Dilen Doiki. Without their cooperation, goodwill, talent and perseverance, this project would not have been possible. Ruth Ketau is a joy to work with and she was supportive and encouraging, providing crucial introductions in her community for film locations and giving insightful feedback on the process and outcomes. I’d also like to thank my colleagues at the University of Goroka who participated in the writers’ workshop or as actors in the film (or both): Emma Mua, Bob Noiney, Janet Munaup, Dr Jane Awi, Llane Munau, Dr Gairo Onagi and Associate Prof. Michael Mel. Additional thanks to Dr Angela Kelly, Monica Paulus, John Eriko and Jean Jano for their participation in the writers’ workshop and their expert feedback.

Dilen Doiki, Diane Anton, Louie Ipapu, Jim Sari, and Lilly Samuel provided links to their communities in Masi, Bena, Banana Block, Okiufa and Saispik respectively, and I thank them and their communities for their participation. Thanks to Theresa Meki for her stint as production assistant and Paul Bebes, who was my primary research assistant in conducting final interviews with the cast and crew in the harried weeks between the end of film production and my move to Melbourne. Finally, to the actors Moslyn Moses, Venda Kakaso, Paul Bebes, Maggie Kondango, Lucy Sari, Harry Koveso (BH), Tabitha Albert, Inapero Sasure (Tallman), Koupa Gihiro, Lilly Bebes, Danny David, Annie Yombon, Gisa Lassy and Chris Pondriliki and the rest of the crew Nickson Warambukia, Lilly Samuel, Klinit Barry, Kereta Johnstone, Sylvia Stan, Zina Ketauwo, Sheena Simelolo, Helen Rockliff, Wendy Paulus, Melissa Walangas, Mayphyll Billy, Butler Otio, Abraham Pahun, Lawrence Ikeme, Jim Sari, Nicky Tura, Laba Kenny, Samson Deka, Ronald Mondo, Elias Alex, and Richard Mogu, my heartfelt gratitude for the many hours of dedication to the film production.

Thanks to Peter Walker, the Love Patrol director at Wan Smolbag for participating in the exchange program with CSCM and providing feedback on the script. Thanks to Jo Dorras, the scriptwriter, and the Love Patrol cast and crew for allowing us to observe and ask questions and providing inspiration. Thanks to Joys Eggins for participating in the writers’ workshop and the regional exchange as a CSCM team member and to Francis Wai and Charlie Amos from Vanuatu for providing expert guidance to our Aliko & Ambai crew, inspiring the exegesis discussion of what it means to be Melanesian wantoks.
I would like to thank the circle of Melbourne friends I have made over the last two years who’ve watched with bemusement and good-humoured supportive camaraderie as I’ve made my way through the PhD process: Dana Chasofloski, Jason Williams, Patrick Fitzgerald, Andrew Shakespeare, Lien Yeomans, Robin Drysdale, Citt Williams and Jo Wapling. To my colleagues working or doing research in PNG with whom I’ve shared many good hours chatting, I thank Christopher Little, Olivia Barnett-Naghshineh, Jackie Kauli, Ivo Syndicus, Aaron Fernandes, Prue Ahrens, Maggie Kenyan, Melanie Sanford, Mark Busse and Bob Foster. To my friends still remaining in Goroka who’ve provided a home when I’ve visited and strongly encouraged me to finish my PhD, thanks to Charlotte Kakebeeke and Rebecca Ford.

Due to our connection since childhood, I owe many of my insights into what it means to be an indigenous person engaging with social change in PNG to Paul Mila Malimba and I’m thankful for our ongoing friendship. I will always be grateful to John Bishop for demonstrating how to be a thoughtful and steady friend, an occasional trickster, and a patient and forgiving filmmaking mentor, which is something I have tried to emulate in my own life. I am also thankful for my years of collaboration on multiple projects with Judy Mitoma and Christina Hellmich that helped to hone my skills in community engagement and film production. I thank my former partner of many years, Noah Samuels, who supported my return to PNG, even though it resulted in our separation. I thank my siblings Lee Ann Dekker, Timothy Eby and Melanie Whitaker who’ve remained allies through the years and rallied ‘round at crucial moments and, finally, thanks to my parents Lee and Carol Anne Eby for their unwavering support of the son who consistently wanders the world. They are waiting with bated breath for my actual PhD completion, which may be deemed a miracle.
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Notes on cross-referencing the film and the discussion

Film production on this project was completed in January 2015 and a rough cut of just over two hours in length with a temporary soundtrack was edited and screened for the cast and crew at the end of February 2015. This version with some minor revisions and subtitles is made available here for the PhD examiners. A more streamlined version with an original soundtrack is planned for release by the end of 2017. However, the version provided here represents the intent of the screenplay and provides the basis for the discussion in the exegesis. It is recommended that the examiners view the trailer and if time permits, watch the film in its entirety.

Alternatively, a list of Aliko & Ambai film references for the screenplay discussion in chapter 4 is provided if select viewing of relevant sections of the film is preferred. The discussion in chapter 5 is more free-ranging so specific film references to Aliko & Ambai have not been provided in the text but an outline of the entire film with time-code in this section may be used to cross-reference with specific topics and characters in the discussion.

Link to Film Trailer
https://www.dropbox.com/s/sotw31cuwqbk5fz/AnA_trailer%209.m4v?dl=0

Link to Aliko & Ambai Film
https://www.dropbox.com/s/4u3aloqtfui0lm/Aliko_and_Ambai_CSCM_rough_cut_June_2015%20copy.mov?dl=0

List of film references in Chapter 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Reference 1</th>
<th>0:00:00 – 0:15:54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Film Reference 2</td>
<td>0:00:00 – 0:10:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Reference 3</td>
<td>0:10:32 – 0:13:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Reference 4</td>
<td>0:13:32 – 0:22:03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Reference 5</td>
<td>0:39:26 – 0:40:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Reference 6</td>
<td>0:46:46 – 0:54:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Reference 7</td>
<td>1:47:00 – 2:03:30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Please note that this version does not have credits but all the participants are credited at the end of the project report in Appendix 10.
The opening of the film is set in the village. This establishes that Aliko is from a loving supportive family, she walks back and forth to school with her cousins, is a good student, and does the normal household chores. There is a hint from her parents’ conversations that all is not quite right and there is trouble brewing because of a land dispute with the neighbouring clan. Aliko’s father assures her that everything will be all right. Unfortunately he’s wrong, and one morning when Aliko and her cousin are down at the river washing clothes the enemy clan attacks. She comes back from the river, creeping through the underbrush, to see her parents lying dead and a house in the village compound burning to the ground. She flees to the village of her aunt and uncle and after some months they determine that she should go to Goroka to live with her Uncle Joe and continue her education in town.

A rude woman and her daughter meet Aliko when she arrives in town, her aunt Mini and cousin Smarthie. The two immediately set about making Aliko's life miserable by forcing her to do all the house and gardenwork and keeping her from completing her homework at the new school where she is now enrolled. The only bright spot in this scenario is that she forms an immediate friendship with Ambai, the girl living next door. They walk back and forth to school together since neither of them can afford the bus fare. Even at school, Smarthie, Aliko's cousin who is always surrounded by a group of sneering girls, also tease and harass Aliko. On the way home from school, Aliko and Ambai get caught in a political scuffle between two rival political factions over the recent election of John Tango and are guided to safety by Ethan, a street-seller from the settlement, who becomes their friend and confidant.

Ambai has her own problems due to her abusive stepfather and after he comes home drunk and rapes her, she runs to Aliko's house for temporary shelter and then runs away to hide at her Aunt Mary's house. Aliko and Ethan follow up after Ambai’s trauma and make sure she sees a counsellor. While she lives with Aunt Mary, Ambai discovers that her aunt is harbouring some hidden secrets about Ambai’s early history, which comes to the surface with a chance encounter at the grocery store with a mysterious woman named Rose. Back at home, Ambai pressures her aunt into explaining something about the circumstances of her birth that her own mother has refused to explain. However, it isn't long before her stepfather tracks her down,
and as he argues with her aunt, Ambai escapes once again, this time to live with Ethan in the settlement. With the pretext that she is looking for work, Ambai, accompanied by Ethan and Aliko, takes the opportunity to find out more about Rose, who turns out to be a wealthy business woman married to the leading politician and businessman in town, John Tango.

Still doing all the work at home and grieving for her parents, Aliko does not pass her Grade 10 exams and Aunt Mini conspires to send her back to the village. Back in the village, Aliko's relatives arrange a "marriage exchange" with an older man who already has three wives, to broker peace between the two warring tribes. She is equally unhappy in her new situation, where the other three wives bully her. After an open conflict with the wives that comes to blows, Aliko sees her father in a vision. He advises her to leave her current situation in the village and finish her education.

Meanwhile Ambai finally confides in Ethan that Aunt Mary told that her biological father is John Tango, married to Rose Tango (the woman from the grocery store) and that she wants to meet him. The two of them, once again, visit the Tango house, and after a few mis-steps, Ambai is invited in to tell her story. After a confrontation with her new husband Aliko leaves the village and returns to Goroka on her own terms, seeking out the assistance of her high school teacher, who takes her into her own home. The three friends - Aliko, Ambai and Ethan - are reunited once again. The final scenes shows Ambai's step-father being arrested, Ambai being introduced to her biological father and starting a new life, and Aliko finding a safe supportive environment that allows her to finish high school and graduate from college.
Alkio & Ambai Film Guide

An outline of the film is provided below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time (HH:MM)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00:00 – 0:15:54</td>
<td>The beginning sets up Aliko’s life with her parents and the destruction and disruption that sets her on her journey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:15:55 – 0:26:23</td>
<td>Aliko goes to live with her aunt and cousin in Goroka to continue her education and has an unfriendly reception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:26:23 – 0:39:29</td>
<td>Aliko meets her neighbour Ambai and has a friend and ally at school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:39:30 – 0:43:59</td>
<td>Aliko and Ambai meet Ethan. The difficult situation at home continues for both Aliko and Ambai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:43:60 – 0:55:02</td>
<td>Ambai is raped by her stepfather, runs away from home to live with her Aunt Mary, and drops out of school. Aliko and Ethan provide friendship and support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:55:03 – 1:05:12</td>
<td>Aliko is doing poorly in school and is counselled by her teacher. She also discovers that there are plans back in the village to arrange her marriage if she fails her exams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:05:13 – 1:13:22</td>
<td>Ambai discovers clues about her biological father from her Aunt Mary and tries to figure out how to meet him. Aliko and her cousin prepare for their big exam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:13:23 – 1:18:51</td>
<td>Ambai’s stepfather finds out she’s living at Aunt Mary’s so she runs away again to live with Ethan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:18:52 – 1:26:00</td>
<td>Aliko fails her exam and is sent back to the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:26:01 – 1:33:41</td>
<td>Aliko is married to a man in the adjacent tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:33:42 – 1:41:47</td>
<td>Ambai tells Ethan the secret about her biological father and look for a way to reconnect with him as Aliko’s new clan celebrates her marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:41:48 – 1:46:59</td>
<td>Aliko is in conflict with the other wives and her new husband and in a heated argument the eldest son demands that she leaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:47:00 – 2:03:30</td>
<td>Aliko confides in her teacher and Ambai to Rose Tango. Both of them find a safe home environment and Aliko finds a way to complete her education. Aliko, Ambai and Ethan are reunited.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>acquired immune deficiency syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4D</td>
<td>communication for development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CfSC</td>
<td>communication for social change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFU</td>
<td>Commonwealth Film Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCM</td>
<td>Centre for Social and Creative Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIES</td>
<td>Department of Information and Extension Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>entertainment-education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>gender-based violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>human immunodeficiency virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPNGS</td>
<td>Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTP</td>
<td><em>Komuniti Tok Piksa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFI</td>
<td>National Film Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTC</td>
<td>National Theatre Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC PNG</td>
<td>National Broadcasting Corporation of Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACMAS</td>
<td>Pacific Media Assistance Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>participatory action research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>participatory video</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMIT</td>
<td>Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Seventh-day Adventist Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UOG</td>
<td>University of Goroka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPNG</td>
<td>University of Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAW</td>
<td>violence against women</td>
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</table>
Abstract

This exegesis evaluates the practice-led research process and the production of a feature film, *Aliko & Ambai*, with a local creative team and crew in collaboration with communities in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea (PNG). Working with the Centre for Social and Creative Media at the University of Goroka, I responded to specific communication for development (C4D) funding requirements by focusing on creating meaningful and culturally relevant content, establishing egalitarian methods of participation when engaging participants, and exploring structural support for all phases of production. The project created training workshops, used participant-observation during the production process, and conducted small group feedback sessions and individual surveys and interviews with the cast and crew. The film is a collaborative research output that provides the visual moving-image context for the discussion that is explored in the exegesis.

The primary argument of this exegesis is that best practices in media, communication, and development emerge out of the local context, and understanding the role of the facilitator, creative collaborators, and local communities is crucial to this context. The role of the facilitator is to create structures that will encourage collective, peer-based learning and to provide a bridge between the expectations of external stakeholders and the creative aspirations, cultural expectations, and contributions of participants. In addition to developing the content for the film, our local creative team facilitated cooperation with their indigenous communities during the production process. These communities, representative of similar communities throughout PNG, are also the target audience for the film.

This exegesis engages questions about how social change is currently being navigated in developing regions like Melanesia and how a creative media practice can contribute to that knowledge, by analysing the creation of narratives, exploration of social anxieties, improvement of skills, strengthening of identity, and creation of support structures that emerged from the film production process. There is evidence that ongoing media production projects in PNG have the potential to generate content that promotes a fuller and more creative expression of local entertainment while engaging with social change issues. However, this requires ongoing development of capacity with youth and indigenous community participation and this project provides insight into how to develop and support a local Melanesian narrative feature film production practice.
Chapter 1
Introduction

Figure 1 Clapper marking a classroom scene. Ambai is on the left. CSCM, 2014.

Local film production in Papua New Guinea has had little support over the years. Yet there is a growing informal economy focused upon film viewing in village cinemas and research has shown that people respond very positively to locally produced content in PNG (Eby & Thomas, 2016). This project and exegesis seeks to explore the question of how to develop and support a local Melanesian fictional narrative feature film production practice. To begin answering this question, I used practice-led research to collaboratively produce a film in Goroka in the Eastern Highlands of PNG with a local creative team, cast and crew. Funding from the Pacific Media Assistance Scheme (PACMAS) to explore the issues of gender-based violence (GBV) and its affect on young people supported this effort. It encouraged a communication for development framework, supported by structures for research and production developed by the Centre for Social and Creative Media (CSCM) at the University of Goroka (UOG), led by Dr Verena Thomas. The conceptual framework emerged from
adapting approaches that have been used in the disciplines where the analysis of media, communication, social change and development intersect. The project also draws upon screenplay development sources, my documentary filmmaking practice, workshop pedagogy that I’ve developed through my career as an educator, and my life-long connection living and working with indigenous communities in PNG. This background and experience helped shape approaches for developing content and mentoring screenplay development, engaging indigenous communities in the production process, and the facilitation of a learning environment to support film production capacity building in Melanesia.

The core analysis emerges from reflection on the different stages of writing and production, presented with the film to ground the discussion in the actual practice. I will demonstrate how the approaches we developed through the different phases of production link to concerns about media for development (focus on content), community engagement (focus on participatory communication) and media development (focus on structures and capacity building). The content development stage of this project freely drew from popular screenplay development ideas (drawing on the screen studies idea of ‘development,’ in this case). We engaged with local communities via connections with our creative team and crew that included on-site auditions, location shooting, and collaboration and consultation in regards to the portrayal of traditional practices. I facilitated the development of screenwriters and directors and the training of a film crew that incorporated informal learning practices, skills development and peer-based training that recognised the emergence of a professional Melanesian filmmaker identity. I was interested in integrating aspects of social change research, media production, media studies and communication and development studies based on practice-led research. My primary concerns are a detailed analysis of a film production process in a developing country, on the one hand, and a wider analysis of how the narrative that was created through this process engages with the social change processes of modernisation. The project explores the pressures of urbanisation, how young people striving for an education are negotiating the obligations and expectations of their traditional culture, how gender-based violence is exacerbated in these situations, and how these anxieties are creatively reflected through the process we created collaboratively. I examine popular culture, narrative, and identity through the lens of cinema.
By producing a film and analysing the narratives and practice that emerged from that production process this project engages with how these issues are currently understood and being explored by young people in PNG. The current generation of young Melanesians interested in producing and watching films that feature their own local narratives, currently do not have a support network in PNG and my aim is to explore how feature film production might be better supported, based on this project and insights that have emerged from its analysis. The on-going life of the *Aliko & Ambai* film, beyond the PhD project will include distribution and screening in village cinemas throughout PNG by using the informal network that already exists in the country.

**A personal reflection**

I see my work as a documentary filmmaker as mediated storytelling, finding the turning points in the central narrative of someone’s life. When I lived in Los Angeles, I pursued this practice with a diverse range of performers, artists, musicians and indigenous people (Eby, Boneh, Hamilton & Eby, 2009a; Eby, Hellmich & Eby, 2009b, 2009c; Eby, Mitoma & Eby, 2005; Eby, Mitoma & Sighicelli et al., 2012; Mitoma, Volturno & Eby, Siebens, 1999). I have concluded that my own identity has been shaped by the various ‘cultural bubbles’ I have encountered in my life that include growing up in the territory of Papua and New Guinea in the nineteen sixties and seventies where I was immersed in an indigenous culture, far from the American roots of my parents, which would shape me in ways that no one could know or foresee at the time. I returned to the United States in the late 1970s and I began anew, finding a way to identify or un-identify myself as an American of some sort or another (Eby, 2001). However, I have chosen to stay connected with the people and landscape of my youth, from which I have never completely disengaged, returning every decade to live and work for a period of time. This project evolved out of my practice as a filmmaker, researcher and educator in PNG from 2010 to 2015.

I became a performing arts teacher at Aiyura National High School in the early 1990s, teaching young students from every province of PNG. They taught me primarily about the strong ties most of them still had to their home villages and to indigenous performance traditions. I appropriated some of the workshop techniques from my experience in Los Angeles as a participant in performance art workshops
that offered young urban men, like myself at the time, a chance to explore stories of
personal identity and sexuality (Miller, 1997). But when applied in a Melanesian
context the emphasis quickly shifted from a participant developing and sharing their
individual story, to a group exercise where participants taught each other and shared
a group performance. The students taught the songs and dances they had learned
as children to each other, creating new melodies and verses in Tok Pisin and English
to create contemporary compositions that could be performed on stage. This was a
valuable lesson I learned as a young teacher, taking frameworks and techniques
from a learning environment in one culture and applying them in another. The only
condition was being open to the moment and willing to adapt to my students' needs
and expectations, which considerably altered the framework and techniques. The
only through-line connecting the different performance environments was the
willingness to work together to explore identity. How that was shared, explored and
performed was very different.

Returning to PNG as a full time resident and lecturer at the University of Goroka (UOG) in 2010, my task became, once again, how to collaborate in the creation of a
learning environment with Melanesian young people, this time utilising filmmaking.
This project is positioned as an initiative that complements other projects currently
housed under the Digital Ethnography Research Centre at RMIT University and the
CSCM at UOG in PNG. It builds upon previous research carried out by Verena
Thomas, Joys Eggins, myself, and student researchers at the CSCM through the
Yumi Piksa project (Thomas & Doiki, 2009; Thomas & Ere-Epa, 2009; Thomas &
Hane-Nou, Barry, 2009), the Komuniti Tok Piksa (KTP) project (Thomas & Barry, et
al., 2012), and the Pawa Meri Project (Thomas, Spark & Barry et al., 2014), along
with our many community collaborators, that used visual methods, participatory
filmmaking, ethnographic action research, and reflexive viewing methodology placed
in a Melanesian research framework (Eby & Thomas, 2014; J Eggins, Papoutsaki, &
Thomas, 2011; Thomas, 2011a, 2011b; Thomas, Iedema, et al., 2012). Verena
Thomas writes about co-researchers acting “to bridge dialogue between rural
communities, media technologies and the national and transnational media sphere”

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2 Inspired by an earlier generation of PNG innovators in dance and theatre arts (Murphy,
2010), Bob Marley’s reggae influence, and the kind of successful popular music from the
indigenous Australian band from the Northern Territory, Yothu Yindi,
(2011b, p. 27) and this has been particularly helpful framing interactions between the university and local communities.

Although I served as mentor and co-director on quite a few documentary film projects produced at the CSCM (Thomas & Barry, et al., 2012; Thomas, Spark & Barry et al., 2014), the project that will be discussed at length is a narrative feature film project where, once again, I took frameworks and techniques from a learning environment in one culture and applied them in another culture with different, complicated, sometimes frustrating, but rewarding results. The account of that process is framed by my previous research about the media landscape in PNG (Eby & Thomas, 2016; Thomas & Eby, 2016), a review of films produced in PNG, and my reading in the area of media, communication, development and social change.

**Why focus on cinema and social change in Papua New Guinea?**

The Highlands of New Guinea were “discovered” in the 1930s by Australian prospectors looking for gold. Indigenous societies in the large valleys between the north and south mountain ridges had been living there for millennia, unnoticed by the outside world. One of these prospectors, Michael Leahy, had a film camera and many of these first encounter moments were captured on film—archival footage that was subsequently incorporated into the documentary, *First Contact* (Smith & Anderson, Connolly, 1983), produced in the 1980s by Robin Anderson and Bob Connolly (Ballard, 2010; Connelly & Anderson, 1987). The film included interview commentary from Highlanders who were part of the ‘first contact’ drama, were still alive, and could narrate their own experience of the drastic social changes that occurred as a result of this contact. In the ensuing months and years, the Highlands of New Guinea became linked with the outside world, first through the initial gold prospectors and the accompanying Australian government administration, then religious, economic and social enterprises that engaged with the local population (May, 1982; Sillitoe, 2000; Williams, 1964).

Up to the 1930s, the *Tungei* tribe, the group of people my family became associated with in the 1960s, had been stone axe makers who had developed a pre-contact industry from one of the few prized rock quarries in the Highlands. This rock could be quarried and ground down into stone axes that were traded both east and west to provide men with one of their most important tools in a society that didn’t have steel
goods (Burton, 1984). In my documentary, *The Shield Is My Brother* (Eby, Hellmich & Eby, 2009c) the boys that I grew up with, now fathers and grandfathers, discuss the history of warfare that protected this valuable stone quarry asset, and the social changes that occurred when their fathers and grandfathers lost their industry within a few years after the introduction of steel axes brought by the gold miners when they set up their operations near Mt. Hagen.

Cinema didn't arrive in this Highlands community until the 1960s when a screen was put up at the back of the local church my father built with local men, and the Australian government patrol officer showed a film about the dangers of drinking and driving to a crowd of indigenous farmers who did not own or drive cars. The incongruities between the indigenous world of the Highlanders of New Guinea and the world of those from the outside that came with an agenda to facilitate social change has led to many initiatives that have missed the mark. As the Highlands highway was completed in the 1970s, small towns with a couple of streets of shops, hotels, restaurants and a cinema next to an airstrip were now tied together by this highway (many of these establishments catering mainly to the Australians and other expatriates settled in the valley). It was 1974 that Australia handed self-government over to a handful of young Papua New Guinean politicians and granted independence the next year. It was a nation that had to be invented, in many ways, since the majority of the population strongly identified with local tribe and clan affiliations tied to land ownership, strongly rural, self-sufficient with everything available locally for building materials and growing their own food, strongly invested in the traditional economy of bride price and wealth exchange with allies, weakly tied to the formal national economy with only the fledgling beginnings of an informal economy (Conroy, 2012; R. J. Foster, 1997; Sillitoe, 2000; Waiko, 1997).

I recount this brief history as a reminder of the scope of social change each generation since the 1930s has experienced in the PNG Highlands. This social change is also about shifting identities as individuals and groups grapple with modernisation. The trajectory of education, social, economic and spiritual processes and practices change the ways people identify themselves and their place in the world. The impact on shifting identities remains difficult to define and write about, but in many ways is at the core of the issue of social change.
Paul Sillitoe in *Social Change in Melanesia* (2000) writes that evolutionary theory has been applied to societies, like organisms, that “evidence lineal change, being subject to dynamic environmental and sociocultural forces that constantly promote it. The idea is that this change is advancement” (2000, p. 3). This is how evolutionary theory “underpins the notion of development, which assumes the adoption of improved technological procedures and more effective institutional arrangements” (p. 3).

According to Silitoe, with the intrusion of industrial society into the non-industrial cultures of the Pacific that forced rapid change, “We can distinguish three aspects of this forced change: technological innovation, social consequences, and indigenous rationalisations” (p. 5). Technological changes have social consequences because they lead to changes in local production arrangements, organisation of social groups, modifications to the political system, and law enforcement. Indigenous groups extended their folklore and myths within their bounded cultural knowledge to try to understand and explain the dramatic changes occurring.

As indigenous societies have been integrated into the global social and political economy over the last century, cinema has played a role in how that has been framed and communicated to both an international audience and a local indigenous audience. Melanesia’s engagement with the rest of the world is intertwined with the birth of cinema. AC Haddon took the first “field footage” in the Torres Strait Islands in 1898, shot with a newly invented movie camera during an expedition conducted by Cambridge University (Osborne, 2011). But the focus of this project is on fictional feature film production with precursors that can be traced back as early as 1918, when a silent film called *Australia’s Own* (Ward & Ward, 1918) was shot on Yule Island near Port Moresby, directed by Jack Ward. “A slender dramatic plot, in which a young Anzac officer and his sweetheart come into conflict with a German settler, who is trying to filch the maiden’s rights to an oil well, enables the producer to present rival native factions in an imaginary battle” (“A New Guinea Film - Australia's Own,” 1918, p. 9). This film has been lost, just as many early films of the silent era have not survived, except for promotional posters and other memorabilia, but the fact that fiction filmmaking in what was then known as the Territory of Papua had these kind of early precedents is remarkable and not widely known (Landman, 2006).

The Australian administration in the territory of Papua and New Guinea used cinema as a way to promote their activities in ‘civilising the local population’ to the outside
world but also to communicate development concepts to a local audience who, for the most part, were not literate (Landman, 2010b). As PNG gained political independence in the mid-1970s and cinematic collaborations became more considered, the kind of conversations about entertainment, education, development, capacity building and social change that were happening elsewhere in the global South also affected relationships between Australian directors and producers and their PNG collaborators who took up core creative roles like writing and directing. These ideas were trialled in films like *Wokabaut Bilong Tonten* (Howes, Murray & Howes, 1974), *Marabe* (Harkness & Harkness, Ralai, 1979) and *Tukana* (Owen & Toro, 1982). *Tukana* is the best early example of a thorough research process conducted before the film was made to discover community concerns, which revolved around development and social change, and how those concerns could be implemented into a story-line written by a Papua New Guinean and then shot on location in these same communities with community participation (Harkness, 2005; Harris, 1983; Kemelfield, 1987; McLaren, 2003; McLaren & Stiven, 1993; Nelson, 1992; Sullivan, 1993, 1997).

A few other films were produced over the years, reflecting the growing production capacity and independent creative initiatives of Papua New Guineans engaged with issues of social change, but PNG has never developed a film industry in the same way that its music industry has developed (Hayward, 2007). The inception of the music industry in PNG has been traced to the support of local music on NBC radio in the 1970s and the commercial music labels of Chin H Meen (CHM) and Pacific Gold. This grew the music industry in PNG and has expanded to promoting artists across the Pacific in more recent years. These labels also supported early directors like Titus Tilly, who produced music videos that were shown on EM-TV, which broke the dominance of Australian and American programming and continues to be the primary form of ‘local indigenous video production’ in PNG popular culture (Hayward, 2007).

Most of PNG’s industries in the formal economic sector are still developing. The population remains largely rural and self-sufficient on their own land, growing their own food (Conroy, 2010; Curry, 1999; Little, 2016; Sharp, Cox, Spark, Lusby, &

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3 the National Broadcasting Corporation
Rooney, 2015). However, the informal economy at the village and urban level continues to grow and the interest in cinema is evident. In particular, the growth of the *haus piksa* (village cinema) venues that have been built in most Highlands communities where, for a small fee, people can watch pirated foreign films. Research has shown that people respond very positively to locally produced content (Eby & Thomas, 2016; Menzies, 2016; Thomas & Eby, 2016) and a concern for how to better support local feature film production is an intended outcome of this project.

There is an area of narrative feature film production that is recognised as ‘indigenous cinema’ within media studies. Since Papua New Guinea is an independent nation of indigenous people, there is no point in drawing a demarcation line between national cinema and indigenous filmmaking that has been part of the discussion in neighbouring former ‘settler colonies’ like Australia and New Zealand. A further demarcation has been called, Fourth cinema, which draws lines of connection between indigenous people making films from an indigenous perspective within nation states like New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the US (Barclay, 2003). There is also scholarly debate about whether these categories create further divides, are separate from national cinemas, or should be seen as celebrating diversity and expanding the bounds of national cinema (Fienup-Riordan, 1987; Hearne, 2012; Huijser & Collins-Gearing, 2007). Some media scholars have observed that the critique of these films usually focus on politics and avoids assessing these films on their cinematic aesthetic qualities (Dolgopolov, 2014; Gaunson, 2013; Rutherford, 2013; Shary & Seibel, 2007). Narrative film production by indigenous filmmakers and the resulting discussion it inspires is the result of a capacity building system that supports filmmakers, including indigenous filmmakers, through a network of film schools and a government support system that has been absent in PNG. The political and aesthetic conversations about ‘indigenous filmmaking’ in former ‘settler colony’ nations is a result of privilege provided by funding, support and a paying audience for cinema through a formal distribution and screening system. The context for filmmaking in PNG has none of these privileges and has resulted in very few narrative films being produced and a lack of critical discourse about filmmaking, indigenous or otherwise.

Filmmaking in PNG only gets drawn into the conversation through the frame of development and social change and has been excluded from these other
conversations within media production and media studies as a result. I recognise this and also use a development and social change framework as the starting point for discussion of cinema in PNG. But cinema is also a narrative art form, strongly linked to entertainment, with its own visual aesthetic and history. I have tried to keep that in mind through the production of the film and the writing and research about cinema in PNG that frames it. I start by acknowledging that narrative film production in PNG exists, even if the ‘canon of films’ is small, and review its history, reflect on the narratives that have emerged, and engage with its modes of production.

Even though images of indigenous populations require community collaboration in the production phase, the important work of representation is determined by who has creative control over the narrative, which for a long time was controlled by foreign directors, particularly in the colonial era, who foregrounded adventures of European people and backgrounded indigenous people in their own land. These writers and directors had the final creative control over how these indigenous scenes were incorporated into the film narrative and presented for a global Western audience, expecting exotic titillation. These continue to contribute to stereotypes about Melanesia. In film production, representation is directly tied to collaboration and who’s participating in the writing, directing and editing roles. Melanesians from the earliest cinematic encounters have proven themselves to be willing, peaceful ‘collaborators’ with a flair for drama, a fact that was rarely highlighted or expounded on by their colonial and post-colonial collaborators. Moving into the post-colonial era, the mechanisms of collaboration came under more scrutiny, incorporating Melanesians into crucial creative roles, and the narrative focus began to shift from the lives of colonial adventurers to the exploration of Melanesian lives. However, with the exception of a fair amount of analysis around the production of Tukana: Husat I Asua? (Kemelfield, 1987; Sullivan, 1993, 1997), earlier accounts in PNG have not outlined a step-by-step process for content creation, community engagement, and capacity building for feature film production.

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4 Refer to Appendix 2 with a comprehensive list of feature films shot in New Guinea and its islands.
The intersection of communication, development and media

There are two major threads that are important to providing the background context informing the issues that will be explored in this exegesis: the first thread is film production practice in Papua New Guinea and the second thread is an exploration of the various theoretical approaches where communication, development and media intersect. Historically, these theoretical connections with film production in PNG have been somewhat tenuous or implied until the last decade when donor funding has made explicit communication for development (C4D) agendas in the support of film production.

What is important for me to explore as a filmmaker and a facilitator of practice-led research is how the emphasis around certain issues developed: the educational value of fictional narrative; resisting rigid hierarchical structures and developing methods of dialogue, listening and participation with local communities that successfully forge lasting connections; and best methods for capacity building. To understand this emphasis requires understanding the two main threads that dominated five decades of development communication: modernization theory and dependency theory (Dagron & Tufte, 2006). The early pioneers of modernisation theory were American scholars, Daniel Lerner (1958), Everett Rogers (1962/1995), and Wilbur Schramm (1964) who focused on the problems faced by traditional societies transforming through industrialisation. They postulated arguments about secular processes, personal mobility, the diffusion of innovations, and the mass media as central to modernisation and social change in the service of national development. Theirs was a utilitarian interest focused on the transformation of the world through technological innovation. Critiques of modernisation theory, including Rogers (1976) later in his career, point out that indigenous people in the pre-colonial era used available resources in sustainable ways and that traditional practices reinforced valuable social and community relationships (Escobar, 1995/2011; Manyozo, 2012; Tomaselli, 2001; Ugboajah, 2006; Warren, Slikkerveer, & Brokensha, 1995).

Dependency theory-based modes of communication, in reaction to modernisation theory, emerged in the “heart of the social and political struggles against colonial and dictatorial powers in the Third World” in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Dagron &
Tufte, 2006, p. xvi). Their main premise was that the underlying causes of underdevelopment have to do with “land tenure, lack of collective civil liberties, oppression of indigenous cultures, and social inequity,” which are structural issues (p. xvi). The communication models arising from dependency theory promote social change rather than individual behaviour change, suggest actions that emerge from the community, and involve local stakeholders. Communication rights and ownership of the communication process are at the heart of these approaches. The critique of development focused, not on transformation through technological innovation that was championed by North American and European initiatives, but on the assumptions that were made about cultures and societies that were not of European origin and the politics of power that drove those innovations.

The field known as communication for social change (CfSC) has been linked to political and social events, and to values and expressions of cultural identity (Dagron & Tufte, 2006). The threads of this theory and practice are strongly rooted in socialist Latin American responses to dictatorships, income inequality and exploitative capitalist economic practices. The early theoretical discussions took place in Latin America, beginning in the 1960s, and were a critique of dominant communication models and the inability to establish dialogue between those in power and the marginalised populations in society.

Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire (1970/2005), Brazilian theatre director, Augusto Boal (1979/2008), Argentinian and Spanish filmmakers, Octavio Getino and Fernando Solanas (1969) all used the language of liberation and revolution in the service of social change focused around new ways of creating critical dialogue. Parallel with this focus was theorizing about the importance of community participation in the communication process. Leading this was Bolivian communication specialist Luis Ramiro Beltran (2006). He called for an alternative to what he called the “classical materialist model” (2006, p. 77) of national development with one that was participatory. People like Gerac and Lazaro who published based on their experience in radio, television and film followed. They called for a priority on process, horizontal communication and alternatives to the vertical communication model of production. They wrote that “Participation is experience. It can be learned only by participating. And while it is certainly possible to provide information about participation, participation itself cannot be taught” (Gerace & Lazaro, 2006, p. 65).
The theory grew out of the practice and revised histories of communication for social change have given credit to the practitioners of development communication and alternative communication, and those who worked alongside them in the global south (Dagron & Tufte, 2006; Manyozo, 2012). Manyozo (2012) points to the global south as integral in developing the field where ‘social communicators’ were responding to growing economic inequality, and were trying to determine whether media and communication had any role to play in alleviating poverty and marginalisation. Scholars and practitioners learned through experience that vertical hierarchical models of communication are not sustainable when they don’t listen to local voices and cultural context (Dagron & Tufte, 2006).

Theoretical discussions emerged from development studies and communication studies and therefore, each focused on different pieces of the puzzle, resulting in some rivalry between communication for development (C4D) and communication for social change (CfSC) but both now emphasise, at least in the rhetoric, the importance of social process, dialogue and seeking sustainable change. I rely on Manyozo’s analysis of the roots of development communication, who acknowledges the contributing theory and practice from Latin America, Asia, and Africa (Dutta, 2011; Quebral; Riaño, 1994; Ugboajah, 2006; Wang & Dissanayake, 2006), and then classifies them into three approaches: the media development approach, the participatory or community engagement approach, and the media for development approach. Media development puts an emphasis on structure, participatory communication on process, and media for development on content (Manyozo, 2012). Through the discussion of the Aliko & Ambai project I use these approaches focused around content, process, and structure as a guideline for reflecting on the production practice. The analysis is supported by theories of learning, social change, communication for development, media anthropology, media scholarship on indigenous cinema, and co-creative media practice.

I have outlined the history of communication for development and social change in some detail in order to clarify my own framing of the subject for this exegesis. Communication for positive social change that will improve people’s lives has been the intention behind most of this history. Words like empowerment have been a mainstay of interventions, not without its supporters and critics (Deane, 2006; Eves, 2006; Thomas, 2011a; White, 2004). While acknowledging the good intentions of
‘intervention’ initiatives at the grassroots level that work with communities to ‘direct social change’ in some way, I take a more ambivalent stance towards the idea of ‘directed social change.’ My use of the word “social change” in the context of Papua New Guinea through most of this exegesis is primarily about acknowledging the ongoing modernisation process, the complications that process creates in the lived experience of the participants of this project and their communities, and how that is revealed through our narrative and production process. Therefore the communication is not for social change, as if social change needs an activator, but it is communication to engage with social change that is a process always in motion, usually beyond the control of any particular individual or group. And I have collaborated with my participants to engage with these social change dynamics and challenges in a meaningful way through the creative process of making a film. The benefits of this engagement and this process are what will be explored in this exegesis.

There has been research focused on community and indigenous broadcasting in Australia around participatory media, arts projects and networks that build capacity for co-creative media (Ryan, 2015; Spurgeon, 2013, 2015; Spurgeon et al., 2015). Participatory processes will be discussed further in the next chapter but with the exception of a few references (High, Singh, Petheram, & Nemes, 2012; Hill, 1993; Kemelfield, 1987; Smith, 1989; Tomaselli, 2001; G. Uys, 2014), it is rare to find examples of narrative feature film production within the context of C4D, media for development and participatory video, since most case studies from various regions around the world are around documentary projects, radio dramas and television soap operas. Although, the approaches used for these projects can also apply to most creative media endeavours, it is clear that in many of these initiatives, the focus is on dialogue and participation around certain targeted messages that are intended to affect social change, but are not invested in the longer-term goals of sustainable narrative film production practice and capacity building that is the additional exploratory focus of this project.

Film production is also a separate enterprise from journalism, even though in Manyozo’s (2012) account media for development focusing on content is immediately linked to ‘development journalism.’ From a filmmaker’s point-of-view, this is problematic since in media practice, the goals, objectives, training and
aesthetic sensibility for filmmaking can be quite distinctive from journalism. The linking with journalism and ‘reporting’ seems to exclude other less pragmatic and more entertaining media endeavours. Media development (focus on structures and capacity building) also places considerable focus on developing journalism because of its perceived role in strengthening democracy and performing a watchdog role on governance. As a result, in the development funding environment, creative media endeavours compete against what appears to be the more serious role of journalism and good governance in developing counties.

The *Aliko & Ambai* film project was conceived as a media initiative that would employ participatory approaches to create content with young people around the social issue of gender-based violence as a catalyst for dialogue. It engaged with a local creative team, cast, crew and local communities as part of the production process and supported media development by focusing on capacity building for film production. In the following chapters I will describe how this initiative was shaped in numerous ways by the local context, argue for the ongoing support of narrative film production in PNG, and discuss how it contributes to debates about social change dynamics and communication for development.

**Outline of this exegesis**

In the next chapter I expand on the historical context for film production in Papua New Guinea and explore the theoretical concepts in the field of communication for development and social change. I begin by focusing on how participatory video (PV) is an approach that addresses issues of local representation and discuss its correlations with this project. A review of early film production training efforts in PNG, early attempts at nation building through the creative arts, and how media development shapes identity sets up the context for capacity building in this project. The second section focuses on social change themes that have emerged from PNG cinema, popular film narratives, audience reception, and local film production efforts that demonstrate the indigenisation of media for development. This sets up the relationship of this project with Education-entertainment (EE) or edutainment.

Chapter three introduces the *Aliko & Ambai* film project, provides an overview of the project design, introduces the participants, and gives an overview of some of the themes that emerged from the practice-led research. The remaining chapters focus
on findings regarding content development, narrative and local context, and capacity building. Chapter four discusses the support structures that emerged from screenplay development, beginning with a review of the engagement with the issue of gender-based violence (GBV) in PNG and how our writers’ workshop explored this issue. It also describes in detail the structured writing process and the feedback loop and support that was created to mentor young writers through the process of writing a screenplay. Chapter five explores narrative and the tensions of social change. It frames ways this project has approached narrative analysis and focuses specifically on gender-based violence, alternative masculinities, and marriage, and how that has been portrayed through melodrama in our narrative. It explores how the negotiation of traditional practice and social change became significant as we were filming on location in the community and how that altered the final cinematic narrative. Chapter six argues for focusing on particular elements of capacity building that have to do with communities of practice and shaping identity, in addition to the development of skills and expertise. It explores specialisation, community relationships, peer-based training, and different ways identity is shaped through practice by being mediated by the camera, identifying as a filmmaker, or by the Melanesian idea of being connected as a wantok. It also explores the role of the facilitator and provides a critique of the production process and the challenges that were encountered.

The conclusion summarises the primary arguments that emerge from the discussion of screenplay development, narrative, the tensions of social change, community engagement, and capacity building with a reflection on the writing and analysis process. It issues a challenge for supporting media development and community engagement in the development of a film industry in PNG and calls for additional practice-led research to explore entertainment endeavours that are culturally relevant to local communities and support the growth of a regional Melanesian film industry.

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5 Literally translated as ‘one talk’ or someone who speaks the same language but is a term that can be expanded depending on context.
In this chapter I explore the local PNG context for cinema and social change. It provides insight into the beginnings of capacity building and participatory practices by Australian filmmakers as the territory approached independence. Post-colonial filmmaking provide a new paradigm for community engagement in film production that helped create a national cinema when local filmmakers took media tools into their own hands and engaged with social change narratives and investigated film for education as well as entertainment. A more recent trend has focused on using film narratives for health interventions and directed social change initiatives. I draw from this context in subsequent chapters as I argue for ways that media development can be better supported within the changing social dynamics of contemporary PNG society.

This history provides a context to explore the concepts of how entertainment and education are linked, best practices for community engagement, how capacity building might shape and influence identity, and ways that cinematic narratives have
reflected local processes of development and social change. Starting from the local context, there are wider theoretical perspectives and practices from other geographical regions that have been influential. This chapter presents this history and these concepts by introducing how proponents of participatory video participated in the debates about representation and then follow this with two different sections. The first focuses on development and issues of facilitation, capacity building, identity
and rapid social change; and the second on strategies for education through entertainment, which provides the context for the *Aliko & Ambai* Project.

**Representation and participatory video**

Narrative film production in PNG has been a relatively obscure object of study but the trail of cinematic artefacts provides evidence about the interactions (or lack of interaction) of outsiders with local Melanesian communities. The history of cinema in PNG is a reminder that indigenous community engagement with film production in PNG dates back almost a hundred years to the earliest productions of narrative cinema in the silent movie era, facilitated by creative mavericks (Ahrens, Lindstrom, & Paisley, 2013; Halvaksz, 2006; Landman, 2006; Lindstrom, 2016; Nelson, 1992). It also provides an insight into the cinematic discourse around development, which included the use of film as a training aid by the Australian government in the colonial period (R. Foster, 2001; Harris, 1983; Landman, 2010a, 2010b; Smyth, 1992). Furthermore, when local people are backgrounded in a film’s narrative, their concerns and inner lives also become part of the background. Reviewing early colonial films in PNG has highlighted several key concerns. The relationship of peaceful collaboration colonial filmmakers experienced with Melanesian communities that was required to produce a film was in direct contradiction to the hostilities between native people and European adventurers depicted on screen (Hurley & Hurley, 1926a, 1926b; Monkman & Monkman, 1938;
Robinson, Rafferty & Robinson 1954; Robinson, Pagliero, Rafferty, & Robinson, Pagliero, 1956; Salisbury & Salisbury, 1931). In other films, Melanesian cultural experience was ignored completely to create an aesthetic that matched a pre-conceived stereotype of “native culture” creating a fictional Melanesia (Bindley & Bindley, 1928; Karango & Hardy, Miller, 1997; Brezner, Canter, Green & Holland, 1998). When an effort was made to present cultural traditions that reflected local practice, it was still in the context of highlighting a white protagonist’s participation and continued to background the experience of indigenous individuals and communities. Melanesia was not the starting point or the ending point for most of these narratives. The protagonists dabbled in local culture but than had the freedom to ‘go home’ and rejoin the world and the frame of reference that they shared with the intended audience in developed countries. Most of these films showed no interest in the inner lives of Melanesians (Bennett & Bennett, 1999; Wiseman & Maher, 2010; Scharf, Reitinger & Richter, 2011; Schroeder & Schroeder, 1972). This issue of representation is tied directly to the power dynamic between the filmmaker and the community engaged, and to a lack of participation by the community in the construction and meaning of the narrative. Even in the documentary genre, which was actually interested in the visual representation of local communities, the aesthetic, technological restrictions, and educational agenda of the genre impeded actually listening to local voices and their concerns, as the images were always filtered through an all-knowing voice of explication (Williams & Morris, 1960; Williams & Woodley-Page, Fallon, 1962; Williams, Hawes & Williams, Morris, 1962). Vertical modes of dialogue for education were used that focused on the delivery of knowledge and expertise through film from the top down.

This changed when Melanesians were consciously included in the film production process and engagement with local communities took on a completely different dynamic, beginning in the 1970s. Storylines began to foreground Melanesian experience. University students were recruited to conduct research and hold discussions with communities so that the storyline would reflect indigenous community concerns and experience and give ‘ordinary people a voice’ on screen. During production, connections with the community emerged as an important dimension for location and community support (Harris, 1983; Kemelfield, 1987; McLaren, 2003; McLaren & Stiven, 1993; Sullivan, 1993, 1997). More recently, these
elements of community engagement have consciously been formulated as part of a Melanesian research methodology at the CSCM and have been influenced by the discipline of communication for development and social change (J Eggins et al., 2011; Thomas, 2011b; Thomas & Britton, 2012; Thomas & Eby, 2016; Thomas, Iedema, et al., 2012; Thomas & Kauli, 2015). These initiatives have participated in the wider debate about participatory practices and in a more specific way have outlined best practices for engaging in Melanesia, which will be outlined in the next chapter.

Figure 5 Painim Aut from the KTP series produced by CSCM, UOG (Thomas & Barry et al., 2012).

In this section I will discuss how participatory video production that consciously utilises inclusive methods of participation presents a better model for community engagement and representation than other cinematic modes of production. Participatory projects have been framed in a variety of ways that include provoking collective action, communicating between factions and facilitating cooperation, helping marginalised people visualise local problems, engaging communities in media production processes, and facilitating co-learning and social learning. Community engagement is a participatory communication approach that puts the emphasis on process “based on dialogue, respect for local knowledge and collective decision-making” (Manyozo, 2012, p. 155). Many participatory communication and community engagement projects actually de-emphasise the efficacy of using media
as a tool, instead emphasising interpersonal communication (2012), but the focus here is participatory media engagement. Participatory film and video making, which has its own history emerging out of media practice, is separate but tangentially connected with development and communication.

A range of disciplines and research communities informed the emergence of community engagement and the use of video as a participatory tool, which is located within a set of visual practices that include photography and digital storytelling used to identify and address community needs or social problems (Mitchell, Milne, & Lange, 2012). As participatory video often aims to “reveal hidden social relations and provoke collective action, it may be regarded as a sociological intervention” (Mitchell et al., 2012, p. 1). Participatory video also goes by the name of participatory filmmaking, community media, community video, collaborative video, or even auto-video and collaborative seeing (Mitchell et al., 2012).

The origins of participatory video have generally been traced to the Fogo Island Communication Experiment in the late 1960s in Canada that produced a series of 26 short films. Colin Low, the filmmaker, called the project “a communication loop, in which film and videotape would help communication between and among the various (cultural and religious) factions and facilitate cooperation to organise and effect change at a local level” (Corneil, 2012, p. 25). The filmmaking process was noteworthy for an emphasis on the people being interviewed, the requirement of gaining full permission for any shooting activities (no candid camera techniques were employed), and the subjects were given influence over decisions during shooting, editing and screening. This process came out of an interest in increasing the communication between isolated communities and the provincial government who was considering their relocation.

But experimenting with filmmaking approaches also grew out of concerns about representation that observational documentary filmmaking had raised. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, “developments in lightweight synchronous film equipment were allowing for more discreet methods of filming and more intimate representations of the social world” (Corneil, 2012, pp. 21-22). However, some of these new films created real-life problems for the subjects when they were aired and
created a re-evaluation of documentary film ethics. This led to more inclusive ways of engaging subjects in the filmmaking process.

As simple-to-use, lightweight video cameras emerged, participatory video became a way to put a video camera in the hands of participants so they could document their own lives (Witteveen & Lie, 2009). A process that can be understood as a tool for advocacy and action, Kindon (2009) developed a “model of participation” in the participatory video (PV) process in order to understand the different steps and stakeholder relationships involved. At the top is co-option, which is considered the least participatory and then in descending order, compliance, consultative, cooperative, co-learning and collective action, designating various levels of participation by the local community. This project falls primarily within the co-learning level of participation. Since video or film production is always a collaborative process at some level, Kindon points out that “PV follows a process similar to any video production process. The main difference is the time and energy invested in the development of relationships with the community producers (and/or editors) and their training” (2009, p. 99).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model of Participation</th>
<th>Applicable Video or Film Production Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-option</td>
<td>Focused on the agenda of outside video producers making their own program. Local community may see the final product but it is aimed at a national or international audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td>Community members are involved in research but outside video producers decide on important issues and make their own program, with some community involvement in production. Local community may see the final product but the target audience is not local.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultative</td>
<td>Community members share important issues, which outside video producers consider when developing their program. Local community may see the final product and are aware that it is meant to be shared with other communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative</td>
<td>Community members and outside video producers develop concept together. The outsiders make the video, generally with some community members in minor production roles. Local audiences generally see finished product but are not the target audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-learning</td>
<td>Community members and outside video producers develop concept and ‘script’ together. The production is made jointly with an outsider directing or facilitating the process. Community members are involved in a wide range of roles. Local audiences will see, and have access to, or a degree of control of, the product. It is shared with other communities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Community members determine the important issues, develop the story/script, and make the video themselves (any outsider involvement is within community-determined parameters). The purpose of the video is for use by the community to raise the status of issue(s) and to advocate for change within the community, or between the community and others that impact on it.

In assessing diverse practices and to gain an overview of the participatory video field, High et al. (2012) looks at three vignettes: participatory video as project, participatory video embedded, and community production. He argues that all PV projects have “a link to social learning, by which we mean creating a context in which a group or community can innovate in response to mutual challenges” (p. 14). But this can only be determined at the end of a project when you can assess whether it has brought people together, strengthened community relationships, and helped people develop professional industry skills.

While this project has elements of a PV, it doesn’t fall into the usual category of “participatory video” from a production standpoint, since the amount of time and facilitation support for a feature film production was much more involved than most PV projects. And although we did not seek to create communication between factions, we did seek to facilitate cooperation between writers, local experts, the university community, local indigenous communities and funding stakeholders. Our writers’ workshop was designed to help people visualise local problems, and in production we did place an emphasis on engaging communities in the filmmaking process. The primary focus of our participatory process was about facilitating capacity building and ensuring the representation of local communities, narratives, and concerns.

Section 1 – Media Development and Social Change

Early capacity building efforts

Training efforts that began in the colonial era of the 1950s trace how Papua New Guineans were mentored in film production and started taking the tools of production into their own hands. I argue that these initial efforts were not successful in producing local filmmakers because of the priorities of both the Australian administration and educated Papua New Guineans who were focused on the political sector as it prepared for self-government. A film titled *Simon in Australia* (Williams &
Woodley-Page, Fallon, 1962) is of note because it provides evidence of the first film production capacity building efforts. This is for a territory\textsuperscript{6} audience and describes the filmmaking process while demonstrating that a Papuan is being trained to be a filmmaker. Simon Kaumi is shown assisting the Australian Commonwealth Film Unit (CFU) as it makes a film in Port Moresby. He is then flown to Sydney where he undertakes an apprenticeship in filmmaking at the CFU, shown the wonders of the city, and stays with a host family. He is introduced to the people that are required to produce a film and the roles they play and then he is taken on location in the country to shoot a film about the peach industry. Kaumi is shown deftly threading film through a bulky analogue machine, focusing lights on location, marking film clips as an editing assistant, and clearly getting a full hands-on experience in production that would have been a rare opportunity. At the end of the film Kaumi says “I've learnt how films are made and now I can begin to do this in my own country” (Williams & Woodley-Page, Fallon, 1962). However, following Kaumi's career after this

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Simon-in-Australia-1962-Film-Australia-Coll-©-NFSA.jpg}
\caption{Simon learns to edit in \textit{Simon in Australia, 1962 - Film Australia Collection © NFSA}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{6} The Territory of Papua and New Guinea was under Australian administration.
experience also demonstrates some of the challenges of early training because Kaumi became a government administrator and politician instead of a filmmaker. It would require another generation before Papua New Guineans considered filmmaking worthy of attention, and even then, only a few would really dedicate themselves to film production and identify as filmmakers.

Following on from the era of the Australian CFU, the Department of Information and Extension Services (DIES) film unit was set up in Port Moresby, overseen initially by Australian filmmaker Gary Kildea and later Dennis O’Rourke. One of the mandates was training local filmmakers and Australian filmmaker, Les McLaren, remembers seeing a film from around 1970 made by Ernie Sabbath about the craft of canoe-making in his home province of Milne Bay (McLaren, 2003, p. 83). But it also provided a way for young Australian filmmakers to experiment with new forms of documentary filmmaking, allowing them to interact with local indigenous communities. McLaren remembers that “the experience of living, sleeping and eating in a subsistence community was exciting and revelatory” (McLaren, 2003, p. 84). In addition to an intimate living experience with the local community, the resulting films centred their voices and explored their culture in a way that was in direct contrast to the CFU style with the colonial foreigners’ gaze and the over-bearing narrator. McLaren writes that “it gave Melanesians some agency to occupy and represent a Melanesian cultural space on screen … giving a form of testimony about their lives” (McLaren, 2003, p. 84).

As PNG gained political independence from Australia in the mid-1970s and Papua New Guinean politicians began decision-making in the national parliament, a series of narrative feature film projects emerged that could be considered the beginnings of a national cinema. McLaren observes that in Port Moresby in the early 1970s these activities were framed by “progressive ideas” about politics and gender and “alternative models” of government, development and dependency (McLaren, 2003, p. 83). In this context, Papua New Guineans began using cinema to tell stories about their own lives, from their own perspective, taking the camera into their own hands,

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7 He features in a leading role as the Deputy Chief Electoral Officer in a 1968 documentary film titled In One Lifetime (Jones & Jones, 1968) showing he had made his way up the government ladder. Other records document his suspension from the public service in 1974 for fomenting political unrest and his subsequent reappointment as an MP in 1998 (May, 1982).
and starting to learn the logistics and practice of filmmaking, many times engaging with their home communities.

**Social change and nation building**

Where colonial efforts had focused on how to teach native peoples basic lessons about ‘civilisation’ that were supposed to improve their way of life, when filmmaking transferred into the hands of indigenous filmmakers the exploration focused on social change in their own societies that were in the grip of negotiating how modernity was affecting traditional values and culture (Harris, 1983; Kemelfield, 1987; McLaren & Stiven, 1993; Nelson, 1992; Sullivan, 1993, 1997). I argue that these films were seminal cinematic explorations of social change, local collaboration and national identity but were one-off productions, funded and supported in ways that did not lead to ongoing sustained feature film production. These films include *Wokabaut Bilong Tonten* (Howes, Murray & Howes, 1974), *Marabe* (Harkness & Harkness, Ralai, 1979), *Tukana* (Owen & Owen, Toro, 1982), *Stolen Moments* (Wilson, Sullivan, Joseph & Wilson, 1989), *Tinpis Run* (Bidou & Nengo, Blanchet, 1990), and *Warriors in Transit* (Takaku, Voi, Abaneta & Toro, Takaku, 1992). With the exception of *Tinpis Run*, which had a budget of AUD 500,000 and would have still been considered “low budget” in the context of commercial filmmaking, most local feature film productions in PNG have been made on “micro-budgets” for less than a AUD 100,000. A majority have been tied to an education or development agenda. Most of these productions involved expatriate mentorship to a greater or lesser degree and addressed nation-building and the social change brought about by ‘development,’ or the lack of promised development. This can be interpreted as a primary concern during the transition to political independence and the 15 years that followed when these films were being produced. Most of the young expatriate filmmakers involved had experience in documentary forms but no experience with narrative feature film production. They were drawn into drama projects by local interest and the heightened engagement with the creation of a national popular culture.

*Wokabaut Bilong Tonten* (Howes, Murray & Howes, 1974) was produced in the year leading up to political independence in the interest of nation building. It was designed to “foster better community relations between Highlanders and Coastals in Papua New Guinea” (Smyth, 1992, p. 219). Unlike *The Luluai’s Dream* (Williams,
Dimond & Howe, 1964) and other films produced ten years earlier by the Commonwealth Film Unit, the film does not use narration and the audience is allowed, for the first time, to see local actors in dialogue with each other in something akin to typical village locations and situations. However, it is clearly still a "message film" with an over-written script and actors signalling their every action and emotion through dialogue.

Figure 8 Concluding scene from Wokabaut Bilong Tonten, 1974 - Film Australia Collection © NFSA

The social change themes in *Wokabaut Bilong Tonten* (Howes, Murray & Howes, 1974) explore letting go of traditional practices like the belief in sorcery, revenge killing, and clan loyalty as relics of the past. Tonten's transformation is portrayed as a model for what the citizens of a new PNG should aspire to: a willingness to traverse the island and see people from other regions and cultures as friends and potential wives and in-laws; to put aside revenge killing for the rule of law and to make peace. In many ways it represents an ethnographic snapshot of the year of independence, in terms of how people talked, what they wore, and the contrasts between urban and village life. In the mid-1970s, the PNG middle-class would have still been a small minority but there is an effort made to show that local citizens are taking charge, starting with the local school teacher and nurse in the opening sequence in the village. In Port Moresby, the radio announcer, the judge and the doctor are all
portrayed as successful local middle-class citizens. The only ex-patriot in the film is the airplane pilot who is just an incidental extra.

At the end of the 1970s there were several drama film projects that involved Australian directors collaborating with local actors including Marabe (Harkness & Harkness, Ralai, 1979). The script was in Tok Pisin and it presented "multiple parables about over-population, land pressures, and urban drift" (Sullivan, 1993, p. 373). Harkness frames the purpose of Marabe with the idea that "if people could see themselves, they could organise themselves better" (2005), which is a rather mundane way of stating that seeing one's life on the screen might allow for reflection, clarity and action. Kemelfield traces the origins of the film project from a screening of Wokabaut Bilong Tonten several years earlier and how it had provoked intense engagement with the local audience. A film was seen as an informal adult community education initiative that would "stimulate social awareness and provoke people's thinking" (Kemelfield, p. 110). Various writers and directors involved in PNG productions have made claims around film's informal educational qualities. Kemmelfield notes that when Wokabaut Bilong Tonten was screened in a village near Mendi not long after the film had been released, he and his students conducted a focus group session and asked participants what the film was about. One man said "the film told us that when a stranger comes to our village we should extend a large hand and take his hand in ours" (Kemelfield, 1987, p. 110). If this is indicative of other audience responses, in spite of the fact that the film has not aged that well, we can conclude that its educational focus on nation building did reach its intended audience. This is an era when people were still more strongly tied to place and clan affiliation than the idea of being Papua New Guineans. Strong antagonisms between clans and people of different regions were seen as a hindrance to development and provided a rationale for the focus of these films.

Tukana: Husat is Ausua (Owen & Owen, Toro, 1982) was written by Albert Toro who also starred in the film with a largely PNG cast and crew (Kolia et al., 1981). The strength of the film lies in its lead character, Tukana. Albert never over-acts and plays a feckless young man with a light touch and a sense of humour. The primary conflict of the movie is between the generations. Tukana is a university drop-out and as soon as he returns home to the village to his deeply disappointed parents, they try to
arrange a marriage in the traditional way. The film is clearly a commentary on the social change brought about by the islanders’ encounter with the outside world.

Albert Toro emerged from the conscious development of a contemporary national arts scene in Port Moresby in the early 1970s as a Papua New Guinean who took filmmaking seriously. Toro’s talent was supported by three Australians who provided core technical skills to produce the *Tukana*. Chris Owen, the resident filmmaker at the Institute of PNG Studies, playing the role of co-director, cinematographer and DP, Ann Stiven supervised makeup and costumes, and Les McLaren recorded sound and was the editor and sound mixer in post-production (Kolia et al., 1981). Australian expertise in the production has been downplayed to a certain extent as *Tukana* has been hailed as ground-breaking in pioneering national PNG cinema. Toro’s film training started at the Bougainville copper mine’s (BCL) Media Resources Unit and continued at the national Office of Information’s film unit. His credits included the short drama films addressing social issues, *Urban Drift* (Kildea, Toro & Kildea, Toro, 1979) and *Fourth Child* (Kildea, Toro & Kildea, Toro, 1980). He had also written numerous radio plays at NBC PNG (Sullivan, 1993).

*Tukana* “tries to let ordinary people speak through film” (Kemelfield, 1987, p. 110). Intensive research was conducted before the screenplay was written involving

![Image of Tukana poster](image-url)
UPNG students holding discussions with parents and community leaders across the province, which provided the background material from which Toro constructed the story. Conflicts between generations emerged from the interviews. Parents expressed concern that their children as a result of formal western education were disregarding their customs. This included anxieties about young people marrying without customary forms of consultation and the damaging effects of alcohol on the community way of life. Concerns about the younger generation were heightened by the changes brought about by the transnational resource extraction operation of the copper and gold mine (1987, p. 112). In addition to this initial research, UPNG students were also included in a feedback session about the script, which included reading it in a dramatic run-through. Critique and analysis was fed back to the screenwriter and reflects a structured and well-documented approach to content development.

The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS) and the North Solomons Provincial Government produced Tukana to be screened in churches and schools in the province (Sullivan, 1993). In the context of the post-colonial pushback to anthropological research and fieldwork in Melanesia, Strathern (1983) has pointed out that the production of the film indicated that the province administration was highly aware of cultural matters and supportive of certain kinds of research efforts. It was framed as an “experiment in adult community education” (Kemelfield, 1987, p. 107) as part of the North Solomons Education Research Project to direct educational development that reflected local people’s concerns, and to “create greater awareness of critical issues affecting their lives” (p. 110).

The film became a national symbol, both as a pioneering effort by a PNG filmmaker and as a story that captures the experience of the generation of independence (Sullivan, 1993). Its impact far exceeded any of its original intentions as an educational film for local provincial purposes as it went on to be popular nationally and was accepted by international festivals as a representation of PNG national cinema. Even though Tukana was considered a success, with a formal screening tour to rural venues in the North Solomons in 1985 and informal screenings throughout the rest of the country, Kemelfield (1987) writes that the national government “rejected an earlier proposal for a film industry developed along the low-budget, small production team model of Tukana” (p. 115). This explains why another
feature film production didn’t get off the ground until the end of the 1980s, although Albert Toro did make an eight-episode television drama called *Warriors in Transit* (Takaku, Voi, Abaneta & Toro, Takaku, 1992). This was a historic production because “for the first time a broadcast-length drama was wholly conceived and produced by Papua New Guineans” (Sullivan, 1997, p. 347). Unfortunately, a variety of factors complicated the airing of the show, including the squabbling between the various collaborators on how the USD 85,000 budget was spent, low production values, and the local television station, EM TV’s complaint that they could not find advertisers to sponsor it (Sullivan, 1997). Sullivan characterises the lack of support from the Australian manager at EM TV during this time as an “anti-facilitator,” while giving credit to others like Chris Owen, Severan Blanchet, Paul Frame, Greg Murphy and Elton Brash for their facilitation of the first wave of filmmakers, playwrights, performers and writers (Sullivan, 2003, p. 30).

The creation of the *Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa*, founded in 1979 in Goroka of the Eastern Highlands, trained another set of filmmakers. Paul Frame, an Australian architect based in Goroka, established the film school as an adjunct to the local Raun Raun Theatre. Its goal was to train Papua New Guineans in low-budget filmmaking, producing narratives relevant to their own communities (McLaren & Stiven, 1993). Frame established an “exchange program during the mid-eighties between the Skul and the Atelier Varan, a Parisian cinema verite school founded by Jean Rouch” (Sullivan, 1993, p. 381). Varan instructors would teach in Goroka in exchange for several students from the Skul going to Paris for courses lasting up to three months. Although the hopes for producing programs for the newly established Em TV television station in 1987 in Port Moresby never materialised, two feature films were produced at the end of the 1980s, *Stolen Moments* (Wilson, Sullivan, Joseph & Wilson, 1989) and *Tinpis Run* (Bidou & Nengo, Blanchet, 1990). Both directors had attended the *Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa* and received training in Paris through the exchange program. Instructors from the Varan school in Paris supervised the production of *Tinpis Run*. Key French collaborators were Jacques Bidou and Severin Blanchet and the key PNG creative team and crew were Pengau Nengo, Martin Maden, John Barre, and Maureen Mopio, starring Rhoda Selan, Leo Knoga and Oscar Wanu (Bidou & Nengo, Blanchet, 1990).
Tinpis Run begins as a light buddy road movie comedy and sets up the relationship between an elderly highlands tribal leader, Papa, and Naaki, a young man from the Sepik. Naaki saves Papa from dying when he drags him from a burning truck after an accident on the national highway. Then the pair become ensnared by a slimy aspiring politician and wind up helping him with the campaign in his electorate. Finally, they return to Papa’s tribe in Hagen that is in the midst of a tribal conflict. Papa gets wounded in battle and through his daughter’s appeal to him to think about his family, the tribal conflict is brought to a peaceful resolution.

Tinpis Run was shot 10 year after Tukana and 15 years after Wokabaut Bilong Tonten but there are similarities with the themes. They all address how social change has disrupted the fabric of traditional culture and has left the younger generation torn between the opportunities provided by an education and an opportunity to travel and see other regions of the country on the one hand, with the obligations they have to their parents and an “old way” of seeing the world, on the other. Of the three, in Tipis Run, we have the distinct feeling that Naaki and Joanna have a hopeful future and the current generation have a chance to move beyond tribal conflict. They are also the generation who have become educated and will lead lives primarily in an urban
environment away from their village so the fate of the community and those who remain in the village is unclear.

In summary, there were a range of factors that discourage ongoing film production after the early 1990s: the unsatisfactory economic return on investment of both *Tinpis Run* and *Warriors in Transit*, the lack of support from Em TV as the only formal broadcast outlet, the lack of government support, and the lack of other formal or informal distribution and screening opportunities. After these sporadic feature film productions in the fifteen years after independence, nothing of note with narrative film happened in the following fifteen years until the production of the *Pasin Senis* (Behaviour Change) series (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2006, 2007).

**Media development and identity**

To pursue media development practice in a local context, it is useful to start with an exploration of underlying assumptions about training, support structures and infrastructure development that are held by donors and foreign government aid agencies. The usual media development approach is focused on democracy, good governance and economic growth (Scott, 2014). Local and donor-led initiatives are designed to develop the media sector. These include efforts aimed at “promoting independence, plurality, professionalism, capacity, and enabling environment, economic sustainability and media literacy” (2014, p. 4). While efforts that focus on content use media in the service of achieving other development outcomes, the focus in media development is on developing the media itself (2014).

Media development supporting ideals of freedom is focused on how the media in a democracy is able to perform its role as a public watchdog. Press plurality prevents one media owner having too much influence. As a result, professionalism and capacity building usually focuses on journalist training. “An estimated 50 per cent of USAID’s media development funding is targeted here” (2014, p. 80). Media development also includes the funding of production equipment, creating a legal and regulatory framework that supports media independence and supporting media literacy (2014).

However, this exegesis frames media development with an emphasis on processes of identity. This is inspired by Clemencia Rodriguez’ perspective in *Fissure in the*
Mediascape: An International Study of Citizens’ Media (2001) that focused on media production and citizens’ media (also known as community-based media, alternative media, local media, minority media, and participatory media). Rodriguez explores how local groups have “colonized media production” (p. 26). In Rodriguez’s (1994) account of participatory video she highlights some of the complexity of the production process: “processes of identity deconstruction, personal and group empowerment, demystification of mainstream media, reversal of power roles, and increasing collective strength” (p. 160). Issues of identity are a primary thread when discussing capacity building for narrative film production in this exegesis.

When film production in PNG has been framed as a capacity building project, it has contributed to new ways of conceiving identity and participating in the nation-building project that began in the 1970s. All Papua New Guineas from this era would have been tied to a specific place with a clan affiliation and a cultural tradition as their primary identity marker. There were specific efforts in the university system in the 1970s for young educated Papua New Guineans to expand their identity to see themselves as Papua New Guinean. Film production, as well as innovation in music, performance and literature was part of this conscious effort, to invent Papua New Guinean national culture, in contrast to local cultural traditions that were firmly established to clan and place. The films were intended to foster better relations between Highlanders and those from the lowlands and islands who viewed each other with suspicion and distrust. They also portrayed the growth of the PNG middle-class, which had not really been recognised in the colonial discourse until their presence became relevant for a speedy transition to self-government.

In the arts of this period there was a notion of consciously inventing art forms that took a pan-Melanesian approach by drawing on influences from multiple PNG cultural regions and weaving them together to create something new. They moved away from a locally grounded identity by consciously trying to create art that reflected a national identity. Sullivan has pointed out that Toro was “identified with a seminal group of National Art School and University of PNG students who, in the early seventies, set about to invent Papua New Guinean national culture” (Sullivan, 1997, p. 336). This also included writers, musicians, artists, sculptors and theatre directors who were pioneering some of the first Melanesian forays into popular music, literature, theatre, film and radio. This was experimented with in music with
the Sanguma Band from 1977 to 1985 (Crowdy, 2016) and in performance with the Raun Raun Theatre whose vital experimental years spanned a similar time frame from 1975 to 1984 (Murphy, 1978, 2010). It could be argued that both of these experiments were encouraged by expatriate facilitation, the former by Australian musician Ric Halstead, and the latter by Australian theatre director, Greg Murphy, both of them had a particular pan-Melanesian vision that fed off the energy of a newly independent Papua New Guinea and a giddy era of experimentation, and arguably, both of them became unsustainable, largely because many Papua New Guineans still prefer to highlight their local cultural identity based in clan affiliation and place.

This was reflected in the tension and rivalry between the National Theatre Company (NTC) directed by William Takaku and the Raun Raun Theatre directed by Greg Murphy and their contrasting philosophies about developing a national culture and what should be part of a national theatre repertoire. Murphy and company created something new by weaving elements of various Melanesian traditions together, based on what was brought to the process by the actors in the company. William Takaku and members of the rival NTC criticised this approach as not respecting the integrity of specific cultural traditions, and felt that innovation should be regionally based and did not support weaving separate traditional cultural traditions together in one production (Murphy, 2010). This sentiment is reflected by many Papua New Guineans, which may be one reason why the art form that has seen the most growth to date in PNG is in popular music. Bands strive to represent their specific locale, indigenous language, and tribal affiliation and yet, many of them get a popular national following. Some of this is due to people’s mobility of movement from rural to various urban centres while still retaining affiliation to home. Some of it is due to increasing regional identity affiliations. And, like pop music in any country, some of it is due to liking a catchy song regardless of its origin. In subsequent chapters, I explore ways that contemporary capacity building in film production is influenced by how Papua New Guineans relate to place, each other, their own communities, and how they conceptualise their identity.
Section 2 – Cinema Narratives and Education through Entertainment

In this section I analyse the primary social change themes in cinema narratives that have emerged from the cinematic history reviewed so far and then explore current cinema consumption practices in PNG and the kind of narratives that are popular with contemporary PNG audiences. It is also useful to analyses the narrative and production practice of the *Pasin Senis* film series (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2006, 2007; Darius, Langdom & Darius, 2012) produced locally in association with the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church organisation and popular with local Highlands audiences. Finally, I tie this analysis of cinema narratives in PNG to the education through entertainment strategy and how that has been developed in other regions in the world as well as its application in the Pacific with the *Love Patrol* (Walker, Dorras & Walker 2007-2016) soap opera and the production practice of CSCM at UOG. I argue that before moving forward into the analysis of the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative it is crucial to understand the broader context for cinema narrative consumption and production practices in Melanesia.

Social Change Themes

Film is a visual storytelling medium and several prominent themes emerge from the films that have been shot in PNG through a collaborative process with local writers and directors. Most of these themes emerge out of the pressures of modernisation and the conflict between the obligations of traditional culture and disruptive processes of ‘development.’ There are paradoxes that emerge from this conflict. For example, Tukana drops out of university and comes home to the extreme disappointment of his parents. At the same time, it is due to his educational process that Tukana does not want to marry the girl his parents have chosen for him (Owen & Owen, Toro, 1982). So although his pragmatic parents would have preferred him to complete his education to better prepare him for his place in the changing world of contemporary PNG, it is precisely his education that has put him in conflict with their traditional perception of a properly arranged marriage. It is these paradoxes of the modernisation process that cinematic narrative can explore, without necessarily resolving.

In the exploration of the social change brought about by modernisation, there are films that were created collaboratively between foreign mentors and local writers,
directors and cast, that explored the complexities and negative consequences of certain traditional practices like the belief in sorcery, revenge killing, tribal conflict and arranged marriage. At the same time these narratives also demonstrated that modernisation has led to overpopulation, land pressures urban drift, and the social ills of urban living. They demonstrated the destruction of resource extraction and the damaging effects of alcoholism. As already mentioned, many of the films following independence advocated the forming of a national identity by creating characters that looked beyond local clan affiliations and were making connections that expanded their world beyond the village and showed the growing urban Papua New Guinean middle-class (Harkness & Harkness, Ralai, 1979; (Howes, Murray & Howes, 1974); Jeffrey & Jeffrey, 1954; Bidou & Nengo, Blanchet, 1990; Owen & Owen, Toro, 1982; Takaku, Voi, Abaneta & Toro, Takaku, 1992; Wilson, Sullivan, Joseph & Wilson, 1989). In other words, local filmmakers were engaged with the complexities of social change. And they did not take a definitive moral position on whether the conservative practices of traditional society based in a pre-contact era or the intrusion of modern influences and development were to blame.

In more recent years, in large part due to donor funding, the focus in film narratives has shifted to health and targeted social issue awareness messaging. These films take for granted PNG’s modernity and political independence and the explorations of earlier films have been replaced by focusing on new conundrums. This includes focusing on issues like the stigma of HIV and AIDS and the need to care for the children of those who have died of the disease. These films have taken a specific moral position on the family obligation that is broken through irresponsible sexual behaviour and the consequences of abandoning traditional family obligations and norms (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2006, 2007; Darius, Langdom & Darius, 2012).

Others have explored young love, sexual experimentation, and taking responsibility for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) testing (Thomas, Ilai & Theodoris, 2012). The targeted focus on specific social issues with a moral point-of-view that attempts to shift attitudes, mediated by an entertainment medium has a long history in edutainment. Communication for social change approaches emphasise participation and community engagement in the creation of these messages.
Popular culture in the processes of development
There has been an increased focus on the role of popular culture in the processes of development within sociology, media studies, education and other social and human sciences (Dagron & Tufte, 2006). It is a "re-assessment of the role of popular culture, storytelling and everyday life in processes of sense-making" (p. xxx). Latin American authors argued that ignoring popular culture in development thinking was "omitting cultural diversity, cultural resistance and cultural rights" (p. xxx). Columbian Jesus Martin-Barbero writes about ways that globalization is resisted, but also "negotiated and interacted with" (2006, p. 649) in contested and conflicting ways. In the scholarly exploration of Entertainment Education and narrative, the focus has primarily been on the role of audience involvement in the narrative and the effectiveness of mediating behaviour change through a combination of cognitive and affective engagement (Gesser-Edelsburg & Singhal, 2013; Kincaid, 2002; Monahan, 1995; Moyer Gusé, 2008; Sood, 2002).

Joel Robbin, focusing on Melanesia, notes that non-Western people use their "encounter with the world capitalist system to develop their own culture in its own terms" (Robbins, 2005, p. 9). In spite of the somewhat monolithic rhetoric of change that are the legacy of colonial and post-colonial influences, there has also been an acknowledgement of the range of variation in historical transformations that exposes the multiplicity rather than the uniformity of variables in the process of change (Strathern & Stewart, 2007). These social transformations have included the rise of charismatic Christianity and the growing use of consumerism to define new social and political hierarchies (Bamford, 2007).

A significant point that emerges is that “simple models that imagine change in terms of an evolutionary progression from tradition to modernity are not particularly convincing within the Melanesian context” (Bamford, 2007, p. 8). In PNG, John Barker (2007) defines modernity with traits such as "mass consumption, individualism, the ideology of choice and the rupture of identity between persons and ancestral environments" (p. 126). Although often used interchangeably with ‘Westernization’, "it is more accurate to see such elements as features of an emerging global culture, driven by international capitalism, that affects all the world’s people, albeit in different ways and to differing degrees” (p. 126). It is negotiating these tensions that preoccupied the participants of the Aliko & Ambai project and
there are various discourses that blame tradition that is out-of-step with modernisation, or blames modernisation that has brought unhealthy influences to traditional rural life.

**Popular film narratives and audience reception**

Although the population in PNG have always had limited access to films there is a history of engaging with cinema, starting in the colonial area when movie theatres were established in most urban centres and mobile cinema units visited a limited number of village communities. In the post-colonial era, there was an introduction of home video equipment, television and most recently, content on mobile phones. The contemporary setting for audience engagement with film narratives in PNG is in village cinemas, dispersed through almost every local community, called the *haus piksa*.\(^8\) PNG lacks a network of movie theatres that are part of the formal international film industry but the *haus piksa*, or CD haus, has become part of the changing infrastructure of rural communities and urban settlements as part of the informal media infrastructure and economy (Eby & Thomas, 2016). Movies are obtained through an informal film distribution system that can be linked to the global shadow economy of cinema (Larkin, 2008; Lobato, 2012).

The engagement with film and cinema narratives by Melanesian audiences has been commented on as early as 1919 when the American filmmaker, Martin Johnson, set up a projector to amuse local communities in the New Hebrides\(^9\) with the film he had shot a year earlier (Lindstrom, 2016). Over twenty years ago media studies shifted away from analysing film narratives as the original site of meaning, towards a relational analysis of ways the audience engages with film narratives in the struggle for meaning (Fiske, 1995; Livingstone, 1991; Spitulnik, 1993). This has been called ‘reception-aesthetics’ or ‘reader-response theory’ and was appropriated for ‘audience research’ for film and television (Livingstone, 1991). This interest in ‘reception’ among PNG audiences has continued through recent research by Andrew Connelly

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\(^8\) The Tok Pisin language terms *haus piksa* and *CD haus* (or even *movie haus* or *video haus*) are used interchangeably to describe a village cinema in PNG. The terms appear to be regionally based, with *CD haus* being more common in the Eastern Highlands and *haus piksa* more common in the Western Highlands. There is no distinction between *CD* and *DVD* in Tok Pisin.

\(^9\) Now known as the nation of Vanuatu
(2015), showing ethnographic films about the Trobriand Islands to local residents and Daniela Vávrová (2014) who screened films in the Sepik.

An audience survey (Eby & Thomas, 2014) conducted in haus piksa venues throughout the Highlands to investigate film viewing practices in Papua New Guinea found that Hollywood action films are very popular, with the Rambo series (Feitshans, Kassar, Vajna & Kotcheff, 1982) ranking first, Van Damme movies ranking fourth, and other action movies ranking sixth, seventh and eighth. But, in addition, a Nigerian tragic romance called True Love (Ezeanyaechе & Egbon, 2003) ranked second, Titanic (Cameron, Landau & Cameron, 1997), a romantic disaster film ranked third, Endless Love (Galvante & Alejandro, Ranay, 2010) a television series featuring a romantic tragedy storyline from the Philippines ranked fifth, Krishna (Shah & Shivdasani, 1996), a Bollywood romance ranked ninth and The Gods Must Be Crazy (Uys & Uys, 1980), a South African comedy, ranked tenth in popularity. Local audiences have expressed that they consider these movies a source of informal education and entertainment (Eby & Thomas, 2016). Although the popular film imports from Nigeria viewed by audiences in PNG fall into the popular conception of melodrama, that favour a certain kind of excessive emotion and female stereotypes of the innocent girl or the cruel mother, it could be argued that the popular American action film favours a certain kind of excessive violence with masculine stereotypes of the evil villain and the muscular hero, drawing a connection between the two genres via excess (Cohan & Hark, 2012; Gallagher, 2006; L. Williams, 1991). How these popular themes are reflected (or aren't reflected) in the narrative of the Aliko & Ambi project will be explored in subsequent chapters.

**Indigenisation of media for development**

The Pasin Senis (Changing Behaviour) films were ‘grassroots dramas’ that tackled the issue of living with HIV\(^\text{10}\) and AIDS\(^\text{11}\) in PNG (Darius, 2012b). Although, contemporary Melanesian-produced content has primarily been in the form of music videos showcasing PNG and Solomon Island musicians, these films were the most popular locally produced feature films\(^\text{12}\) (Eby & Thomas, 2014). I argue that the Pasin Senis films reflect religious media efforts in Melanesia that could be described

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\(^{10}\) human immunodeficiency virus infection

\(^{11}\) acquired immune deficiency syndrome

\(^{12}\) Based on a survey taken in 2012 among the PNG Highlands population
as an indigenisation of media for development in health messaging with an emphasis on melodrama, primarily because of its mode of production (relying on the wantok system) and the emphasis of the story (relying on the breach of the wantok system as the primary motivator of the narrative).

In her investigation into the development of media capacity building in PNG, media scholars like Sullivan (1993, 1997, 2003) did not include the work done by church organisations. However, Harris provides an overview of “missionary films” from the colonial era (1983) and an acknowledgement of religious media organisations is included in the latest baseline report on media and communication in the Pacific (Tacchi, Horst, Papoutsaki, Thomas, & Eggnis, 2013). Director, Matupit Darius, gained his experience in media production in the late 1980s and early 1990s with an SDA Australian team associated with the Adventist Media Centre of Sydney producing for Pacific Health Education. They made a series of educational videos titled Just a Little Series (Gibbs & Reynaud, 1991) that addressed hygiene, alcohol abuse, and HIV and AIDS awareness. The more recent, Pasin Senis films (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2006, 2007; Darius, Langdom & Darius, 2012) set out to do something about the stigma of HIV and AIDS that affected children in PNG. These were completely Melanesian home grown productions, apparently without facilitation, production expertise or consultation from an Australian or expatriate source, setting them apart from the model for earlier PNG feature film productions.

In PNG, the family, clan and church organisation relationships of obligation, exchange and support know as the wantok system are important (Franklin, 2007). This also emerges as an important dimension in Melanesian media production, as well. Matupit Darius, as director, and his daughter, Martina Darius Naulu, as writer and producer, created O Papa God: Wai na Em Olsem? (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2006) and Em Rong Blo Mi Yet (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2007) supported by Higher Ground Ministry Media Production, an organisation affiliated with the SDA Church in PNG. As a first-time experience for everyone in the Lae office of the Adventist Health

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13 He cites a UNICEF report that described how children of HIV-positive mothers were shunned and experienced verbal and emotional abuse (Unicef & Asia, 2006).
14 Deriving from “one talk” in English, or same language.
Team, they divided up the production roles. Technical expertise for shooting and editing was found through a friend of Martina’s, Rayner Paul, who had never shot a film but had some experience with music video production. Darius admits that because he had never directed before, he actually preferred working with a novice so they could learn the filmmaking process together. The films were produced in the Goroka community where Gahare, the writer, was from, with a small crew and cast, most of them Gahare’s family. Darius writes that none of the actors had any training in acting.

Darius’ experience as an actor and the visceral responses from audience members who mistook him on the street for the character he played, underscored his conviction that many people in PNG do not distinguish between fictional narratives and real life (Darius, 2012a). In addition, he points out that in an oral culture stories play a significant role in communicating morals (2012a) and considers the primary purpose of the Pasin Senis films to be an appeal for behaviour change through

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15 James Gahare, who was the HIV coordinator, coming up with the story, Martina, writing the screenplay, and Darius directing—with funding coming from the Church Partnership Program (CPP), AusAID, and the SDA church in PNG (M. Redman-MacLaren, personal correspondence).

16 Paul was trained in media production by Stephen Vele at Pacific Adventist University (PAU) and also provided the production equipment (S. Vele, personal communication).
empathy for children. The strongest value for Darius is the family obligation that is broken through irresponsible sexual behaviour. Darius states that the story was based on a true-life experience and that “in PNG culture it is expected of relatives to assimilate children of dead relatives into their own families” (2012a, p. 2).

Reportedly, audiences responded by openly weeping in reaction to the plight of the orphaned children. The film was successful enough to garner funding for two follow-up films, *Em Rong Blo Mi Yet* (It’s My Own Fault) (Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2007) and *Bai Mi Sanap Strong* (I will Stand Strong) (Darius, Langdom & Darius, 2012). The *Pasin Senis* messages about HIV and AIDS, from a Christian indigenous cultural understanding, places the emphasis on the consequences of abandoning traditional family obligations and norms. They provide insight into what grassroots filmmaking can look like in PNG.\(^{17}\) I have singled out the SDA church as one of the rare examples of narrative drama film production in the country although other religious institutions have had their own capacity-building programs in radio and television production (Tacchi et al., 2013).

**Film as education entertainment**

Media scholars who have written about film production in PNG have perceived the role of film in a variety of ways. As outlined in previous sections, there is a range of views about film’s potential effectiveness. The visual medium was considered a better choice to have a more meaningful impact on a larger percentage of the population in comparison to text-based publications because of the low level of literacy in PNG. This was a crucial issue in the early days of colonialism but, without universal education through high school, it still remains a rationale today. But the more consistent theme that emerges from those involved in the practice and analysis of film production in PNG is the belief in its potential for awareness, a change in attitudes and behaviour change. Colonial filmmakers made assertions that using film was part of the process of helping people change their way of life and take up new practices. Post-colonial initiatives have tempered this view with more moderate goals about film challenging the audience’s worldview, creating greater social awareness about critical issues, encouraging reflection that might lead to solutions, and the

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\(^{17}\) Tragically, Martina Darius Naulu was killed in a bus accident at the end of production of the second film and her father, Pastor Matupit Darius, died in 2014, so how they might have contributed to ongoing film production in PNG will never be realised.
assertion that people in PNG derive morals and values from story-telling and narrative film. This section traces the theory and practice supporting the use of a narrative entertainment medium for the goal of education. I point out that, based on the most recent Pacific region intervention initiatives by Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu and the Centre for Social and Creative Media in Papua New Guinea the primary rationale for entertainment education that has emerged is the culturally relevant narratives based on research in collaboration with local communities, benefit for social dialogue around difficult social issues in collective community viewing venues, and the resulting stigma reduction for socially marginalised people.

These ideas about education through entertainment have a conceptual history. One must be careful when trying to make direct links between early media efforts in PNG and the conceptual ideas that might have influenced them, but the first PNG films that were seen as playing a part in ‘informal education’ for indigenous audiences in PNG were emerging at the same time as other media initiatives combining entertainment and education were taking place in other regions of the world. Clearly, the PNG productions were not created in a vacuum, and even if the practitioners that guided these projects were not fully aware of the 'education through entertainment' (or edutainment) television projects that began to emerge beginning in the 1970s, the ideas that guided their work and practice still have a history and context. I will analyse the general areas of concern that have been the focus of debate in these initiatives: individual behaviour change, directed social change, relevance and responsiveness to local context and communities, moral frameworks, and societal support networks.

The marriage between social marketing and entertainment created the entertainment-education approach (also known as enter-educate, edutainment, and infotainment). Its origins can be linked with modernisation ideas about mass media. The general purpose of entertainment-education (EE) programs is to contribute to social change, defined in this context as “the process in which an alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system” (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p. xii). EE interventions operated in a range of environments and faced challenges and resistance in “media-saturated societies such as the United States” (p. 9). As the strategy was taken up and used in other contexts it promoted a range of social
issues around health, literacy, gender equality and preservation of the environment (Singhal & Rogers, 1999).

Miguel Sabido of Mexico’s television networks was inspired by the success of a very popular television soap opera from Peru, *Simplemente Maria*, broadcast from 1969-1971, and created a production structure and theoretical rationale for producing soap operas with an educational message in Mexico. He provided the first definition of the entertainment-education strategy as “a formal, reproducible set of design and production techniques for the construction of persuasive messages” (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p. xi). His main contributions to the EE strategy included creating a moral framework for specific educational issues, using formative evaluation research with the intended audience, basing the intervention on theories of behaviour change, providing transitional role models in addition to positive and negative characters, and providing epilogues delivered by a ‘credible figure’ at the end of each episode (Singhal & Rogers, 1999).

EE has been strongly influenced by the ideas of social learning theory that describe how people learn through observing others. Bandura (1995) claims that effective intervention models rely on “guided mastery experiences” (p. 30). This approach includes information, self-regulatory skill, providing participants with guided practice in applying the skills, and creating social supports. According to Bandura, health-promotion programs that encompass this “self-regulatory mastery model” (p. 31) are much more effective in prevention or reduction of negative health habits in contrast to those that rely mainly on awareness and providing health information. Based on this view of social cognition, Signal (2004) claims that EE is a communication strategy. The general purpose is to contribute to the process of “directed social change,” which can occur at the level of an individual, community, or society (p. 5).

In a reappraisal of this strategy, Tufte (2005) has suggested that there have been three generations of EE in communication for development: the first involved social marketing strategies, the second used interdisciplinary strategies that involved participation, and the third, have been oriented toward identification of social problems, power inequalities and their root causes, with the goal of collective action and structural change. Although both South Africa’s *Soul City* and Nicaragua’s *Punto de Encuentro* have been highlighted as successful E-E projects in combatting the
pandemic of HIV/AIDS, unresolved challenges revolve around people being treated as objects of change rather than as agents of their own change, and communication strategies have often focused exclusively on individual behaviours rather than also addressing “social norms, policies, culture, and supportive environments” (Tufte, 2004, p. 404).

These issues with health and social issue interventions have also been critiqued in the Pacific region. Cultures in the Pacific are considered to be collective and community goals are prioritised over those of the individual (Ratuva, 2005). In this environment, social-cognitive approaches that target individual behaviour through mass media awareness campaigns like billboard messages and radio commercials are not appropriate. These approaches assume that individuals have a lack of information and that providing information through awareness-raising campaigns will give them the information they need. It is assumed that based on this information, individuals will make rational choices for their health and wellbeing for themselves and others (Campbell, 2003). However, it has been determined that multiple other factors constrain individuals from making the best choices when it comes to actually changing their behaviour. As a result, campaigns like ABC (abstinence, be faithful, use condoms) for HIV awareness have had little success because they do not address structures of vulnerability and the gendered, social, and economic context that may be stopping people from acting on the knowledge gained from awareness campaigns (Collins, Coates, & Curran, 2008; Drysdale, 2014). It is not that this knowledge is not important but there has been a proven disconnect between understanding HIV prevention and changing behaviour to prevent HIV transmission (Dowsett & Aggleton, 1999).

There is a growing body of evidence that these kind of HIV-prevention efforts through awareness-raising initiatives in the Pacific do not lead to behavioural change or reduce people’s risk or vulnerability to HIV infection (Drysdale, 2014; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2009; Worth, 2012). The Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu has spearheaded other approaches that facilitate community engagement and dialogue. *Love Patrol* (Walker, Dorras & Walker, 2007-2016) has been the only
successful edutainment television series in the Pacific, to date.\textsuperscript{18} It lasted eight seasons, first launching in 2006. Directed by Peter Walker, written by Jo Dorras with Danny Phillips as director of photography and editor, the show has been produced at a professional broadcast standard. Storylines were developed collaboratively in a workshop environment with the Melanesian cast (J. Doras, personal communication, December, 2013) with a well-trained, professional local crew working on set and an administrative support staff. Written and performed in English with a Melanesian cast, the series has had positive feedback and an enthusiastic audience throughout the Pacific. The only critiques of the \textit{Love Patrol} approach have been a lack of capacity building for local writers, directors and editors, although there have been lower-profile production projects where local Wan Smolbag staff were given more core creative control.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{set_love_patrol.jpg}
\caption{On the set of \textit{Love Patrol} (Eby, 2015, p. 6)}
\end{figure}

Drysdale (2014) has noted that the lack of local television productions and the communal viewing behaviour in Melanesian provides an optimal opportunity to observe how edutainment television engages local communities in social dialogue. She does not attempt to “attribute Love Patrol’s effect to changes in practice” (2014, p. 18). \textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{18} Pasifika Productions produced a 4-episode pilot \textit{Suva City} (Larson & Hermanson, 1998) funded by UNICEF and focused on social issues but lack of funding prevented the production continuing (Drysdale, 2014, p. 19)
It is noted that the range of evidence-based strategies that have demonstrated effectiveness to achieve directed social change is quite small (Auerbach, Parkhurst, & Cáceres, 2011; Drysdale, 2014). Instead she argues that *Love Patrol* "harnesses important social issues around HIV, sexuality and violence in ways that engage communities, enables dialogue about these sensitive issues and challenges socio-cultural norms to reduce stigma and promote sexual rights"(2014, p. 57). Although *Love Patrol* champions local cultural context and works within the culture through narrative to reinforce values, it simultaneously elicits "a collective analysis of local practices and changes that may be needed" (2014, p. 94). In particular the show has been ground-breaking in providing forums for discussion of subjects that are normally considered taboo, including sexuality, sex education and sex work. Characters that would be considered marginalised in Melanesian have been included in the show, including a gay men, a transgender woman, a sex worker and characters living with HIV, causing some contentious debate among the more religious and conservative factions of society in Melanesia (Drysdale, 2014; Wan Smolbag Theatre, 2017). *Love Patrol* has demonstrated that it can engage with the Melanesian socio-cultural context, stimulate critical reflection, and facilitate community engagement and dialogue, which, in some cases, has led to attitude change and even the mobilisation of communities (Drysdale, 2014).

![Figure 13 An audience in the Masi haus piksa viewing One More Chance in the KTP series (Eby & Thomas, 2014, p. 3).](image)
The CSCM at UOG in PNG has focused on collaborative research with university students linked to their own indigenous communities as a way of exploring social issues from a culturally-embedded local perspective (Eby & Thomas, 2016; Thomas, 2011b; Thomas & Eby, 2016). With the Komuniti Tok Piksa (KTP) initiative (Thomas & Barry, et al., 2012), research about HIV and AIDS led to a series of film projects that reflected local concerns. Although the final films were primarily documentary, a 30 minute drama called Painim Aut (Thomas, Ilai & Theodoris, 2012) was an experiment in entertainment education. It was led by a university student, Bafinuc Ilai, and shot on location in his community, which also provided crewmembers and the entire cast. The screenplay was produced collaboratively (Thomas, Iedema, et al., 2012). After the film launched, university student relationships to their home communities throughout the Highlands region were, once again, utilised for distribution and screening of the film in village cinemas. These communal viewing spaces proved to be ideal spaces for discussion of issues around HIV and AIDS that are, many times, outside the acceptable daily discourse (Thomas & Eby, 2016). Audience members through discussions and interviews confirmed their delight in seeing Melanesians stories they could identify with, in contexts that resonated with their own cultural setting, in regionally identifiable locations. In addition, they identified key educational information about HIV transmission, HIV testing, and the importance of diet, family support, and care for people living with HIV and AIDS. Most people confirmed an attitudinal change towards people living with the virus. It is these steps toward stigma reduction that are considered the primary contribution of this initiative (Thomas & Eby, 2016).

Scott (2014) provides a critique of EE by pointing out that although the use of entertainment formats to provide educational content is a common feature of media for development projects, it is assumed that audiences will recognise and respond to the content in ways directly related to development outcomes. Scott acknowledges that this function of the media can be significant, but what about the other role that media plays in people’s lives? Audiences may engage with media for all sorts of reasons that include gossip, to relax, for self-expression, and to be entertained. As he summarises, “the point is that the media have value well beyond their contribution to directed individual behaviour change or good governance and democracy … This is a fact generally overlooked or ignored by both M4D and media development.
initiatives” (2014, p. 95). In this exegesis I do not restrict the approach to the strategies or the goals set by media for development or entertainment education. Because the intent of the project was to explore a Melanesian feature film production practice I rely on creative strategies that emerged within the context of local collaboration that I will detail in the subsequent chapters.

In the following chapters I will describe how the Aliko & Ambai project aligned itself with some of the strategies of education entertainment by using formative research with the intended audience and addressing the specific social issue of gender-based violence in story development. But the project was not consciously reliant on theories of behaviour change and did not specify the use of transitional role models during script development or require epilogues by an expert figure. In addition, it did not strive to emulate the soap opera genre.

Conclusion

In addition to the film production research and training happening at CSCM at UOG, some universities in PNG have video production as part of their journalism training but capacity building for media production in PNG is limited and there is currently no film school and no focus on narrative fiction. Regardless, a new generation of media producers are emerging. The National Film Institute (NFI), the TV stations (EmTV and Kundu 2), and private production companies in Port Moresby continue to train staff in video and television production (Tacchi et al., 2013). In the last couple of years, McPolly Koima, who was inspired by playing a role in the German feature film Jungle Child (Richter, Scharf, Reitinger & Richter, 2011) went on to direct his own feature film Grace (Koima, Narakobi & Koima, 2014), a film on family violence and girls’ rights to freedom and education (Menzies, 2016). Lukim Yu (Anderson & Anderson, 2016) is a contemporary romance set in the capital city of Port Moresby, which is a collaboration between Canadian director and producer, Chris Anderson, and a local cast and crew (C. Anderson, personal communication, 18 October, 2016).

There are several filmmakers in the country from the earlier generation of training that continue to produce, primarily, documentary film and promotional videos, that

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19 with an intention to release it as a TV series
include Martin Maden and Ruth Ketau. Ketau also played a part in the post-production of *Aliko & Ambai*. And a new generation are aspiring filmmakers, like Priscilla Elwin who played Lata in *Em Rong Blo Mi Ye*, who attended film production training in the Philippines at the International Academy of Film and Television in 2012 and has directed and produced several short films on her return (P. Elwin, personal communication). Nancy Langdon who wrote *Bai Mi Sanap Strong* (Darius, 2012a) received her MA in Screen and Media at Waikato University in Hamilton, New Zealand (N. Lagdom, personal communication, 9 March, 2016). These filmmakers along with Rayner Paul, the cinematographer and editor of the *Pasin Senis* films and his mentor, Stephen Vele\(^{20}\) are examples of Papua New Guineans who are currently making an impact on PNG media in commercial advertising, religious broadcasting, local television programs, and advocacy films. But it also demonstrates that there is still a need for ongoing training within PNG that focuses on narrative fiction film production.

This chapter has provided the context for the *Aliko & Ambai* film project. I have argued that understanding the history of film production in PNG is important before moving forward. Therefore understanding both the colonial and post-colonial practices where cinema, development and social change have been intertwined gives us insight into approaches that were useful in their era and others that still have negative repercussions for representation of indigenous communities. I have established the issues that I will continue to explore in this exegesis that have to do with the importance of local context in the areas of content, participation and structure. More specifically, this involves exploring cinema narrative development, responding to social change issues, how to pursue educational goals without being pedantic or patronising, pursuing issues that really matter to the young people involved, community engagement and representation, investing in capacity building as a long-term strategy with on-going structural support, and understanding the informal media distribution and screening networks that already exist in the country. Pursuing these issues I plan to establish a comprehensive argument for the ongoing support for a Melanesian feature film production practice.

\(^{20}\) I introduced Vele to video production at ANHS in the early 1990s.
Chapter 3

The Aliko & Ambai Project

Figure 14 Clapper marks the beginning of a scene in Aliko's village home. CSCM, 2014.

The previous chapters emphasise the ways cinema in PNG has been intertwined with ideas about development and has been part of the effort to produce a contemporary national culture. It has been used in educational and awareness initiatives and has sparked a popular interest in certain kinds of narratives. But few people in PNG have had opportunities to translate their own stories to the screen, learn and teach media skills, strengthen their identities as media professionals, and produce films that are meaningful to them, their friends and communities. There is a general lack of financial support for these activities.

This chapter introduces Aliko & Ambai, a PNG feature film research and production project, and the influences that helped shape its structure, content and processes to bring it to completion. It provides background information about the funding, the role of the facilitator, and the research design, methodology and methods. Attending to the process of making the film, it outlines the various development workshops and
phases of production, and the themes that emerged through the practice, before launching into analysis in the subsequent chapters.

**Background**

This project originated at the CSCM at UOG in the Eastern Highlands of PNG where I was a lecturer. I was in a position to encourage young writers in PNG to develop their scripts, and I began a more thorough investigation of ways to develop a screenplay idea. I took the approach of describing plot, classical narrative design, the importance of conflict and resolution in drama, character development, and screenplay structure. However, the narrative content was never mandated or imposed. Students were given simple exercises to explore personal biography, conflict and resolution. These produced some interesting examples of Melanesians dealing with contentious themes in ways that might not be anticipated by a western audience. In particular, issues involving tribal conflict, troubled relationships, unexpected pregnancy, tensions between a daughter and her parents when they didn’t approve of her boyfriend, the tragedy that can result from forced marriages, and police brutality. Resolutions to many of these conflicts involved Melanesian ideas about exchange, compensation and reciprocity, which were explored in creative and culturally relevant ways.

The stories that emerged in the student screenplays came from their own lives or were a combination of biography and fiction, which is encouraged in writing a screenplay. I observed that many of these issues arose out of the power dynamics of gender and the violent or emotionally charged responses to these dynamics in a local situation. Wanting to pursue these themes in a feature film with production funding support led to an application for a Pacific Media Assistance Scheme (PACMAS\(^{21}\)) Innovation Fund that specified four components of interest: media capacity building, media policy and legislation, media systems, and media content. Our application focused primarily on the first and last of these components and had to demonstrate that the activity was “development-focused, outcome-oriented and based on sound Communication for Development (C4D) principles” (PACMAS, 2013, p. 1). Relevance to one of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was

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\(^{21}\) PACMAS was designed to “help build both technical and creative capacity of the Pacific media and communication sectors” (PACMAS, 2013, p. 1).
also a key factor. This project chose to address the goal to “promote gender equality and empower women” (PACMAS, 2013, p. 12). The project was asked to take a gender-balanced and gender-sensitive approach and adhere to gender equality principles. An additional crosscutting focus on engaging youth was a strong component of our application. Looking at how to meet the expectations of the funder and keeping in mind the kind of narratives students had been producing, the application proposed addressing the issue of youth and gender-based violence through a narrative feature film production that supported local development of content and film production capacity building. Our application was successful.

A key thread in the C4D process for creating content is to be responsive, to establish common ground and include community participation (PACMAS, 2013). To define the community is a crucial step. In this project “the community” shifted in different phases of the project, but the first community established was a community of writers. I was able to bring several excellent writers, who had attended my classes and already graduated, back to a workshop where we were able to discuss the issue of gender-based violence and cinematic story structure principles. From this workshop a director, Diane Anton, and screenwriter, Jenno Kanagio, were chosen and I mentored them through the screenplay development process from which emerged *Aliko & Ambai*, a coming-of-age story of two young women, who become friends as they overcome tribal conflict, abuse and arranged marriage. Anton, Kanagio and members of the CSCM staff helped to gather a group of collaborators with links to local communities where we cast and shot the production on multiple locations. By producing a film and analysing the narratives and practice that emerged from that production process we were able to explore how social change is currently understood and engaged by young people in PNG.

The focus of this project aligns with PACMAS' concerns for media capacity building through local media production. The project was initiated from a University Centre and it supported the co-director of the film as an honours graduate student so in this

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22 The media capacity building focus of PACMAS is on the short-term outcomes of accessible industry-oriented tertiary-level training for new entrants to the media industry; leadership and technical training for senior media practitioners; and supporting organisations with a stake in media governance, support self-regulation and advocate for media plurality. Long-term outcomes included meeting professional standards of quality and strengthening media systems and media production (PACMAS, 2013).
sense it was providing “tertiary-level training” to at least one participant (Anton, 2016). As a staff member of the Centre for Social and Creative Media (CSCM), I was also facilitating and learning to incorporate practice-led research with my mentoring and production practice. However, the film production was not tied to a course offered by the university, and was therefore, not providing formally recognised tertiary training to the rest of the participants. Students were involved in the writing workshop and production workshop and were provided useful extra-curricular skills training. However, the time commitment required for the ongoing production ruled it out for ongoing student participation. The creative team and crew were employed full time on the project and could not have other commitments (with a few exceptions) and were drawn from the CSCM staff, former students, and interested members from surrounding communities. The same was true of the cast, although the time commitment for most of the actors was not nearly as intense, with the exception of the leads.

Within the development sector, capacity building usually refers to organisation capacity that includes elements like a conceptual framework, vision, strategy, culture, structure, skills and resources23 (Fowler & Ubels, 2010). The Aliko & Ambai film project was not positioned to respond to the components of capacity building that involve organisation building. As a project produced through the Centre for Social and Creative Media at the University of Goroka, it was already working within an organisational structure that was establishing these elements of capacity. Deborah Rhodes, drawing from examples of capacity building projects in the Pacific, has observed that understanding cultural values is at the heart of strengthening capacity (Rhodes, 2014), and it is this concern that I will explore in much more depth in subsequent chapters. The Aliko & Ambai Project will eventually be able to respond to PACMAS’ concerns for the building of technical and creative capacity through media production with the aim of strengthening media systems, in the sense that through

23 Capacity building elements that, in some ways, need to be acquired sequentially, include having a conceptual framework which reflects the organisation’s understanding of the world; a vision as it’s driving force; a strategy for how this vision can be achieved; being aware of the culture of norms and values that are practiced; an organisational structure where roles and functions are clearly defined and differentiated; the growth and extension of individual skills, abilities and competencies; and material resources like finances, equipment, office space and so on (Fowler & Ubels, 2010).
distribution to local village cinemas it will create a link between local production and local informal media distribution and screening, but this final stage is outside the scope of this exegesis.

**Overview of the project design**

**Methodology**

The creation of a film is at the heart of this practice-led research investigation. This means the core analysis arises from the different stages of writing and production, presented with the film to ground the discussion in the actual practice. Practice-led research has emerged as a way for artist-practitioners to engage in scholarly discourse emerging from their particular practice. In regards to the visual arts and painting, Scrivener notes that arts research should not be about creating new knowledge but should be in line with the aims of the arts discipline, which is about “offering perspectives or ways of seeing” (Scrivener, 2002, p. 11). Gray and Malins definition of arts research focuses on its participative, collaborative, co-creative, and interactive qualities, including the notion that the researcher and subject are inseparable and that knowing is shared, experiential, practical and contextual (Malins & Gray, 2004). John Dewey wrote significantly about thinking and reflection (M. K. Smith, 1997, p. 2) as a precursor to Donald Schon’s formulation of the idea of the reflective practitioner, which emphasises that research in professional fields should focus on understanding knowledge that is tied to practice (Mäkelä, Nimkulrat, Dash, & Nsenga, 2011). Film production is never a solitary activity and in this project it also involved a mandate for capacity building. Etienne Wenger and Jean Lave developed an account of the social nature of human learning that revolved around communities of practice (Lave, 1992; Wenger, 2011). Practice has an “an improvisational logic that reflects engagement and sense-making in action” (Wenger, 2010, p. 2). These perspectives theorising practice have encouraged me to contextualise and articulate the motivations behind my practice of socially engaged filmmaking and explore what film-production-focused practice-led research can produce.
Project Design

Methodology
Practice-led Research (PLR)
Participatory, collaborative, co-creative, interactive

Methods
• Ask people to deliver information through presentations or sharing experience
• Interactive activities that involve group discussions, exercises, and theatre games
• Solitary activities that involve writing and editing
• Develop feedback mechanisms that require skills to negotiate and incorporate critique

Implementation Stages
• Screenplay development
  ⇒ Writers’ workshop
  ⇒ mentoring the writing process
  ⇒ Critical feedback
• Pre-production Preparation
  • Production workshop
  • Auditions
  • Production
  • Post Production

Figure 15 Aliko & Ambai PhD project design. M. Eby, 2017
Where participatory communication and research coalesce, as they do in this project, it is common to use participatory action research (PAR) methodology. PAR shares similar principles to the artistic/participatory paradigm. In PAR the action is not separated from research mirrored in a division between participants and researchers. Instead, both converge in a communicative process focused on collaborative exploration (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). Key principles of PAR can be seen as recognising community as a unit of identity, building on strengths and resources within the community, facilitating collaborative partnerships in all phases of the research, integrating knowledge and action for the benefit of all partners, promoting a co-learning process that attends to social inequalities involving a cyclical process, and disseminating knowledge to all partners in the process (Israel, Schultz, Parker, & Becker, 1998). The cyclical process is an action research cycle that involves planning, doing, observing and reflecting (Tacchi et al., 2007). A central task of PAR includes supporting people making their own history to overcome problems caused by living with the histories made by others (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005), a problem expressed and commented on by many people who have been colonised and have not always been able to counter the narrative produced by the coloniser. In this project participation is core to each of the approaches I have used but the PAR process was also limited, in some way, by university ethics processes, development institutions, the funding process, the hierarchical crew structure of production, and time-constraints and pressure imposed by the production schedule. Therefore, much of the analysis has been drawn from participant observation and incorporating feedback from initial participant interviews,

As the person with the most experience and formal training in media production in this collaborative participatory project, I had to grapple with framing my role as facilitator. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) point out that there is “an asymmetrical relationship of knowledge or power” in the relationship (p. 285). On the one hand, the role cannot be considered neutral, but on the other hand the facilitator is not an entirely ‘equal’ co-participant (2005). The facilitator role has also been called an animator or cadre (Cornwall & Jewkes; Wicks & Reason, 2009), a community or social animator (Cain, 2009) or a socio-cultural animator (Tacchi et al., 2007). This means that the researcher or practitioner facilitates communication. In addition, the role of the facilitator, many times, is managerial, or in this project, at the level of
producer, director and project manager. However, each participant in the project brought his or her own expertise, which is what makes the interaction collaborative.

As facilitator, I created a process based on the talents of the creative team and adjusted them accordingly. Each situation required adaptation based on the strengths and weaknesses of the individuals involved. To build technical and creative capacity and to improve professional standards of quality I had to rely on expertise that came from my background in media production and I will analyse this process by drawing on contemporary education theory. My theoretical framework is drawn from an intersection of communication, media, development, and social change theories and practice and places an emphasis on content, process and structure. This exploration has led to new insights into content that is created by people who are also members of the local audience, participatory processes that focus on horizontal communication and community engagement, and capacity building that fosters culturally-sensitive learning environments that encourage peer-based learning and positive identity formation.

Finally, I was conducting the research and practice in PNG and was mindful of the Melanesian research approach, as defined in a recent community participatory video project done in a PNG highlands community, anchored “within shared values . . . taking in both environment, social, communication, religious spiritual beliefs and community interaction as fundamental to the research experience and impacting the data” (J Eggins et al., 2011; Thomas, 2011b).

Production and research timeline

The implementation of this project began in March 2014, focusing on screenplay development that started with a writers’ workshop. The first draft, written primarily by Kanagio in consultation with Anton and myself, was produced very quickly in about four weeks. Subsequent revisions were made, well into the production period, with a final draft settled on about six months after the screenplay was initiated. Pre-Production commenced at the end of May, hiring a production manager and starting to look for locations. Two members of the Love Patrol 24 crew from Vanuatu came to CSCM as trainers for a two-week production workshop and actor auditions were

24 Love Patrol (Walker, 2007-2016) is the the only soap opera produced in the Pacific, by Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu (Drysdale, 2014; Wan Smolbag Theatre, 2010).
conducted simultaneously with the production workshop. Additional actors were cast as the scenes from the shooting schedule required, so auditions continued through October. Many times, extras were cast on the spot or a day or two before the shoot.

Production commenced in July and the majority of the film was completed by November with a couple days of additional pick-up shoots thereafter. In total there were 52 days of shooting. Post-production included preparation of files for editing and initial feedback on the rough cut from key project staff. A subsequent cut of the film was screened to a select audience at the end of February 2015 that included cast and crew and their friends, community members who participated in the production of the film, participants of the screenwriting workshop, and some University staff. We held a brief feedback session afterwards and some audience members responded individually with written feedback about the film in the days following the screening. There was also a follow-up focus group session in response to the screening held the following week.

The last phase for the film will include a PNG launch event and distribution locally and internationally that will include evaluation of the impact of the film in Melanesia. Overall, the production engaged 18 participants in a writers’ workshop and increased their understanding around issues of gender, violence and screenwriting. We had 2 trainers facilitating specific high-intensity camera and audio recording technical skills-based learning before the production began. About 30 people learned skills related to feature film production, including the areas of casting, directing and assistant directing, production and location managing, script supervision, production accounting, production design, art direction, makeup, hair, costume, props, set decoration, photography, camera, continuity stills, documentary videography, electrical, production sound, set operations, editing, and sound design. It trained 35 actors, 15 with substantial speaking roles and 20 with secondary speaking roles and it engaged with over 150 community members as extras and support staff, usually recruited on site as we shot on location and in the communities surrounding Goroka.

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25 There are several more post-production steps required to complete the film, which includes some minimal audio and video recording, completion of the musical score, sound mix, and colour correction.

26 The project report that summarises the activities for the PACMAS funding agency is attached as Appendix 10.
Participants

Staffing the *Aliko & Ambai* production required a great deal of flexibility. On the production location, there were usually about 12 regular crewmembers, including myself. There was additional support staff, primarily our production manager and accountant, two assistant editors during post-production, occasional drivers, and people who acted in the capacity of community liaison. On some days the crew numbers on location could slip as low as 5 or 6. There were also 10 crewmembers and support staff who participated in some way but couldn't continue to the end of production. Because of this fluidity at the beginning of the production when we were finding our bearings, many of the crew members who committed to the end of the project were hired through a connection with another crew member, which was a way we were able to establish stability.

Anton and I worked as co-directors on the film production and Anton was also the casting director. After actors were cast, she was the liaison between the production and the actors, helped them run their lines, did initial blocking, and if any issues arose with the more difficult scenes, Anton did her best to put them at ease. I chose where the camera would be placed, decided on the shot list, and made suggestions if the dialogue or movement was stilted or lacked motivation. Almost all the dialogue was in *Tok Pisin* except for scenes in the classroom where English was used.

Kanagio, the main writer, also worked as the assistant director (AD). If there was some question about how the scene was written, we were always able to confer with him to clarify.

The *Aliko & Ambai* crew were young, most of them in their early twenties and there was a range in educational background from school dropouts to a MA degree. The actors ranged from high school students to elderly community members. Only three participants had previous experience on fiction film production. Some had been involved in community theatre or school drama but many had no previous formal drama experience at all. This was the first time for all of the performers to play lead or supporting roles in front of the camera.

Emergent themes through practice

One of the leading concepts in practice-led research is that the themes emerge from the work. In this sense, one can chart a path for the practice, but the significance of the practice and the areas that deserve further analysis are emergent (Arnold, 2012; Bell, 2006; Gray, 1996; Haseman, 2006; Haseman & Mafe, 2009; Mafe & Brown, 2006). Through this project, what emerged were various insights about narrative production, cultural context, and the learning environment, when contemporary young people in PNG who have strong ties to their indigenous communities collaborate together. These insights will be further elaborated in subsequent chapters that explore the following themes:

- screenplay development
- insight into local narrative context through engaging with an indigenous community in the film production process
- the relevance of cultural ways of learning and interacting in a capacity building exercise

But first I will briefly describe the workshops and stages of production that created the structure for these themes to emerge.

Stages of research, development and production

Screenplay development

There were four different types of participatory communication activities in the screenplay development stage of this project:

- Activities focused on individuals delivering information through presentations or sharing their experience
- Interactive activities that involved group discussions, exercises and theatre games
- Solitary activities that involved writing and editing
- Feedback on many of these activities that required developing skills to negotiate and incorporate critique and suggestions
A writers’ workshop was convened as the first collective learning environment created for the project to incubate ideas, encourage peer-based learning, bring in expertise from the surrounding community, and establish the creative team that would continue with the project to its completion. It was also our first step in fostering participatory communication, which is a basic approach of communication for social change. In addition to acknowledging that some participants in the workshop had first-hand experience with gender-based violence, people with some expertise in the areas relevant to the aims of the workshop were brought in to lead discussions about content. These were people with expertise in C4D media initiatives, drama and collaborative script writing, or GBV issues. The writing process after the workshop involved explaining the structures of plot and story structure within the screenplay format and reading and giving feedback as writers met deadlines in order to structure the creative process. I edited the screenplay by removing scenes that appeared extraneous but the writer implemented additional scenes and dialogue.

The core creative team included Kanagio, the primary screenwriter, Anton, who created the Aliko story, and myself as editor, and it was crucial to keep the communication channels open between us. Much of the time the communication only occurred between Anton and Kanagio as they negotiated the writing/feedback loop with each other. In follow up sessions writers’ workshop participants gave feedback on an early draft of the script and at the first screening of the film. Our creative team had to learn how to accept critique and suggestions without derailing the creative process. As the facilitator, I provided structure and made sure people’s opinions were heard and valued.

28 There were eight participants that formed the first “community” of writers. They included Diane Anton who had demonstrated a high degree of talent in her undergraduate courses in screenwriting, acting and directing and had been accepted as a postgraduate student. Jenno Kanagio, who wrote an excellent screenplay in an undergraduate course with a Melanesian Romeo and Juliet story that addressed the issue of forced marriage, police brutality and suicide and was invited to the workshop to contribute as a writer with some experience and lots of potential. The other participants were Rebecca Peter Bare (former student), Freda Ambra, Rose Suanga, and Simbi Harry (current students), Cora Moabi (an NGO representative), and Nickson Warambukia (CSCM staff member).
Film production training workshop

Following the writers’ workshop, one of the strategies implemented by the project was bringing in skilled crew members from the Love Patrol television soap opera produced by Peter Walker at the Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu to train our crew in Goroka. In June 2014, Francis Wai, the lead cameraman and Charlie Amos, the sound mixer, were brought to Goroka for a production-training workshop. The idea for this production workshop was that skilled Melanesians might be best placed to work with other Melanesians as a form of peer-based training. Crew training and audition of actors happened at the same time. While the actors practiced their lines on the theatre stage or in casting locations in the communities, the camera and audio crew were given practical training in fundamental technical skills and the basics of camera coverage.

Francis had some previous training experience and led the training with our crew to develop camera skills. He had worked along-side and trained with several Australian cinematographers that were brought from Australia to work on the Love Patrol production set. Charlie Amos, the sound recordist for Love Patrol, was a first-time trainer, and gained his field sound recording training, initially from an Australian and then through experience with a local production company in Vanuatu.

The audition process

Indigenous communities in and around Goroka became involved in our film through the selection of cast and crew and location scouting for the film. In this project I find it helpful to see this engagement as a separate initiative of our production process that created a subset of participatory practices, quite distinct from the first phase of the project on the University campus. Our involvement with communities was based on circumstances that weren’t immediately apparent in the planning stages, but emerged out of necessity.

Through the audition process we learned that many community members were hesitant to come to the university when not enough people showed up at our casting call on the university campus. In the spirit of ‘emergent practice,’ it forced us to re-evaluate our audition strategy and so we took our auditions into the communities to look for actors. In retrospect, this was an important introduction to deeper community engagement for the project and provided a precedent for ongoing production
practice. We discovered that the best way to go about any negotiation in regards to casting and locations in PNG was best done through existing relationship links with our crew members.

We sent notices home with several of our crew members that we would arrive in their community at a certain time and date and they made arrangements for the audition location. Eventually we held auditions in five different locations: Okiufa, the local landowner community; Saispik, the settlement in the canyon below the university campus; Masi, a landowner community just north of campus; Banana Block, a settlement in West Goroka; and a village community in the Bena district northeast from the urban area of Goroka. We selected actors from all these communities, in addition to the University community. In addition, all of these places where we auditioned actors also became a source of film locations, except for the Banana Block. In PNG, respecting and nurturing community links is vital, otherwise it is not possible to go out and film on location successfully. The locations where we filmed and the actors we engaged provided input to the film’s narrative based on indigenous custom and experience.

Production
The production shot on almost 30 separate locations, urban and rural. There were various levels of engagement with the local community at these locations. When using a location as a residence for one of our fictional film characters, the primary engagement was with the family who owned the house, who might occasionally perform as an extra. We paid for the use of the location, which was always appreciated. Most of these locations were in the Masi community where many of our cast and crew resided. In town it was more about crowd-control and engaging extras to interact with the actors. Usually this was as simple as a character walking up to a street seller to buy something.

On several occasions, we couldn’t have shot the scene without more extensive local community involvement. For example, a group of women in the Saispik settlement who were sitting in a circle, playing cards, were asked if they’d participate in a scene where Ethan arrives with Ambai, and they give him a hard time about having a new

29 This village will remain un-named in the exegesis to protect confidentiality in the subsequent extended discussion.
girlfriend. A bit more complicated was a scene where a truck-full of supporters of our character John Tango, a political candidate, encounters opposition from his political opponents and a scuffle takes place on the roadside as Alko and Ambai walk by. Our location manager found a truck we could use and the driver volunteered his community, which turned out to be about a forty-five minute drive out of town in Kaufena in the Asaro district, but had a public gathering place and a local community who were willing to take part in this one scene.

The most extensive engagement with a local community was through the film’s co-director, Anton. Her community in the Bena District, was in driving distance from Goroka, although the last section of the road became impassable in the rain, and required a 30-minute walk to location from the main road. All of our meals were taken care of in a communal environment and we had many more hands to help prepare our locations, carry equipment, and to serve as extras. The script required three different village locations and we shot them in three different hamlets next to each other, all belonging to Anton’s relatives. The women of the crew stayed in one house and the men in another, which also doubled for a location for several scenes so everyone was in close quarters. We spent a week living on location in this community while shooting the scenes that portrayed Aliko’s early life and then later in the script, her return to the village to marry.

Summary of methods
In addition to workshops, critical feedback sessions, individual mentoring, hands-on training, and engaging with communities, additional research methods also included participant observation since I was involved in almost every aspect of the project and I draw on the written account I kept of this process. Interviews with the cast and crew at the end of the project were conducted as qualitative methods for additional feedback about the processes of training and production. Twenty-seven participants were interviewed, asking for their opinions on a range of issues. These included 13 actors, 12 crewmembers and 2 trainers (12 women and 15 men). The questions related to content, community and capacity building. Finally, the project included a

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30 There is some cross-over here since five of the participants were support staff or crew but also had speaking roles in the film.
31 Questions were about script content and their production experience: challenges, recommendations, aspirations, and community connections. Refer to appendices 6 and 7.
screening of the first rough cut of the film with feedback sessions after the screening about the content with cast, crew and invited guests.

The following chapters explore a detailed analysis of the process and framework created for screenplay development, the issues around storytelling and local context that emerged out of this process, and finally, an exploration of the issues that emerged out of the facilitated learning environment created through the hands-on production experience.
Chapter 4
Exploring Gender-based Violence through Screenplay Development

As noted in the introduction, theoretical debates in communication for development and social change have been around best practices for creating meaningful and culturally relevant content, egalitarian methods of participation, and establishing sustainable structural support for ongoing media and communication enterprises. This chapter focuses on a detailed description and analysis of screenplay development as an illustration of how participation, community\textsuperscript{32} engagement,

\textsuperscript{32} ‘Community’ in this chapter refers to a community of writers and local experts drawn from current and former students at UOG, CSCM staff members and local government and non-government organisations (NGOs). Engagement with a village community will be explored in the next chapter.
collaboration, facilitation, feedback mechanisms, stakeholder involvement, and social change concerns were brought to bear on a creative media process in Papua New Guinea. Specifically, this phase of the project was designed to produce a screenplay and provide writers with skills for ongoing film production projects. To this end we developed a workshop to address both content development and script writing techniques, and selected a pair of writers for ongoing mentorship in writing the screenplay. Presentations from local experts, structured writing guidance, and interactive exercises, in addition to the biographical knowledge each participant brought to the subject, influenced their storylines at the end of the workshop. The participants we brought together were an ongoing source of support and feedback for later stages of the project. Weaving together story development with alternating emphasis on content and process this chapter attends to the structures put into place to nurture and develop a narrative that has local relevance and emotional impact. I argue that focusing on a difficult social issue like gender-based violence requires a balance between expertise input and encouraging young Papua New Guinean’s to write based on their life experience. And capacity building for screenwriters requires structured mentorship and guidance while allowing for mistakes and discovery through the creative writing process. This aims to produce a story that will have local cultural relevance for the target audience.

**Exploration of content**

**Defining gender-based violence**

Before outlining how the *Aliko & Ambai* project developed its storyline that started with a workshop exploring the issue of gender-based violence (GBV), I define how this issue has been framed in PNG cinema, in the literature, and the initiatives that have been taken to address this violence. The issue of GBV has been a sub-theme of several films made in PNG, including *Tukana*, where the culminating scene shows the death of a young woman that is blamed on sorcery by the uncle of a

![Figure 17 Ambai’s parents in conflict. CSCM, 2014.](image-url)
A turning point of the storyline in the film *In a Savage Land*, concerns a young female *Trobriand* islander who's sexual encounter becomes public knowledge and she feels her only recourse is to commit suicide in a very public ritualised manner in front of the entire village. In *Em Rong Bilong Mi Yet*, a young female student resorts to prostitution to earn extra money and becomes HIV positive. When she starts to have symptoms of AIDS, her father abandons her in a forest to die, which one could argue, is an extreme example of gender-based violence in addition to parental neglect and irrational fear of the disease. In more recent years, gender-based violence in PNG has become a particular focus of development funding, resulting in two feature length film projects exploring the subject, including *Grace* (*Koima, Narakobi & Koima, 2014*) and *Aliko & Ambai*, which is the focus of this exegesis.

Gender-based violence has been defined as any form of violence used to define and maintain strict gender roles and unequal relationships within families, communities and states (*Connell, 2003; Eves, 2010; Jolly, 2012; UNFPA & UNIFEM*). It can be framed as violence that “defines and expresses masculinities through acts perpetrated against women” (*Lepani, 2008, p. 150*) to demonstrate who holds the power in the relationship. The term also acknowledges that women are not always the victim as this kind of masculinity can also be directed at other men and boys who “challenge prevailing masculine gender ideologies” (*Eves, 2010, p. 49*). These ideologies include beliefs in the dominant male position in hierarchy, narrow conceptions of masculinity, and anxieties about status (*Connell, 2003*). Focusing on violence through the lens of gender directs attention to culture, how children are socialised to become adults, and emphasises the ways that masculine socialisation results in violence against women.

The term ‘violence against women’ (VAW) means any act of gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women (*UN General Assembly, 1993*). VAW is also referred to as domestic violence or spousal abuse. Intimate partner violence primarily involves a female victim and a male perpetrator. It has been pointed out, within the context of initiatives to address the issue, that the term ‘domestic violence’ is problematic because it reinforces the private/public distinction and works against drawing connections between the GBV...
that occurs inside the home and the GBV that occurs in the broader society (Jolly, 2012).

All forms of GBV have significant human rights dimensions, causing trauma to women, families and communities and is seen as a development problem (Egan & Haddad, 2007). The costs of VAW are a staggering burden for households and economies (M. Ellsberg et al., 2015; Mary Ellsberg, Bradley, Egan, & Haddad, 2008). It disrupts the health, survival, safety and freedom of women and their families around the world (Fulu et al., 2013). It includes abuse, structural discrimination, state-sponsored violence, and trafficking (Gardsbane, 2010). Within families it can include battering, sexual abuse of children, female genital mutilation and rape. Within the community it can include sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation, trafficking and forced prostitution. And at the state level it can include the sanctioning and reinforcement of unequal gender relations, and indifference or neglect in regards to law enforcement, employment, education, health, and access to prevention, treatment, and social services (UNFPA & UNIFEM, 2005).

The problem of GBV is profound and complex in PNG and has deep cultural and historical underpinnings (Lepani, 2008). There has not been a published nation-wide study conducted since the 1980s when the Law Reform Commission undertook a concerted effort that included surveys in 16 provinces supplemented by anthropological studies (Bradley, 1985, 1988; Bradley & Tovey, 1988; Law Reform Commission, 1987, 1992; Toft, 1985). It was reported that 67% (two thirds) of wives in PNG had been beaten by their husbands, although the regional variation ranged from 100% in the Western Highlands to 49% in the Oro Province (Bradley, 2001; Eves, 2006; Law Reform Commission, 1987). Follow-up focused studies over the years have confirmed that violence against women is endemic in all regions of PNG (Ericho & Jano, 2014; Eves & Kelly-Hanku, 2014; Fulu et al., 2013; Haley; Khosla et al., 2013; UN, 1993). A recent study of violence against women by the United Nations surveyed men and women in nine sites across six countries in the Asia and Pacific region. It found that the prevalence of men’s lifetime perpetration of physical and/or sexual partner violence varied from 26% in Indonesia-rural to 80% in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville (Fulu et al., 2013, p. 5). A study conducted in Melanesia and East Timor concluded that violence against women is severe and pervasive. It pointed out women’s low status in the region as a major obstacle, which is reinforced
by some “customary practices and attitudes” along with economic factors that make it difficult for women to protect themselves (Mary Ellsberg et al., 2008, p. VIII). Shame associated with marital problems and a perception that violence against women is a private issue and an acceptable part of everyday life means that many people in PNG are not even aware that VAW is a crime (Khosla et al., 2013).

Margaret Jolly (2012) has listed four primary ways social transformation and modernisation are linked with “engendered violence”: commodity economics (the economic transformation grounded in extractive industries that are a part of uneven development fuelling class, gender, regional and generational divisions); Christian conversion (encouraging the move towards nuclear family living arrangements and asserting men as the head of the household supported by Christian doctrine of female submission); introduced Western modes of justice and law (where male judges and police rarely administer justice in the area of GBV), and the introduction of biomedicine in the context of the HIV epidemic (which is surrounded by stigma that hampers diagnosis, prevention and care, and in particular, stigmatises women in transactional sex).

Figure 18 Aliko comforts Ambai after she is assaulted by her step-father. CSCM, 2014.

Gender-based violence initiatives

Large-scale initiatives to promote awareness and reduce incidents of GBV in PNG have been considered ineffective by some prominent researchers (Eves, 2006; Jolly,
In discussing complications and potential solutions, Martha Macintyre (2008) argues that a lack of power in domestic relations means that women often find it difficult to resist, escape or change the interpersonal dynamics around violence against them. Macintyre raises questions about whether it is possible to reverse ingrained cultural attitudes towards violence against women, and whether men are going to relinquish their power on the basis of arguments about women’s rights. Macintyre questions initiatives that primarily focus on reducing violence, arguing that the MDGs aimed at empowering women more generally will have to precede those aimed at combating violence (2008). She argues that the transformation of social and cultural values occurs in ways that are indirect and often tangential to the specific issue at hand. She uses population control initiatives in places like India as an example. Programs directly focused on messages about family planning seemed to have had little effect but improved economic circumstances in the country as a whole that improved women’s economic autonomy led to a discernible drop in the birth rate (M. Macintyre, 2012). Her primary point is that for women to gain equality in PNG, “men are going to have to relinquish privileges that are currently maintained by the threat of violence” (M. Macintyre, 2012, p. 262).

Other researchers have suggested potential transformations to the bride price system and a more equitable distribution of mining wealth among ‘landowners’ that includes different generations and both men and women (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012). Margaret Jolly has advocated a role for the church, prominent in almost every community in PNG, and has suggested that although there are Christians who legitimise gender inequality and may promote the values of submissive domesticated wives, there is also an alternative voice “which promotes gender equality and peace, and even the projects of women’s empowerment through education and public leadership” (2012, p. 31).

Other voices stress that the issue of GBV will not be addressed if men and boys are not taken on as partners in the solution. Anti-violence initiatives directed at men internationally and in PNG have used three broad strategies: promote alternative constructions of masculinity, draw on masculine culture (sports in particular) to

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33 Millennium development goals (Sachs, 2005). These have now been replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
appeal to men, and show men standing together and speaking out against violence. Eves has questioned some of these efforts as failing to “interrogate masculinity,” often appealing to existing ideals (p. 68). He argues that efforts to prevent violence against women will fail unless they openly challenge the collective support for physical and sexual assault. This means that the involvement of men and boys in interventions is crucial. Male socialisation and what it means to be a man becomes a central aspect of any initiative.

Two recent media initiatives have focused on GBV. PNG Tribal Foundation spearheaded one of them with their documentary Senisim Pasin (Change Your Ways) (Bustin, Cunningham, Hau'ofa, Marshall & Thiesen, 2016). Their screening campaign includes encouraging each member of the audience to sign a pledge to take personal responsibility in stopping GBV. The campaign champions law enforcement and putting perpetrators in jail. Another media initiative provides positive feedback for local PNG community initiatives already successfully engaged with mitigating gender-based violence, a recent research and production project funded by UNDP and led by the CSCM at UOG. This project engaged in a series of participatory photo workshops and produced six documentaries in the Yumi Kirapim Senis (Let's Initiate Change) Project (Thomas & Kauli, 2015). Innovative responses in six different provinces were highlighted. Some of these focused on men wanting to turn their life around with their wives and family, getting involved in a range of activities, including organising a youth sports association, engaging with a local rugby team around awareness initiatives, and counselling other perpetrators of violence to make a change. It also showed successful initiatives with female survivors who were supported through counselling, women support groups, and economic empowerment through improved livelihoods. The project endorsed the idea that to address GBV in PNG it is necessary to understand the narratives and challenges that people face in local communities (Thomas & Munau, Fernandes, 2016). Extending this approach, Anton, supported by the PACMAS grant for this project, has done her own research using role-play scenarios to gain more insight into GBV triggers relevant to the local community (Anton, 2016).

In response to the challenge of addressing GBV, the Aliko & Ambai project included a range of participants in preliminary discussions and encouraged the production of life narratives that explore an ecosystem of interwoven factors that affect men and
women in contemporary PNG. The strength of this project was not to take a position on the causes of gender-based violence but to encourage the development of narratives that allowed young men and women to explore the obstacles to the achievement of their goals in life and imagine positive resolutions and outcomes. All of these might not be in the realm of actuality, but fiction supports the creative freedom to imagine things that might not already exist.

The writers’ workshop

Our workshop took the approach of hearing from a variety of voices on the topic of gender-based violence and reviewed how media initiatives have dealt with the subject. We introduced local and regional examples of education entertainment to our participants that addressed social and health-related issues. This started with screening *Painim Aut* (Thomas, Ilai & Theodoris, 2012) from the *Komuniti Tok Piksa* film series (Thomas & Barry, et al., 2012), and *Mangona Mulugl Kit Murum* (Eginsk & Eggins, Ruti Youth Group, 2012) that dealt with issues around HIV/AIDS in PNG Highland communities. An episode of *Love Patrol* (Walker, Dorras & Walker, 2012) was screened to give the workshop participants a feel for the Melanesian soap television soap opera series produced in Vanuatu. The episode dealt with issues of child negligence, law and order, marital rape, corruption in government, drug use and HIV status. Finally, we screened *Not in My House* (Coleman, 2012), a resource to explore the dynamics of domestic and family violence and its impact on women and children. The video vignettes showed an interaction between a couple or family from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds living in Australia that specifically illustrated the affect of violence on children, meant to spark discussion in a “men’s behavior change group.” These vignettes were a starting point for generating a more nuanced discussion about types of domestic abuse and who it affected (Coleman, 2012).
A range of professionals gave presentations on their area of expertise. Dr Angela Kelly pointed out that gender-based violence may occur in culturally-specific ways we may not be aware of and how it affects the individual, but also the family, the community and the nation state. For example, if a tribal fight closes down a school, many times it is primarily the boys who are allowed to transfer to another school farther away from home. Girls are more likely to be kept at home and not allowed to further their education. The original violence between men, affects the lives of women with unacknowledged consequences. Angela also led participants through a deeper understanding of gender and gender roles defined by culture. Additional discussion focused on how killings of accused sorcerers are, many times, attacks against vulnerable women (Eves & Kelly-Hanku, 2014; Fulu et al., 2013).

Monica Paulus talked about her work protecting women accused of witchcraft and sorcery. She is a community activist working for the Highlands Women’s Human Rights Network. Monica is from the Simbu Province where belief in sorcery and the killing of witches and sorcerers has had a long tradition. When someone dies, people in the community go looking for someone to blame. “They find the weakest widows in the community who don’t have support or possessions. These are the very people they are trying to attack so it’s only a way of getting rid of the unwanted in the community” (Paulus, 2014). Monica identifies as a human rights defender and in her work repeats the simple message that no one has the right to take another’s life. She is part of a network and is always looking for other women ready to stand up and defend the lives of those who have been accused of sorcery.

John Ericho and Jean Jano, Director and Program Manager of Eastern Highlands Family Voice presented their work on family-focused programs to deal with domestic violence. The organisation advocates against all forms of abuse and violence within and against the family unit and promotes family values and rights at all levels of society. They shared the study conducted by their organisation to identify key issues that affect community members like gambling, alcoholism and drug use, which are seen as causes of domestic violence. Primary reasons for fear in the community are sorcery, being sexually abused and alcoholism. It was noted that

\[34\] Combined results of men, women, and children.
women and girls have very limited say in decision-making processes making gender equity a real concern (Ericho & Jano, 2014).

As a participant in the workshop, Anton observed that the issues around GBV became much clearer. “As it became clear, I was also able to reflect on my own life and whether or not I had experienced this…. Usually we think that gender-based violence is beating the wife, but there are other forms, like a daughter in a new family being deprived of food or money when these are her rights.” Anton went on to say that she had learned about approaches that girls can use “to take care of themselves” (personal communication, 28 June 2015).

The expansion of the idea of violence beyond stereotypical scenes of domestic abuse was an outcome of our process and led to richer more complex narratives. In addition to their own experience with the issue of GBV, workshop participants were able to glean ideas from these focused discussions, and were able to work them out in an embodied way through theatre exercises that allowed both serious and playful role-playing interactions, and dialogue development. These were elements that influenced their stories at the end of the workshop. Although this was not mandated or even explicitly stated, engagement with the theme of GBV influenced each of the
narratives in a different way as it was creatively filtered and transformed by the participants into storylines. Conclusions drawn from the workshop process involve both the focus on content and the participatory practices. I argue that through our focus on content we broadened the dialogue around GBV issues, producing a more complex ecological perspective, in addition to drawing inspiration from creative drama exercises and other media initiatives in the region. Through a range of inclusionary practices we created connections between our participants and various experts, forming a group that cared about our project and were willing to continue to give feedback through its different phases.

Creating a structure for screenplay development

The screenplay is a blueprint for the production, so being well versed in how to create a story that feels organic and brings the audience along for a meaningful and satisfactory experience is very important when guiding young people in the writing process. In addition to the focus on content, I argue that screenplay development for beginning writers requires an exploration and adaptation of existing cinematic storytelling structures, which involved exercises to address plot and screenplay design. Since some participants already had experience with writing short scripts\(^\text{35}\), we read and discussed those first. The workshop focused on producing storylines and follow-up sessions to the workshop involved how to write a treatment, which is a three to five page document that clearly communicates the story, focusing on the highlights. The final step before writing the screenplay was to create a step outline.\(^\text{36}\)

There is very little written about screenplay development with Melanesian practitioners. In an interview, Alan Harkness (2005) describes the screenwriting process for *Marabe* (Harkness & Ralai, 1979), which gives some insight into the challenges of the cross-cultural collaboration in an earlier historical period. He worked with John Himugo, a talented University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) student. The subject was unemployed youth forming gangs for the purposes of robbery in Port Moresby. Himugo's idea was to create action scenes that involved car and motorcycle chases. Harkness says “He kept coming to me with all these grandiose ideas” (2005). He rather uncharitably, dismisses this as "trying to write me

\(^{35}\) Developed in a screenwriting courses I taught at UOG between 2010 and 2012.

\(^{36}\) A way to outline every scene in the screenplay and can be up to 40 pages.
his Pidgin English version of every American movie he'd ever seen" (2005). Harkness discouraged Himugo's action-picture-oriented ideas and ultimately received a script with no structure that he could discern. He characterised it as “dramatized documentary.” His solution was to reorganise the scenes but he never found the result satisfactory. Harkness only spent two years in PNG and his experience highlights the difficulties of mentoring someone in cinematic story structure while working in an unfamiliar language and culture. In this section, I describe the structured approach I took in facilitating screenplay development to avoid some of the problems Harkness describes.

Mentoring story development emerged out of my own limited experience with fiction filmmaking. Besides my early involvement with low budget filmmaking in Hollywood in my twenties, I had also made a foray into creating a short fiction film, over 10 years ago, after producing several documentaries. My approach was experimental and I paid no attention to conventional story-telling structure. But within the framework of a project that had a targeted national audience with intent to entertain, I felt a different approach was needed. I had already trialled a guided workshop approach to fiction film storytelling and I adapted some of the lessons I learned with that approach to the workshop for this project.

Cinema has its own storytelling conventions and structure and this is context for describing how the story development process for this project evolved, since I relied on the literature that has grown up around ‘best practices for screenplay writing.’ As in most artistic practice, breaking ‘the rules’ can be encouraged but first it is helpful to be aware of the rules and the context from which they emerged. The origins of Western drama often start with Aristotle and his *Poetics*, in which he said of the performance of tragedy that it arouses feelings of pity and fear and then purges these feelings through catharsis (Aristotle, 1994). He also made the first observations about a beginning a middle and an end which has translated into the standard idea of three acts, the idea that scenes in a plot need cause and effect, and the importance of “Reversal,” which will produce either pity or fear. “Misfortune is brought about not by vice or depravity, but by some error or frailty” in the character (1994, p. 10). The classic story is told as the hero’s journey or the quest. Of course, the history of more contemporary drama movements, as Boal describes it, has been in opposition to the classical ideal (Boal, 1979/2008) but since our goal was a
cinematic exercise, not a theatrical one, I felt it wiser to, at least, start within these structures that are still adhered to in most screenwriting practice.

**Michael Hauge’s “Six Stage Plot Structure”**

![Diagram of Michael Hauge's six-stage plot structure](image)

To explore these ideas I found the structure as created and diagrammed by Michael Hauge (2010) to be very helpful. Using a six-stage plot structure, Hauge contends that mainstream Hollywood films are built on three basic components: character, desire and conflict. Protagonists confront conflict in their pursuit of a visible goal. Hauge uses the example of what appears to be two very different commercially successful movies, *Erin Brockovich* and *Gladiator* to demonstrate that their structure are similar. This analysis breaks down the screenplay into three acts with six stages and five turning points. The turning points are called opportunity, change of plans, point of no return, major setback, and climax. In Act one the stages start with a setup and transition into a new situation. In Act 2 there are stages of progress and then complications with higher stakes. In Act 3 there is a final push and an aftermath. This outer journey is matched with stages of an inner journey (2010).

Writers over the years have identified this with a variety of names: classic plot, the hero’s journey, goal-oriented plot, Aristotelian story shape, energeia plot, three-act structure, Hollywood screenwriting structure and the universal story (Sundberg, 2013). There are, of course, many alternative plots to arch plot with names like mini,
daisy chain, cautionary tale, ensemble, along for the ride, symbolic juxtaposition, repeated event, and repeated action (Sundberg, 2013) and alternative story structures that include non-linear, episodic, wheel, meandering, branching, spiral, multiple point-of-view, parallel, and cumulative. However, as the facilitator on this particular project, I narrowed the focus for this screenplay exercise. I was interested in how the issues we had been discussing throughout the workshop, that certainly explored all kinds of conflict and obstacles in young people’s lives, would emerge within the boundaries of a classic cinematic storytelling structure. There was also a time constraint so the participants had to go with their first impulse.

On the last day of the workshop I asked participants to focus on character, desire and conflict. They would need to develop a character with a desire that could be communicated to the audience and then create stumbling blocks to the achievement of that desire. They would focus on the six-stage plot structure with five turning points to help guide them in creating a story for a screenplay. I realised this approach was highly structured but I argue that it was important that we strived to create a “PNG version” of the international movies participants see in their own village cinemas. Below I analyse the results of seven of the eight participants’ storylines.

Structured writing process

Storylines

Having multiple participants each create their own storyline based on their understanding of the themes and issues explored in the workshop gave the project a variety of creative outputs and several options for the direction the screenplay could take. I argue that the balance of group participation and individual contribution was a strength of the project and also provided insight into the thematic preoccupations of our young Melanesian writers. Six of the seven storylines that came out of the workshop had female primary characters. Of these six, two were young women, three were teenagers and one was a child. Only one writer chose to write about an older man. The desire of the characters, either stated explicitly by the writer or extrapolated from the storyline, primarily revolve around completing their education,

37 One participant drafted a whole set of characters and began writing scenes instead of plot points.
getting a good job and having a supportive family. These might be considered universal themes among people in transitional societies. The specific setting and turning points required by the structure is where the unique PNG perspective on these themes becomes clearer. Two of the stories addressed unexplained illness, sorcery and the burning of witches. A couple of the stories involve tribal fights and the burning of houses. Four of the stories addressed child abuse, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, rape or forced marriage. The forced marriage was part of a “bride exchange” that was supposed to broker peace between warring clans. Two stories addressed dating and relationship issues, one specifically about teenage pregnancy and attempted suicide. These storylines were created at the end of the writer’s workshop.

Figure 22 Storylines outcome of the writers' workshop. M. Eby, 2017.

There was a consensus that this would be a young woman’s journey about completing her education, getting a good job and creating a better life for herself in the process of overcoming numerous obstacles. Anton and Kanagio wrote the storylines that were developed into a screenplay. Anton’s story about Aliko was set in both the village and the town, addressed issues like the effects of tribal fighting, bride exchange for peace, forced marriage, child labor, peer bullying and the struggle to get a good education. It demonstrated complexity that could be teased out in a full-length story. Kanagio’s storyline was about a young woman in an abusive home who
seeks a way out by searching for her biological father. Kanagio had already demonstrated ability as a screenwriter and he was available to write the screenplay. He and Anton formed a writing partnership to see if they could combine their stories. When Aliko comes to town to live with her uncle she forms a friendship with Ambai who lives next door. The story now has dual protagonists, which is already breaking the rules of the classic story structure that had been imposed, although Aliko’s story plays more prominence because it begins with her story in the village.

![Aliko with her parents](image.jpg)

Figure 23 Aliko with her parents. C SCM, 2014.

When developing the *Aliko & Ambai* script I did not consciously advocate for the specific Education Entertainment strategy that uses contrasting positive and negative role models with the positive role model getting rewarded for their behaviour, the negative role model getting punished, and the transitional role model moving from negative to positive behaviour (Singhal & Rogers, 1999), although part of the storyline created by our writers did include the arrest of the step-father who abused Ambai. Relying on the hero’s journey model focused the story on the two young women navigating obstacles in their lives, pursuing a very specific goal. The other characters in the story provide support or make life more difficult for the two young women. In this way the characters and story emerged more organically and privileged the experience of the young women.
A treatment is an idea for a film that is expanded into a brief short story. I argue that without a step-by-step structured approach, it's easy for the creative writing process to get bogged down or appear over-whelming to beginning writers. Since the main turning points were created in the storyline exercise both Anton and Kanagio were able to expand the story quite easily. First paragraph from the Aliko treatment:

Film Reference 1 - 0:00:00 – 0:15:54

Aliko, the daughter of Apao and Gesigo, is left in despair as their village is burnt down and her parents murdered. She is 12 years old and finds life to be complicated and painful. She struggles to deal with her loss in the neighbouring village with her uncle Sikon and wife Samapee. She is then sent to live with her mother’s brother and his wife in town (D. Anton).

When the storylines of Aliko and Ambai were combined, we created a “structured treatment” that re-imposed the stages and turning points of the screenplay structure. Since Ambai is introduced later in the story, her stages and turning points happen later than Aliko’s. The first part of the treatment is given as an example.

Film Reference 2 - 0:00:00 – 0:10:31
Act 1, Stage 1: setup

Aliko lives with her father and mother Apao and Gesigo. Aliko is a good student and lives in a happy home but a conflict between her clan and the neighbouring clan causes tension in the community.

Turning Point #1 – inciting incident

Film Reference 3 - 0:10:32 – 0:13:31

Her village is burnt down and her parents murdered. She escapes to the neighbouring village where her uncle Sikon and wife Samapee live.

Stage 2: new situation

Film Reference 4 - 0:13:32 – 0:22:03

It is decided she will go live with her mother’s brother and wife in town to continue her education. It is a new chapter of her life but she does not feel welcome with her new family. Her uncle’s wife Mini and daughter Smarthie dislike her but do not want to upset Uncle Joe.

Step outline and Tok Pisin dialogue

The next step in the process was to expand the treatment into a step outline, which turns the story into scenes, hinting at the dialogue but without writing the dialogue in screenplay form.

Film Reference 5 - 0:39:26 – 0:40:19

Aliko and Ambai are returning home from school. They have no bus fare to catch a bus so they walk. Cars, trucks and buses speed to and fro. A bus passes by and Smarthie and her friends yell out the window and wave to Aliko and Ambai.

Up ahead, a convoy of vehicles advance, with their horns blaring and full of people carrying banners and chanting the name “TANGO! TANGO! TANGO!” Aliko and Ambai see the face of the candidate on the banner. Aliko jokes that the man looks exactly like Ambai. The convoy passes a small market on the road but the people at the market start to throw stones and other objects at them. The crowd on the vehicle retaliates and a fight breaks out quickly and spreads onto the road. Aliko and Ambai are caught up in the melee. They
struggle to find their way out. A young boy grabs Ambai’s hand and as she tries to yank it free, he tightens his grip and says, “Yu pikini blo Marcus ah?” Ambai replies, “Yes.” The boy says, “OK yutla kam wantem mi, nogad man ba touchim yutla” (J. Kanagio).

Figure 25 Aliko and Ambai encounter the John Tango supporters. CSCM, 2014.

The dialogue of the script must be in a language that all the actors are comfortable speaking and is in the every-day language of the audience, which is why the dialogue for the Aliko & Ambai script is written in Tok Pisin, except for the classroom scenes where English is used as the official language in PNG, and the local indigenous language was used when scenes were improvised by the local community. This is in contrast to Love Patrol, for example, where all the characters speak in English to reach a wider English-speaking audience in the Pacific (Drysdale, 2014). However, people in PNG and throughout Melanesia can switch comfortably through more than one language in their daily life, depending on the context, and many communicate in one of the creole languages. Speaking in English also carries status and meaning, usually the mark of someone who has had a university education, which would not be appropriate for a character without education who has spent their entire life in the village. Not to mention that some of our actors were not able to speak English or would have appeared uncomfortable and stilted if speaking English. The exception to language in the script reflecting real

38 Are you Marcus’ child?
39 OK. Come with me. No one will touch you.
life would have been scenes in the village where people usually communicate to each other in their indigenous language. However, our lead actors did not all speak the same indigenous language. For these reasons, most of our dialogue was in Tok Pisin, the language understood and used by our target audience.

Writing the screenplay
With feedback from Anton and myself on the step outline, Kanagio began writing the full-length screenplay. The scene above became three scenes. The third paragraph in the step outline above, when written out in screenplay form begins like this:

Ethan meets Aliko and Ambai

51 EXT: ROAD – AFTERNOON

Aliko and Ambai are caught up in the melee. They try to find their way out. Objects are flying and people are running everywhere. A man’s hand is cut and he runs towards the girls, blood dripping from his injured hand.

INJURED MAN

(In pain)

Ayaya, han blong mi oh. Yeke yee han blong mi yaaa. Mama ya.
Ayooo.⁴⁰

ALIKO

(In terror)

Ayo Jesus, Lord.

Ambai grabs Aliko’s arm in panic and the two of them run away from the fight. A young man, Ethan, runs towards them and grabs Ambai’s arm. Ambai wrenches her arm away from him (J. Kanagio).

⁴⁰ Ayaya, my hand! Yeke yee my hand! Mama. Ayooo.
Kanagio took the lion’s share of the responsibility to write the screenplay because of Anton’s graduate school commitments. I asked her how she felt about not participating more in the full writing process:

I felt a bit bad because this is my story … but then Jenno was a bit flexible so when I went in and had a view of the script I told him, “No, I want it this way. Can you change it a bit? Or “Can you adjust this dialogue so that it can relate to what I know?” … I want my characters to be the way I wanted them. Also … some things are not related to how my community says things. I told Jenno, “No, this shouldn’t be like this. You shouldn’t include it.” And then he asks me why. “Because, well, in my community they don’t say such. Or they don’t do this. Or they don’t do that (personal communication, June 2015).

Kanagio was learning on-the-job so he tended to include scenes that repeated information the audience already knew. This could be inexperience or a style of storytelling but I saw my role as adapting what might work in one story-telling environment to a more cinematic approach. My primary contribution at this point was to make sure the story was working within the structure, edit the English and Tok Pisin for grammar and word choice, and correcting minor errors in screenplay format.

After reading the screenplay, one of the first major changes we discussed was the opening. In the first draft, the screenplay opens with a chaotic tribal fight scene. But

Figure 26 Aliko in the garden with her father. CSCM, 2014.
this is the disruptive event that sends Aliko on her journey. After this event, she faces one obstacle after another. If we were to follow the classic story structure design, the set-up stage of the story should portray Aliko’s life before it is disrupted. This might also give the audience a chance to see “normal” village life in PNG and create an image that Aliko and the audience can refer back to later in the story. Following the story structure we had committed to, the disruption, or first turning point, is supposed to come about 10% of the way into the story. With this feedback, Kanagio created an additional series of scenes at the beginning between Aliko and her parents, Aliko going to school, and Aliko going to the river to wash her clothes.

My attention to the detail of the process here is to demonstrate the steps we took to develop the screenplay. I argue that to fully support young writers, it required an exchange of ideas, a creation of a storyline, the development of a treatment, a step outline and then writing of scenes, always going back to make sure they aligned with the original turning points of the structure. Of course, just understanding the process, structure and mechanics does not explain the creative insight or talent required of the writing collaboration, but having a history with Anton and Kanagio, who had both demonstrated a gift for this as students, gave me the confidence that they just needed a structure within which to function, in order to reach their full creative potential. Summarising what she learned through this guided writing process Anton commented:

I never knew the structures in script writing. But in the workshop you showed us that, and you provided handouts and then we actually went through the whole process of trying to write the story and seeing which sections of the structure it would fit into … now I know that we have a structure, a template. (personal communication, June 2015)

With additional scenes added at the beginning of the story, redundant scenes cut, and a rearrangement of some of the scenes so that Ambai is established early enough in the story, we were ready to send the third draft out to the participants from the original screenplay workshop and get feedback.

Feedback on the script
As a facilitator, I struggled with misgivings about the script but did not want to question every choice that young Melanesian writers made with their story. I
refrained from commenting to allow most of the critique to come from our participants and key experts. I argue that this ongoing participation by those who had participated in the original writers’ workshop was crucial in our on-going effort to hear from as many point-of-view as possible to make sure our story would be engaging, have an arc that made sense to people, responded to culturally-sensitive concerns, reflected the theme of gender-based violence in a way that resonated for our participants, and provided inspiration for young women overcoming numerous obstacles in their life. As part of the give and take of responding to critique, we may not have always got it right but this became part of the learning process.

Feedback about the script from the writer’s workshop participants included concern about the offensive language used, in particular, the language used by the abusive stepfather. In this case, my encouragement to make the dialogue reflect reality as close as possible conflicted with some participants moral concerns that portraying realistic language in violent situations is the same as advocating and that it sets a bad example on screen for children. There were also questions about the characters. For example, why is Uncle Joe not around? When does Rose (John Tango’s wife) figure out the identity of Ambai (her husband’s daughter)? Comments were made about actions that seemed odd or out of place. Why was Aliko asleep when Kole’s clan arrived to come get her? She should be fully aware, packed and waiting. Another was confused about the scenes that cut back and forth between the village party scenes of Ambai’s wedding and the scenes of Ambai getting drunk in Ethan’s house as she’s coming to grip with the abuse she’s been through. He didn’t understand about crosscutting between locations and thought they were all at the same location. Other comments were made about needing additional scenes to clarify certain relationships, like the relationship between Aliko and Aunt Samapee. Another critique pointed out problems with the way the story was resolved, something that was also pointed out by some of our key experts.

One of our key experts was able to read the script quickly and had constructive feedback about leaps in plot development and critiqued the happy ending. A final critique came from two key experts at the Centre for Social and Creative Media, who were much more critical of the script when viewing it as an educational opportunity around the issue of gender-based violence. In particular, how the rape scene was handled and what follow-up steps were shown in the aftermath of the rape scene.
In response to the critique that the assault shouldn’t just be a plot point but an opportunity to show how a young woman might best deal with the aftermath of the trauma, we added a range of scenes that show Ambai going to Aliko for help and with Ethan taking her to a counsellor at the Goroka Family Clinic.

Film Reference 6 - 0:46:46 – 0:54:12

There was a discussion around the ethics of portraying rape and protecting the actor and actress involved. We decided to show the beginning of the struggle but just imply the actual rape to so as not to involve the actress in something that might cause her distress. The negotiations on how to shoot depictions of both intimacy and violence continued through the production process and were part of the ongoing conversation about how to work with untrained actors. It turns out that if the actors were related, it made it easier to work together in the more intimate scenes. Even though these scenes had been discussed in the audition process, when it came to shooting the rape scene, the two actors were from different communities and both felt uncomfortable about how to approach the scene. Anton led them through the entire process, explaining the educational benefits of the overall script and how it was going to be shot before we were able to move forward.

Once actors started working with the dialogue, it was clear that much of it was still over-written, so there was an on-going process of simplifying the dialogue so the rhythm of conversation was easier for the actors and it didn’t sound like a series of
Kanagio says that this was a key insight for him. “We had to cut down the dialogue so the actors could speak to each other. If they’re long paragraphs, the actors forget things. They were not trained actors” (J. Kanagio). While shooting a conversation, many times two or more sentences would be shortened to one sentence. And sometimes lines would be change by the actors to sharpen the insult using current slang—or whatever could accomplish the objective of the exchange.

There were also other issues. Feedback from one of our key experts pointed out that the script portrays a Catholic orphanage in Goroka that helps resolve Aliko’s story, even though there aren’t any orphanages in Goroka. This is where a fictional story and the idea that the film always needed to reflect real life appeared to be in conflict. I preferred Anton’s original impulse for her story resolution but because of several negative comments about both the fictional and religious nature of the resolution and the length of the film, the decision was made to cut the Catholic Sister’s Orphanage scenario and just strengthen the ties between Aliko and her teacher/mentor when she leaves her husband and goes back to town. In retrospect, this brought Aliko's story to an ending too abruptly but it also changed the dynamics of the resolution. In the original version she ends up in a religious community, altruistically working with other orphans like herself, which allows her to complete her own education. In the revised story she finds refuge with her former teacher and mentor, who helps her to
complete her education and is shown reunited with her closest friends, Ambai and Ethan and a new friend who might be a romantic interest.

Film Reference 7 - 1:47:00 – 2:03:30

These resolutions are significantly different but in the negotiation of the storyline at the time, all the implications weren’t immediately obvious. The lesson I drew from this was that the original storyline should be respected and there are unexpected consequences of tinkering with this when negotiating stakeholder concerns, even though there was an attempt to make these decisions collectively with full consensus of the core creative team.

Summary

I argue that key points about facilitation, participation, content production, and capacity building can be drawn from the screenplay development process created by this project. First, as a facilitator I had to ensure that structures were in place to give our participants the support they needed to produce a screenplay. I did this by choosing young people I knew had potential as writers, creating a workshop that provided an incubator for storylines, and then provided follow-up support for the screenwriting process. Second, our participatory process involved a range of people from different backgrounds and expertise that formed a supportive partnership that provided critical feedback and support through the end of the screenwriting and film production process. Third, we used a variety of creative ways to engage with concerns of young people, focusing in particular on gender-based violence as a way to produce locally relevant and meaningful content. Finally, to build capacity for screenplay writers, I chose a structured approach to narrative construction, plot, and screenplay design that provided consistent support through to screenplay completion. The story development process wasn’t complete however, until we began shooting in the community that inspired the narrative in the first place. There we learned additional lessons about the participatory process and the kinds of contribution that come from working with an indigenous community.
Chapter 5
Gender, Community Engagement, and the Shaping of Social Change Narratives

Figure 29 Aliko arrives at her aunt and uncle's house after the tribal conflict. CSCM, 2014.

In the previous chapter I focused on the participatory practices and collaborative process created for screenplay development. It illustrates the importance of creative engagement with issues that sets up the possibility of film to connect with local audiences and a method for capacity building and narrative production. In this chapter, to understand in greater depth how the story of two young women is grounded in the local cultural context, I use two analytical strategies to discuss tensions created by social change, specifically focusing on the gender relations portrayed in the film. The first strategy emphasizes the role of the community\textsuperscript{41} and the crew in shaping the Aliko & Ambai narrative\textsuperscript{42} on location, based on my

\textsuperscript{41} Whereas in chapter four I used the term ‘community’ for our group of writers and local experts, in this chapter I will address ‘community’ in the more common use of that word in PNG, which defines a rural population grouped by clan affiliation in the ‘village.’

\textsuperscript{42} For a summary of the entire Aliko & Ambai story refer to page viii.
observations of the production process and interviews of the cast and crew after our film screening. As mentioned in previous chapters, processes of community engagement have been at the forefront of communication for development and social change concerns with an emphasis on collaboration, listening to local feedback, and employing egalitarian methods of interaction. In this chapter I provide more detail about that community engagement that was largely in the hands of my co-director and her relational ties to the clan. My focus here is not on detailing the methods of engagement as focused on in the last chapter but in how that engagement shaped the narrative. The second strategy uses narrative analysis that draws connections and links between the story of Aliko & Ambai and other popular melodramas enjoyed by audiences in village cinemas that may speak to anxieties around social change. In particular, I explore ways our narrative may have subverted or supported ideas in the gender-based violence discourse around tradition, polygyny, and masculinity in PNG.

Analysis by various media anthropology scholars in Nigeria and PNG have drawn links between melodramatic film narratives that are popular to local audiences and social anxieties around economic insecurity and rapid social change, highlighting issues like mixed-sex socialisation, gender roles, family living arrangements, arranged marriages, accusations of sorcery, sectarian violence, and conflict resolution (Kulick, 1993; Kulick & Willson, 1994; Larkin, 2008; Livingstone, 1991; Onuzulike, 2014; Samyn, 2010; Wardlow, 1996; Wood, 2006). These social change issues have been reflected in local PNG productions since the 1970s but are also what draws contemporary audiences into viewing foreign films, which is a part of their steady and reliable media diet. I argue that these anxieties are also reflected in the Aliko & Ambai narrative that was initially created by young writers at the university and then shaped by community interaction in production.

**Tensions created by social change**

By starting with young writers in a university environment, where they were separated from their home communities, and by exploring social and family dysfunction in our writers’ workshop, we created a contemporary narrative that didn’t necessarily show traditional community life in a positive light. On the one hand, the story begins in the village where Aliko is shown to have concerned and caring
parents, surrounded by family and friends. On the other hand, the story portrays a strong ambivalence about certain aspects of traditional community life, including tribal conflict that was highly traumatic, destroying Aliko’s family and disrupting her education. Likewise, even though the arrangements for Aliko’s marriage shows strong communal practices of pooling resources for a common purpose; rituals that bring communities together in reciprocal exchange; and traditional food preparation, performance and celebration; this is overshadowed in the film narrative by the fact that it is a forced marriage against her will, which is also a highly negative development in Aliko’s life.

Our community engagement, and reflections on the production process has made visible broader tensions about social change and the various processes that have been called 'modernisation.' The Aliko & Ambai screening responses from the cast, crew and select community participants were that it clearly represents life in PNG as it is lived on a daily basis. And people took pride in the representation of their village life and traditional culture. Our boom operator sums up the almost universal agreement by the participants that, “Em story stret lo laif blo PNG” (The story fully represents life in PNG) (N. Tura, personal communication, March 13 2015). Our Vanuatu trainer who was experiencing life in PNG for the first time said, “The beauty of the script portrays the actual real life issues occurring in PNG: land dispute
quarrels, poverty, love and culture. These things other Melanesian countries can also relate to” (F. Wai, personal communication, January 28 2015).

The *Aliko & Ambai* project explores the tensions created by social change that have emerged in PNG contemporary life by producing a narrative that focuses on some of the usual Melanesian pre-occupations like clan conflict, exchange and compensation practices, alcoholism, the isolated nuclear family, and the struggle for an education. But it also circumvents expectations by making women the focus of the story (whose actions and attitudes are portrayed as part of the problem and contributing to the solution) and providing a range of male and female characters that subvert key expectations in comparison to previous PNG cinema narrative depictions. This is an important function of fiction: to depict the problem but also to imagine actions and resolutions that might not currently exist. In narrative analysis, from a hermeneutic point of view, there has been a major preoccupation with how *life* and *story* are internally related through a process of creating meaning that has reciprocal effects on how people live their lives and the stories they tell about their lives (Hyvärinen, 2008; A. MacIntyre, 1981/2007; Widdershoven, 1993).

Although it is not useful to see tradition and modernisation as a clear-cut dichotomy, our film depicts the village as the focal point for traditional cultural practices. The emphasis in the village scenes is on how certain violent dynamics in the traditional
way of life have a negative influence on Aliko's desire to be a successful educated PNG citizen. However, this is counter-balanced in the film's urban scenes where it is shown that modernisation has created poverty, income inequality, an isolated nuclear family away from clan obligations, and alcoholism that creates an environment that allows child abuse to happen. At the same time, the town does also allow Aliko and her friends access to formal and informal employment, education, healthcare, shopping conveniences, freedom of movement and contemporary dating practices. So instead of looking at a rural/urban dichotomy it is more useful to see that people in PNG move between rural and urban environments with cultural shift and social change processes shared across the spectrum (Sharp et al., 2015).

Figure 32 Aliko, Ethan, Jay and Ambai at the icecream shop in Goroka. CSCM, 2014.

Adapting narratives through community engagement

The description and analysis that follows is based on community engagement that extended our story development practice and further grounds the discussion of social change processes in the local context. I argue that exploring points of contention and negotiation in the production process helps explain how young women, in particular, are balancing the tensions between their urban, educated lives and their cultural roots in a traditional village.

The story of Aliko was based on the co-director’s grandmother’s story. Her grandmother was from a place on the border of the Goroka and Bena districts and
lost both her parents in a tribal fight in the mid-20th Century. As a result, she inherited a large parcel of land but her clan members conspired to marry her off quite young (in her early teens). She refused the forced marriage and ran away instead. The co-director said she was close to her grandmother and the story was something she had thought about for a long time. “I come from a community where there’s a lot of tribal fights over land disputes and over other issues” (D. Anton, personal communication, June 2015). The co-director sees the film as a way of showing, among other things, how tribal fighting affects women in the community. Her grandmother never returned to the village where she grew up. She went on to marry a policeman from the coastal area of the Morobe Province. The co-director’s father later reconciled with his Highlands relatives and she has Highlands family through cousins that she stays in touch with. It is with these relatives where we shot all the major village scenes of the film and actively engaged the local community to participate.

Figure 33 The smoking remains of Aliko's house after it is attacked. CSCM, 2014.

It was in the village that we altered scenes of the script significantly based on input from the local community. This primarily affected the filming of the tribal fight, negotiations for bride price, the delivering of the bride to the village, and under what circumstances a woman whose bride price has already been paid would be allowed to leave her husband. Traditional rights to land ownership is a core feature of
Melanesian identity and the exchange of bride wealth is a core engine of the traditional economy so how the scenes around these two issues were portrayed was of particular importance to the community. Our engagement involved the expansion of certain scenes, relying on the community for all the logistical preparations, being led through ceremonies with which we were unfamiliar, shooting without a script in certain situations while keeping in mind the dramatic narrative, being open to additional scenes based on the customs being modelled for us, dealing with tensions behind the scenes, and rewriting crucial moments that emerged as problematic. For this analysis, I will focus on the scenes shot around the marriage and separation.

There was a learning curve involved for me but it was also challenging for the co-director who had to bolster the connections with her grandmother’s relatives in a Highlands village. I see her experience as representative of many educated Papua New Guineans who live in urban areas but still maintain ties to rural communities through clan affiliations. Those living in urban areas may be seen as having more choices, more freedom, more economic opportunity, more chances for mobility, and, possibly, less day-to-day pressure from traditional obligations than those who remain in the village. These tensions are played out in our script and were also present in the production process.

**Community shaping of the traditional marriage and separation scenes**

One morning Aliko’s aunt informs her that her new husband’s clansmen are there to pick her up. Or, at least, this was how it was originally written in the script. It was only a couple of lines that became very much expanded in the local collaborative process. Once in the village the co-director asked more specifically how the marriage and traditional wedding arrangements would take place and they said a group of the husband’s relatives would come and negotiate with the bride’s relatives about the bride price on one day and then on a separate day the bride’s relatives would take her to the husband’s village. The co-director divided the people of her village into “husband’s relatives” and “bride’s relatives” and they improvised the negotiation. The editors’ inclination has been to make this section shorter and shorter but feedback from the community insisted that this scene was edited in a way that included the entire process and that the local language used in the negotiations be subtitled. As Lassy Gisa, the elderly man who plays Aliko’s husband says, “In the bride price
scene, parts have been cut off. The Bena community won’t be happy with this so I think we need to extend it\textsuperscript{43} (personal communication, 13 March, 2015).

Conflicts with traditional practice were also part of the behind-the-scenes negotiations. Aliko was to be dressed as a bride, at which time a prolonged discussion took place. The local women wanted to dress her traditionally, her breasts would be bare, and she would be wearing a woven string skirt, a range of huge necklaces, bands on her ankles and arms decorated with leaves, a feather headdress, and her face would be painted. The actress playing Aliko, was not raised in the village but in a settlement in Goroka. Her parents are from two different parts of the highlands (Simbu & Southern Highlands) and she is very active in a conservative Pentecostal Christian church, which discourages traditional dress and participation in traditional practices and encourages “modest dress.” Dressing traditionally would have bared more of her body than usual and the actress was uncomfortable with that. All the women on the crew were trying to be helpful by suggesting possible alternatives or rationalising why it would be acceptable within the context of the film production. The actress wanted her father’s permission to wear full traditional dress and since he wasn’t available when contacted by phone, in

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure34.jpg}
\caption{Aliko dressed for the traditional wedding ceremony. CSCM, 2014.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{43} “Lo pat blo bride price ya em sampla pat blo em yumi katim off. So ol komuniti lo Bena bai nonap wanbel so mi ting bai yumi addim mo yet.”
the end there was a compromise by wearing a *meri blouse* 44 and still wearing the headdress and other accessories, which would be a cross between contemporary and traditional wear.

This unforeseen dilemma is a reflection of the tensions created by social change that we portrayed in the film and, in this case, also experienced behind the scenes: in particular, the tensions between tradition and Christian religious practice. In Barker’s study of the Maisin, in another region of PNG, he writes that they “perceive and deal with modernity in highly moralistic terms. Maisin appeal to Christian themes and values in their varied understandings of the moral community” (Barker, 2007, p. 140). Through the process of production, the actress’ conservative Christian religious taboos became reflected in her character in the film since she did not smoke, chew betel nut, or swear—all habits that the screenwriter had written into the script as details but were vetoed by the lead actress and the co-director as we shot the scenes. This demonstrates that the lead actress’ own moral values guided the representation of her character and it was made very clear at this juncture in the production when she had to choose between representing a traditional practice or preserving her own personal sense of modesty. This is illustrative of the kind of decisions young people have to frequently make between the obligations of traditional practice and values brought about by social change that may be in conflict with those practices.

This is also illustrated by what emerged in the village around the climatic event that pushes Aliko out of her new marriage and reflects why many women feel helpless, without options, in an abusive situation. Now that our local hosts had gone through such a detailed and complicated process to get Aliko married, the fact that the script required her to leave her husband became a point of contention. If the co-director used her grandmother’s story as inspiration, there was a crucial difference. Her grandmother’s marriage was being arranged when she decided to leave but no bride price had been paid. Once this is done, it is much more complicated to leave your husband.

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44 *A meri blouse* is a loose-fitting blouse over a sarong-like garment called a laplap. It is considered an adaptation of the “mother hubbard’ dress introduced to the Pacific. This is contemporary formal wear for PNG women.
In the script-writing process, there was a discussion about Aliko being a constant victim with one situation after another being beyond her control. This is a feature of melodrama and can reflect how many women feel about their situation. The more victimised a character’s life, the more pity it inspires in the audience and this resonates with many women in PNG (Wardlow, 1996). This is also why romantic tragedies where the woman or both lovers die by the end of the film are popular in PNG (Eby & Thomas, 2014). In Aliko’s story her parents are murdered in a tribal conflict, she is sent away to live with her unpleasant aunt who treats her like a servant, she has ongoing depression because of her parents' deaths, she fails her exams, her closest friend is raped, her marriage is arranged to an elderly man who already has three wives, she is not allowed to continue her education, and she is in open conflict with his other wives.

The way the story had originally been written, Aliko confronts Kole, her new husband. He has falsely promised that he would help her finish her education. In their argument he insults her and she responds by attempting to stab him with a knife. His sons rescue Kole from this attack, exile Aliko from the village, and tell her to never come back. Interjecting as co-director, I agreed that there needed to be a moment where she exercised agency, makes her own decision and takes her fate into her own hands but accomplishing this by attempting to stab her husband and being exiled as a result seemed problematic. This was another moment of
intervention in the script that privileged the main character as role model (someone who would not retaliate with violence herself). In some ways, this contravened the first instincts of my collaborators regarding a young woman’s breaking point and her lack of power to leave of her own volition. Attempting to stab her husband and being exiled might have reflected more clearly a young woman’s actual scenario in this local context and would have stayed true to the melodrama of the storyline. But at the time, it was agreed that it would be rewritten. It was decided that she would stand her ground but not actually try and stab her husband. Also, instead of being thrown out of her husband’s village, she would choose to leave of her own volition.

But before we filmed this scene the co-director came to me very concerned. Now that the bride price has been paid, I was told that Aliko can’t just leave because she is upset. If, as a result of a conflict, the eldest son demands that she leave and not return, then the decision rests with the husband’s family and she no longer has an obligation to stay. So the son’s part was written back in. Although she doesn’t attempt to stab her husband, she still is defiant in the culminating argument and the eldest son intervenes and demands that she leave, something Aliko is more than happy to comply with. On reflection, the scene that was rewritten and rehearsed on the spot, did reflect my wish that the primary character exercised some agency in separation from her husband while fulfilling the cultural expectation that the decision must rest with the husband’s family.

Figure 36 Aliko is asked to leave by her husband's eldest son. CSCM, 2014.
This interaction demonstrated that we were getting to the crux of why it is difficult for so many women to extricate themselves from a difficult or abusive marriage situation in the Highlands of PNG. In the original storyline, Aliko escapes her new marriage and returns back to town where she is once again rejected by her aunt in an unfolding tragedy that appears too much to bear, strongly contemplates suicide before being rescued by her teacher and taken to safety. In the final script, to temper the melodrama she does not return to her aunt or contemplate suicide. There is a correlation between the Aliko & Ambai narrative and another cinematic narrative based on the journey of a young woman from the village to an urban city titled Teardrops45 (Erman & Çakmaklı, 1972), a Turkish film that gained popularity in PNG in the 1980s. Discussing the reaction to this melodrama, Wardlow (1996) writes that it was a way for PNG women to discuss their own experiences and to help explain PNG gender relations. In particular, this film illustrated how a man unjustly accuses and punishes his wife for things she didn’t do and in response she makes a visible public statement by committing suicide. The stories and themes that PNG women saw in this film that paralleled their own were connected with being falsely accused of infidelity and asserting that suicide was a valid resolution for a woman in that situation. On reflection, the original Aliko & Ambai storyline that included the despair of contemplating suicide might have mirrored more clearly how many PNG women feel trapped in one bad situation after another that may appear to have no solution.

In summary, the production experience that involved collaboration with the local community teased out the details of gender-relation dynamics, traditional practice, and cultural expectations that arose in the process of shooting several scenes. It demonstrated that the changes we made in the script during the development process might not have always been the culturally satisfactory choice, once we began production in the community where gender-dynamics play out every day in their cultural context. This process helped shape representation and narrative in unforeseen ways but strengthened the potential for local audiences to relate to the

45 The melodrama, Teardrops (Erman & Çakmaklı, 1972), known in PNG as Bobby Teardrops was shot in Istanbul in the 1970s as a co-production between Turkey and Ireland. A story of a woman wrongly accused of infidelity by her husband who sends her away to Istanbul where she raises her son on her own, this movie somehow made its way to PNG sometime in the 1970s and deeply resonated with PNG audiences, PNG women in particular (Wardlow). Ranked 32 in the popular movie survey (Eby & Thomas, 2014).
film and confirms the importance of local community engagement in film production practice that is concerned with engaging with social change.

**Narrative and gender relations**

**Gender-based violence**

As previously pointed out, my intent from the beginning of this project was to explore the theme of GBV within the broader depiction of social change tensions. Engle (2011) argues that "In order to understand gender violence it is necessary to understand the world" (p. 19) and here I continue to elaborate on how a corner of that world is rendered by our narrative. Some researchers have looked at the pressures of social change and how they shape traditional practices in unhealthy ways. Jolly claims that the analysis of these influences demonstrate that the “gendered culture” of PNG’s modernisation is as much implicated as the “gendered culture” of tradition (2012, p. 25).

![Figure 37 Food displayed on the day of the marriage as part of the exchange practice. CSCM, 2014.](image)

Franklin has listed ten values that are prioritised in the indigenous Melanesian world view that included the importance of land, the clan, reciprocity, food, ancestors, ritual, leadership, education, compensation and work (Franklin, 2007). It is useful to keep these values in mind when looking at the pressures of social change and in the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative, many of these values are questioned in some way through the complications of two young women's journey. In one study of violence against
women (VAW), the three most important factors indicated were economic
dependence (reliance on the male breadwinner and lack of control over resources),
bride-price (seen as giving women the status of property), and compensation and
reconciliation practices (in conflict resolution many times financial compensation
benefits the man who has rights to the woman but does not always end the violence,
prioritising men’s concerns over the abused woman’s welfare) (Mary Ellsberg et al.,
2008). I argue that all three of these factors are prominently reflected in our Aliko &
Ambai narrative and Aliko is required to negotiate them and find a solution for her
untenable situation.

Reconciliation practices in response to a tribal dispute are what led to Aliko's
marriage. Bride price formed a social pact that made it very difficult to escape from

Figure 38 Uncle Kole makes arrangements for Aliko's marriage. CSCM, 2014.

her marriage. The problems created by arranged marriage or in the case of our
narrative, a forced marriage as a fourth wife, highlights the issues with polygyny and
the conflict it causes among multiple wives and between wives and their husband.
This anxiety was reflected at a recent screening of Senisim Pasin\textsuperscript{46} (Changing Ways)
(Bustin et al. & Thiesen, 2016) at the Papua New Guinea Women's Forum\textsuperscript{47}. The

\textsuperscript{46} Documentary about gender-based violence in PNG.
\textsuperscript{47} Highlands Region 2017 held at the University of Goroka, 7-8 February. Co-hosted by the
U.S. Embassy Port Moresby, Department for Religion, Youth & Community Development,
and Tribal Foundation.
facilitators\textsuperscript{48} had organised a panel of police (three out of the four were women) who were in charge of the Family and Sexual Violence units of their respective provinces, to speak on the subject of GBV and bringing perpetrators to justice. However, the dominating theme of the discussion that happened afterwards led by the women in the audience was around the complications of polygyny\textsuperscript{49} and how that contributes to strife between husbands and wives, reflecting a key concern of many Papua New Guinean women and one that very few feel they have the agency to address.

In exploring the ‘root causes’ for GBV it is recognised that “culture is dynamic and constantly changing, and that ‘custom’ is often misrepresented or exploited by dominant groups to protect their own interests” (Mary Ellsberg et al., 2008, p. 56). In this way, traditional practices are implicated in strengthening the position of men and are used to justify VAW. However, it must be pointed out that in PNG societies, the exchange of bride wealth and compensation practices are one of the primary engines of the traditional economy (Gregory, 1982; Strathern, 1971). They also form a relationship between two clans that have positive consequences—for example, providing ongoing support for a couple for the rest of their lives and a huge extended family for their children. However, these positive aspects of exchange practice and the collective bonds they strengthen were not highlighted in our particular narrative because Aliko's marriage was one of coercion by clan members who did not consider Aliko's welfare but were focused on the 'greater good' of reconciliation between two warring clan factions. This situation highlights how her uncles are complicit in this arrangement, one who is too weak to stop it and the other who actively participates in arranging it, although both are, otherwise, portrayed as kind and thoughtful men.

In regards to financial dependence, Aliko is reliant on her first uncle to get to town after her parents' death. She is then reliant on her other uncle who is the breadwinner of the family. In the village, Aliko and her parents live off the land and are portrayed as self-sufficient. However, in the town, without parental support, the ability to pay school fees and having money for new clothes, basic school supplies,

\textsuperscript{48} The PNG Tribal Foundation who produced the documentary and organised the screening

\textsuperscript{49} In 2014 amendments to the Civil Registration Act applied to customary marriages, which were previously not registrable under law (ABC, 2014). The awareness and enforcement of these amendments faces considerable challenges
lunch money and public transport are all portrayed as a source of tension with her aunt who doesn’t want to support her. (Her Uncle is absent, working for the mining company so her unpleasant aunt is in charge of the finances in his absence.) Later she is reliant on her husband who has reneged on his pledge to financially support her education. Even though this represents the situation of many young women in PNG, there are other female role models in the story. Aliko's teacher, Ms. Rizeloh is portrayed as an independent young single woman with her own income. Ambai’s Aunt Mary is also single and financially independent and Ambai's mentor who rescues her from her life on the run from her abusive step-father is a successful business woman who is a coffee buyer, drives her own car, and has a husband who appears to support and encourage her independence. Both of these successful women mentor the younger girls and provide role models for the struggling younger women.

Figure 39 Ambai comforted by Rose Tango. CSCM, 2014.

The overbearing matriarch
Aliko & Ambai was not produced in a narrative vacuum and I argue that exploring melodrama in popular films in PNG village cinemas and in the Aliko & Ambai story help us understand the function of fictional narratives in contemporary PNG. As I have become more familiar with the films produced in PNG and the films that local audiences are watching, I have noticed connections that may have influenced my collaborators although it was not something explicitly discussed during the creative
process. For example, *O Papa God* ([Naulu, Gahare & Darius, 2006](#)) in its final act revolves around orphaned children and their unfair treatment by the aunt and uncle that took them in. This is also a major theme in our film. At the melodramatic heart of Aliko’s story is her extremely unpleasant aunt who makes her life a living hell in her Cinderella-like existence. Aunt Mini plots to send Aliko back to the village and get her married off because she holds a grudge against Aliko’s mother. The backstory is that when she wanted to marry Joe (Aliko’s mother’s brother), the family was against it. How Aunt Mini treated Aliko caused outrage in the few screenings that were held and the actress actually was quite concerned that people wouldn’t be able to separate her role as an actress from the character that she plays.

![Aunt Mini and Smarthie regard Aliko with disapproval. CSCM, 2014.](#)

A conniving over-bearing mother arranging a marriage for her reluctant son is also a stock character in many Nigerian films like *True Love* ([Ezeanyaech & Egbon, 2003](#)), currently popular with PNG audiences in village cinemas. Exploring why *True Love* is popular in PNG might also help analyse the significant tensions created by social change in the Aliko & Ambai story. *True Love*’s story involves a love affair that is doomed by a meddling and overprotective mother and explores the issues of class, arranged marriage, and family obligations. Larkin, in discussing cinema in Nigeria, has noted that African studies have seen a recent increase in interest in

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[^50]: *True Love* is ranked second in over-all popularity, and another film in the same genre, *My Love*, by the same Nigerian production company, ranks in the top 30 ([Eby & Thomas, 2014](#)).
ways to “comprehend the widespread insecurity in contemporary Africa” (2008, Chapter 6, Insecurity and Meledram, para. 1). The insecurities he lists have to do with the collapse of state economies and the rise of informal markets, the rapid spread of new religious movements, the resurgence of religious and ethnic conflicts, concern with issues of witchcraft and ritual abuse, and social disruptions brought about by the presence of oil economies. He calls this the “grounds on which Nigerian films feed and grow” (2008, Chapter 6, para. 2). It is difficult to think of a mother being as heartless and cruel as the mother in True Love but by creating a terrible caricature, the audience is being reminded of what’s really at stake here—the responsibility of parents to listen to their children in times when social change and insecurity create constant anxiety. It could be argued the popular locally PNG produced Pasin Senis films reviewed in the first chapter come from the same impulse and have the same message, even though they are framed as HIV and AIDS awareness films. Larkin (2008) argues that melodrama “makes ethics public and dramatically concrete” (Chapter 6, Insecurity and Melodrama, para. 7). By following the consequences of actions set in motion by an abusive or neglectful mother or auntie, as these narratives demonstrate, the ethics of contravening familial obligations is made concrete.

These popular movie narratives focus on the importance of kinship relations of the urban class who are also negotiating traditional ties and obligations and the melodrama this produces. Southern Nigerian films, Larkin (2008) argues, “rely on an aesthetics of outrage,” a mode of cinematic address that relies on contravening deep cultural norms to generate shock from the audience (Introduction, The Structure of the Book, para. 6). Plots are driven by family conflicts with an emphasis on moral extremes and exaggerated acting. Clearly, this mode of cinematic address also touches a nerve for PNG audiences, especially young people, who are navigating a change in how marriages are arranged. This theme also emerged in earlier PNG films, notably Wokabaut Bilong Tonten (1974) and Tukana: Husat I Asua? (1982). Similarly, many of the narratives in the short stories and screenplays written by undergraduate students enrolled in courses at the University of Goroka dealt with the disagreement between children and their parents over a choice of partner. In societies where the extended clan all contribute to bride wealth exchange, the decision about who is an appropriate partner requires negotiation. Most people are
only one or two generations removed from the regular practice of arranged marriages. It also seems to speak to the growing awareness of class divisions between the rich and poor in PNG. Finally, there is the undercurrent of sorcery accusations, with which all PNG audiences would be familiar.

Wardlaw describes how women wept, in both the viewing and the retelling of the narrative of *Bobby Teardrops*. The reasons for such a strong reaction were because most of them thought it was a true story and when watching a cinematic story they expected it to be “emotionally charged, revelatory, and transformative” (1996, p. 40). This final argument may be true of any audience—observations made about tragedy as far back as Aristotle. Although PNG audiences have responded to cinematic stories from around the world, including Nigeria, Turkey, and the Philippines, the intention of producing the *Aliko & Ambai* film with local writers, cast with local actors in familiar scenarios, and shot on location in with local communities shaping the narrative, was bringing that emotionally charged drama as close to the lived experience of the PNG audience as possible.

**Alternative masculinities**

Having established how our production practice encouraged community engagement in scenes that represented traditional cultural practice, which highlighted some of the tensions brought about by social change, I now explore further issues around masculinity teased out by the film’s narrative. I argue that the way the male characters are portrayed in the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative gives us insight into alternative masculinities as they are conceived by a new generation of Papua New Guineans. Richard Eves (2006, 2010) has focused on how cultural perceptions of masculinity shape attitudes towards gender-based violence. Eves points out that historical and cultural studies argue that the nature of masculinity is fluid and is constantly reshaped by new influences (2010). Importantly, “multiple forms of masculinity co-exist”(p. 51) within any society with some being dominant and others viewed as less than ideal. The ‘hegemonic masculinities’ exert pressure on men to behave in a certain way. Traditionally, in PNG societies the ideal male could be characterised as “a strong warrior and orator” (p. 52), also known as a ‘big man’ directing and leading a group in warfare and ceremony.
Although there have been anthropological studies of ways traditional cultures in PNG have cultivated masculinity through initiation rituals (Herdt, 1981, 1992), there has been much less focus on ways that social change has created new forms of masculinity. Even if men are no longer warriors, the ideal is still to be aggressive in dealings with others and this is encouraged in the socialisation of boys. My memories of the PNG of the 1960s included boys regularly using homemade bows and arrows for hunting small birds, and making small spears from reeds that they threw at each other to practice the traditional style of warfare and to test each other’s pain threshold. This extended into sport, where a common game called *kaikai bret* (eat bread) involved kicking the soccer ball at each other at close range. The ‘defender’s’ only move was to turn and absorb the pain of the ball. Herdt (1981, 1992) has written about formal rituals of manhood that separated boys from their mothers, encouraged male bonding, and taught them that women and their secretions weakened male strength. Traditionally, men lived in separate houses from their wives and the social spheres of men and women were much more separate than they are in contemporary times.

Now living together in nuclear family situations, certain ideas of masculinity still persist. In the domestic sphere, violence is seen as legitimate if the woman is “perceived to have failed to behave in the manner proper to a wife” (Eves, 2010, p. 57). These failings might include not doing her work properly, not preparing food, or refusing sex. This is demonstrated in our *Aliko & Ambai* narrative by Marcus, who starts a fight with Ambai’s mother, Joanne, when he comes home drunk demanding to be served and criticises Ambai for not going to the market. “The violence that men inflict on women is an execution of power” (2010, p. 58) and is also an extension of what many boys learn in childhood: to assert domination one must use physical means and pain is something to be absorbed without complaint, meted out and absorbed in equal measure. Again, the character of Marcus is the primary “angry man” in the film with all the encounters he has with the women in his life. In particular, where Marcus and Joanne trade blows before Joanne escapes out the door. In a drunken state and with no one else as a witness, this is the moment when Marcus rapes Ambai, which is the ultimate betrayal of familial trust by the step-father figure and is one of the most extreme examples of abuse of power in the home, as
studies of domestic violence have pointed out (M. Ellsberg et al., 2015; Fischbach & Herbert, 1997; Lepani, 2008).

In the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative, since the focus is on two young women, our encounters with men in the story are primarily in the private, not public sphere. There is a range of masculinities portrayed in the story. It is implied that Aliko's father has some of the characteristics of the 'big man' but we are only aware of the characteristics he demonstrates with his wife and daughter in their home. The same could be said of the successful politician and businessman, John Tango, who is Ambai's biological father and someone she only meets at the end of the story. We see the repercussions of the political environment where the supporters of John Tango clash violently but we never see the man, himself, in a political situation. In this sense, we do not have a stereotypical 'big man' character represented in our story as in other PNG films like *Tinpis Run* (*Bidou & Nengo, Blanchet, 1990*) where the main character is a big man on an atypical adventure or *Em Rong Blo Mi Yet* (*Naululu, Gahare & Darius, 2007*) where the father is portrayed in the public sphere as an important big man in his clan making important decisions and rallying support for a collective cause but in the private sphere fails to care and respond to his daughter's struggles, which eventually leads to the extreme situation of abandoning her in the forest because she has AIDS.
In our story Aliko adores her father and he provides an ideal portrait for what a father should be: concerned, gentle and supportive. Ambai, who is not so lucky, longs for the biological father she has never met who is portrayed very briefly at the end of the film as a successful and kind man. The male villain is Ambai’s abusive alcoholic step-father, Marcus, but he is not endowed with any positive qualities except the ability to get drunk with his friends and make them laugh while illustrating the worst examples of male abuse and neglect at home. The man who takes the under-aged Aliko as his fourth wife is also portrayed in a negative light, although more as a hapless doddering, old man. As already mentioned, one of Aliko’s uncles is presented as a caring but weak character, under the thumb of his wife’s persuasive powers, who in the end can’t stop the plans for Aliko’s marriage while the other uncle appears to be swept along in the collective exchange arrangements of his clan, ignoring his niece’s wishes, who he previously protected and cared for.

Although some men see their manhood dependent on their control over women and they use violence to achieve this, the rejection of violence by other men “clearly suggests that alternative models of masculinity exist” (Eves, 2010, p. 69). As a strategy for changing attitudes about gender-based violence, Eves suggests highlighting the positive benefits of gender equality. The surprise character in Aliko & Ambai that points to the potential of an alternative masculinity is Ethan, the young man who makes his living on the street selling cigarettes. A young man who lives in the settlement could have reflected some of the more negative stereotypes of the rough and tumble character of a “street boy” that could include being a thief, an opportunist, and someone who might take advantage of a vulnerable young woman if given the chance. But in the Aliko & Ambai story Ethan represents all the best qualities of an alternative masculinity, which includes being respectful, supportive, providing a listing ear, not responding in anger to the provocation of his friends, and providing comfort and safety without asking for anything in return. At the same time he does reflect some common PNG ideas about masculinity as a protector, guide and someone who is working diligently to make a living in a difficult context. Evaluation of street selling in Goroka suggests young men frequently pursue these activities as a legitimate alternative to crime, and their motivations are underscored by wanting to provide for their families. They frequently mention “struggling” as a
virtue when it comes to making a living (Little, 2016) and this is the way Ethan is portrayed.

Figure 42 Aliko and Ambai meet Ethan. CSCM, 2014.

Ethan’s relationship with Ambai is never clarified. It appears there is potential for a romantic relationship but it remains intentionally ambiguous. Neither the writer nor the co-director felt it was necessary to clarify. When I questioned the backstory, the co-director simply offered that because Ambai had been raped by her stepfather, she would not have been interested in immediately pursuing any kind of romantic relationship. Both the character of the loving father and the supportive male friend emerged in the narrative without stipulating that there should be “positive role models’ in the story, but they reflect a sensitivity on the part of the two writers who conceived the story and showed the potential for young men and women to support each other in peaceful coexistence.

Summary

One of the major debates in communication for development is around how to represent and explore the tensions between traditional culture and the social change processes brought about by modernisation (Beltran, 2006; Dutta, 2011; Escobar, 1995/2011; Kumar, 2014; Rogers, 1976; Schramm, 1964; Thomas, 2006; Ugboajah, 2006). The young people in Papua New Guinea who participated in the Aliko &
Ambai project are fully engaged in the negotiation of these changes and are able to critique certain traditional practices through their narrative without abandoning the core identity indigenous cultural affiliation provides. Identity will be explored further in the next chapter. Exploring these tensions are crucial to ongoing media production in PNG that engages with social change if it is to meaningfully reflect the dilemmas young people face every day. In the end Aliko does overcome the difficult circumstances of her life to complete her education. Showing how a young woman facing numerous obstacles could succeed was not only part of the structure of the ‘hero’s journey’ but was important to the screenwriting team and it creates a resolution that can inspire young people to persevere and obtain their goals, regardless of the over-whelming circumstances in which they might find themselves.

In this chapter I have demonstrated that there are certain cinematic narratives that attract Papua New Guinean audiences that appear to reflect social anxieties that many people face in their day to day life around tensions created by modernisation and social change. I have shown that we directly engaged in some of these tensions through our narrative in front of the camera and behind the scenes during film production on location in the community, with a particular focus on gender dynamics. Even though our narrative was created by educated young people living in an urban environment, shooting in the rural community provided another filter through which our story took on more nuance and came face-to-face with some of the difficulties that many women dealing with gender-based violence face because of the power imbalance created by a forced marriage. This provided the local context to strengthen the ‘authenticity’ of our narrative. Our narrative did not shy away from some of the paradoxes created by these social change tensions, and, at the same time, we were reminded of the benefits of communal living, the strength of relational ties that made our production possible, and the positive celebratory experience of participating in traditional exchange and performance practices. In the next chapter I will explore the film production process itself and how local ways of interacting influenced the learning environment and led to new ways of framing capacity building and identity.
Chapter 6
Capacity Building for Wantoks

Figure 43 Auditions in Masi Village. CSCM, 2014.

Media development focuses on developing skills for the media industry without necessarily dictating content but still promoting various agendas like professional journalism, strengthening media infrastructure, policy, and good governance. Media infrastructure usually applies to technical equipment and software, the buildings and towers that are essential to its broadcast, networks of distribution, or to policy that creates legal frameworks. But creating structures or recognising cultural structures that are already in place, within which young people can learn and acquire media skills is a more ephemeral type of infrastructure, which is what will be explored here.

One of the primary benefits of conducting practice-led research in a film production environment is conceptualising how learning takes place. This builds on the work of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger who developed a theory of learning around
communities of practice (Lave, 1992, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 2010, 2011). “Communities of practice are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavor” (Wenger, 2011, p. 1). Communities of practice are groups of people who share a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better. The community acts as a “living curriculum for the apprentice” (2011, p.4). Lave and Wenger directed the focus away from the idea of learning as acquiring skills and information. Instead, learning is about a social participant who is creating meaning, who is becoming a certain kind of person, who is creating an identity. The focus of learning becomes relational rather than simply knowledge acquisition. This theory of learning does not ignore that people accumulate knowledge and specialised skills but frames these processes in a larger social context within a community of practice.

In this chapter, I address the concerns of media development, which is usually concerned with things like capacity building, skills development, and training. I argue that, in addition to these concerns of media development, to fully understand the local context in PNG, the analysis must also explore the communal environment, ways that people learn in this environment, wantok\(^5\) relations, and how that shapes identity. In Section 1: Capacity building for film production, I review the role of the facilitator in skills acquisition and critique how the production functioned from the perspective of media development’s usual concerns that have to do with efficiency and training. In addition, within the discussion of skills acquisition I analyse how working in the communal PNG environment gives us a different way to look at things like role specialisation. In Section 2: Production, communal practice, and the social learning environment, I explore how clan affiliations in the wantok system are crucial to the support system of a successful production. Wantok can be narrowly defined as clan affiliation, language affiliation, or in the regional context can stretch to include people across a range of islands and countries in Melanesia (Levine, 1999; Nanau, 2011). I also analyse the social learning environment and different ways this shapes identity, exploring wantok identity from a regional perspective, the formation of a

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\(^5\) Wantok derives from the English “one talk” or “same language.” It is usually used to designate someone that shares an indigenous language or comes from the same clan, region, nation or, in some cases, same Melanesian region–but it signifies a common bond.
professional identity through shared practice, and a new awareness of one’s cultural identity mediated by the camera.

Section 1: Capacity building for film production

Film production is challenging and requires teamwork, organisation, attention to detail and specialised skills. Since everyone was learning together, I explained how tasks were to be accomplished and then allowed the crew to struggle, through experience, to accomplish these tasks with limited additional input. Francis and Charlie, the trainers from Vanuatu, took the lead in the initial production workshop process. After they left, mentorship continued with Anton becoming the main points of contact for the actors, Doiki being the primary mentor for camera, and I helped mentor all of the roles, with a particular emphasis on directing. This section focuses on the role of the facilitator, the kind of skills that the cast and crew acquired, and the additional skills training they requested at the end of the process.

Figure 44 Marking focus during the production workshop. CSCM, 2014.
The role of the facilitator

I argue here that in the role of facilitator it is important to understand and implement key concepts like collegial pedagogy, peer-based training and to recognise how best to incorporate young people in a participatory collaborative creative process. It is also important to have a fairly high degree of competence in the production skills that need to be shared, the ability to multi-task. Patience, flexibility and the ability to stay calm in high-pressure situations also help.

In my role as facilitator, it was key that I had a fairly well rounded knowledge of production that allowed me to step into any situation in the process and explain what needed to be done. Ideally, I would have liked to mentor screenwriting and directing and delegate all the other mentorship tasks. Instead, I was responsible for sharing expertise across the fundamentals of all the production roles. I had to fill in as cinematographer on the rare occasion neither of our cinematographers were available. There were some jobs I was never able (or willing) to delegate. Scheduling was supposed to be the AD’s job but because unexpected events were constantly forcing changes (weather, a death in the village, a location that wasn’t ready) scheduling ended up staying my job. I become the default DP when the budget didn’t allow for hiring a specialist, even though I have mainly relied on natural lighting as a documentary cinematographer. I had to draw from my early training to direct how a scene should be lit with our very simple lighting kit. A large portion of the production management and producing also stayed in my lap, which I had hoped to
delegate to others. On the set we worked through the blocking together, then I chose
the camera position and sequence of shots while the co-director worked with the
actors. On the rare occasions I had to leave the set, the AD proved to be perfectly
capable of choosing the camera positions and shot sequences with the
cinematographer.

The method I used as a facilitator is in alignment with Soep and Chavez’s description
of their work with Youth Radio. They drew on their knowledge of contemporary
education theorists to use approaches that reimagine learning as a product of
“community practice, critical pedagogy, and positive youth development” (Soep &
Chávez, 2010, p. 54). They developed a process called “collegial pedagogy” where
established producers work jointly with entry-level youth to create creative work for
the public that deepened the learning experience for both parties (Soep & Chávez,
2010, p. 51).

The CSCM in PNG was interested in regional ties with Wan Smolbag Theatre in
Vanuatu whose staff was already quite experienced in producing television
programming in a Melanesian context. My role as facilitator and an established
producer and director led many of the processes but I also had key trainers in the
beginning because there were too many activities to oversee for me to be directly
supervising all of them, so peer-based training was our solution. In this case, I am
defining ‘peer’ as Melanesians with training in media production but not yet at the
level of director or producer. For example, in the beginning I was actively engaged in
the important process of casting with the co-director, which was a type of collegial
pedagogy approach, while Francis and Amos, our key Melanesian trainers were
leading the crew through camera and audio exercises on the same location as a
form of peer-based training. We were all working together but I had delegated, with
no direct supervision, the technical skills training during the production workshop.

Ito et al. (2009) explore ideas about peer-based training in their work analysing youth
practices with new media, although their framing of peers involves young people
learning from each other about new technology. They found that young people using
new media often learn from their peers, not teachers or adults, which redefines
notions of expertise and authority. Although, in this setting, it can be negatively
characterised as a type of peer pressure, influence of adults can have influence in setting “learning goals” (2009, pp. 2-3).

In various sections of this exegesis, I have framed my role as facilitator and discussed the skills that I have brought to the project. I pointed out that it comes with an asymmetrical relationship in regards to knowledge of the larger vision for the project and the power to make decisions only the lead investigator (in the role of researcher) and the producer/director (leading the production) can make. Therefore, the facilitator is not an equal co-participant but strives to be inclusive and encourages participation. Kindon has created a “model of participation” in the participatory video (PV) process. Within the ladder of participation model, I also made an effort to achieve the level of “co-learning” outlined by Kindon (2009). This involved the recognition that I worked together with local community members to develop the screenplay together and co-directed the production. Community members were involved in a wide range of roles. The communities involved were part of the initial feedback process on the completed film and the film will be shared with other communities.

As part of the research design, the project heavily relied on the community connections of its creative team and crew. As facilitator, I relied on our team members to make the culturally appropriate arrangements without personally micromanaging those transactions. This required an element of trust and transparency from the team to be open about any potential issues. For example, for the primary village scenes, the project was completely reliant on the co-director for the negotiations to prepare locations and involve her community. It was done subtly and without fanfare and I was not privy to most of the details. The budget was worked out beforehand and my primary concern was that payment be fair and transparent in advance so there would be no confusion about compensation at the end of the week. Many of these community negotiations can turn sour if the financial details aren’t clarified and agreed on in advance by everyone involved. But the community was completely on board and fully engaged with the co-director being the point person for the logistics.

My key role as facilitator was to keep things moving and provide structures within which people could learn through practice. This includes the workshop for intense
learning and the writing structures that were explored in chapter three. In addition to providing structures, it was also important to recognise social structures that were already in place, like wantok connections and trusting that those kinship ties would provide the support we needed on location. This chapter explores skills acquisition but also the different ways that people interact in their social environment to achieve their tasks. My job was to be adaptable, while still holding people to professional standards of accountability on the job. I further argue that the support structures for production emerged from the Melanesian communal environment, similar to what has been noted about previous Melanesian film productions, and my job as facilitator was to understand this and not get in the way.

Gaining expertise: focusing on skills for film production
The importance of acquiring and improving skills in media production should never be under-appreciated. Our participants put a high value on the skills they learned through the production process and emphasised the need for additional and ongoing training. Our crew was introduced to the tasks of auditioning actors, finding a location, dressing the set, buying props and costumes, rehearsing the actors, and then the process of shooting a scene, which requires specialised camera, audio equipment and computer software skills. These processes were ongoing for over seven total weeks of shooting, stretched over a period of six months. Contingency

Figure 46 Auditions in Saispik. CSCM, 2014.
for covering specialised roles when individual crewmembers were absent evolved out of necessity. Others stepped in to perform their tasks so most crewmembers became familiar with at least one other role on the set. There was also a concerted effort to included crewmembers in front of the camera in at least one scene, so everyone felt included. Several of our primary actors took up crew positions when they weren’t in front of the camera. This emphasises the communal, inclusive environment that was created on our set. The participants acquired skills in directing, camera operation, sound recording, script supervision, logistics, management, organisation, scheduling, lighting, and editing. The director of the camera department stated, “I learned a lot in using light and organising my technical boys. Once out in the field, organising what to do before the shooting starts” (D. Doiki, personal communication, February 20, 2015). The assistant camera (AC) stated that he learned how to use the DSLR camera, the Canon 5D, "how to judge light for certain scenes, whether it’s during the night or during the day. And I had to learn how to … adjust the settings so that you get the best shot that can be used in the film. I also learned a bit about how to edit using Final Cut Pro and editing assistance" (B. Otio, personal communication, February 18, 2015). The AC showed great technical competency and took a lead role when the cinematographer was required on other projects. The actors stated that they had learned skills such as not focusing on the camera, acting naturally, showing emotion, memorising their lines, improvising, general confidence and even how to work while juggling the pressures of family obligations.

In regards to directing actors, the co-director commented that she had a clear vision of the characters in the story so when it came to communicating that to the actors she wouldn't push them too hard but made suggestions. "For example, Aliko. She’s an orphan but sometimes she smiles a lot, which is not really right … ‘because if you are an orphan you have that feeling of loss, you know. You have to portray that’" (personal communication, June 28, 2015). Kanagio observed that the young actors were easy to work with but the older ones without training and without prior acting experience required more patience. Anton agreed that they found it hard to memorise their lines, mentioning that some "would take like 30 to 40 minutes to memorise just a small bit of script, so I think that involved a lot of patience because when you get upset with them then they just totally go blank" (personal
communication, June 28, 2015). Partly because of this experience, the co-director was rethinking how we might be able to encourage inexperienced actors. This demonstrates that in addition to the acquisition of skills, there was analysis of how it might be done better in a future project. The co-director credited the script with being a guide for the storyline. "But we should be a bit flexible with the lines. Maybe the main idea is there, but they could work around that to come up with it in their own words" (D. Anton, personal communication, June 28, 2015).

Everyone agreed that there needed to be more skills acquisition. “We need a lot of training workshops held in PNG or overseas for us to keep ourselves fit and ready for the future” (D. Doiki, personal communication, February 20, 2015). The production manager was interested in more training in “budgeting, distribution and management … we need to build capacity in use of software” (N. Warambukia, personal communication, February 18, 2015). There was a request from many actors for a focus on how to improve acting skills. Inaparo, the actor that played Aliko’s father, said that “the actors did well but we need to go to school and get some more

Figure 47 Learning cinematography basics during the production workshop. CSCM, 2014.
knowledge, like Hollywood actors who are trained and know a lot\textsuperscript{52} (I. Susure, personal communication, February 2, 2015).

In addition to improving the skills they had started to acquire on the Aliko & Ambai set, many wanted to learn additional skills. Lilly, our office accountant, said "I would like to know about how to operate a camera" (L. Samuel, personal communication, February 24, 2015), echoed by many of the cast and crew. One of the actresses was interested in screenwriting, the boom operator in being the camera assistant or camera operator, the caterer in props and design, the AD in directing and cinematography, and the assistant editor in directing and producing. Kereta said she "wants to make documentaries and learn everything about filmmaking" (K. Ketau, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

One of the conclusions drawn on reflection is that in addition to a camera and audio production workshop, our production would have benefited from a workshop for all the other production departments and an actors' training workshop. These would not be done in a theoretical space but involve at least two weeks of preparation and training that leads into an actual production situation, as our training did. This allows

\textsuperscript{52} “Mipla ol actors mipla bin act gut tasol mipla nid lo go lo skul na kisim liklik save gen, osem ol actors lo Hollywood ol bin skul go na ol kisim planti save.”
time for a beginning learning period and then the application of skills, which is the best way to learn production skills, based on the experience of our project.

![Crowd gathers around during shoot on location in Goroka town. CSCM, 2014.](image)

**Production process critique**

Those who critiqued the production primarily focused on logistics issues like punctuality, location management, and transport. Challenges, as stated by participants, included assistants not doing their job, having to do someone else's job when they didn't show up, and difficulty in learning computer software. Most of the cast and crew were comfortable shooting in village communities but shooting in urban public spaces was a different matter since a crowd would gather when shooting a scene would start and actors had to overcome the distraction and the stares (and sometimes the directing) of the crowd. Many times the production assistant was commandeered for crowd control but more training and planning for this would have been beneficial. The top recommendations from participants had to do with improving punctuality, buying better equipment, providing more reliable transport and providing training to actors prior to the production. Other areas of improvement mentioned at least once by individual participants were about leadership on the production and improving communication between the crew and directors, laziness and people not doing their job, staying on schedule, organising
locations earlier, providing more time to memorise the script, improving payment to actors, and having more financial support for film production from the government.

There are a lot of challenges when trying to accomplish a task within a certain time frame with certain professional standards, and I needed additional support for my role as mentor and facilitator, which wasn't available on this project. I knew the production manager was not getting enough support and was struggling much of the time but once the shooting started, I was too busy on location to help with logistics. This was problematic for the production and it was also challenging for him to be put in a position for which he did not have training and it shows in the participant feedback. The plan for the project was for me, as the primary facilitator, to be on location and to have another primary mentor for the production manager position in the office but this did not eventuate and was one of the failings of the project. As a result, to mentor the production manager, days had to be added to the production schedule to plan and prep locations and logistical arrangements instead of filming.

I had responsibilities as a full-time staff member, as did the co-director who was a full time graduate student, and the production had to be scheduled around other responsibilities. The weeks in production were lengthened considerably because of our start and stop production schedule. To complicate matters, events like a death in the primary village location where we were to spend a week and a robbery on the university campus required rearranging the complicated shooting schedule several times. Ideally, an experienced producer and director with no other responsibilities would have allowed for an uninterrupted production schedule.

Lack of communication about wardrobe, leaving props at locations, not doing a task when it was necessary, and other carelessness caused many delays. Many times, if I was chasing down one of these details and neither the production manager nor co-director were on-set, rehearsal and preparation for the day's shoot ground to a halt. There were certain moments of crisis that were a wakeup call to the crew that things had to improve. One day, after a particular comedy of errors, there was a long meeting with the crew, led primarily by the co-director and the production manager, about the need for professionalism, for people to do their assigned jobs, to pay attention to the details of their work, and to take responsibility to keep the preparation and production process going. Within the participatory action research
framework, these reflections contributed to the planning stage of upcoming activities (Tacchi et al., 2007). It might have been better if these kind of meetings had been scheduled and facilitated on a more regular basis, creating a feedback mechanism where all members of the crew had an opportunity to speak, but which got lost in the pressure of the production schedule. Instead, these moments of reflection tended to emerge out of crisis situations.

Another area of challenge that developed from long working hours with a young crew was becoming aware of participants’ complicated inter-personal lives. Ironically, working on a storyline that engages with issues about gender-based violence, four of the key crew members and an actor missed work because of domestic disputes at home, reminding me that the issues explored in the film were a lived reality for many of our participants. In addition, I was asked to let go of one of our crewmembers because of alleged pot smoking on the set and the accusation of flirting with another participant’s partner. An actress was chosen in the casting process but it turned out that she was having an affair with the husband of another actress and didn’t show up to her first day of work. Less serious were the negotiations and bickering on set about when and where it was appropriate to smoke and chew betel nut. These incidents did not affect the general friendship and positive working dynamic on the set but they do point out that there was a certain amount of melodrama being played out behind the camera, as it was on camera.

In retrospect, at least as a way of addressing the logistical challenges, what deserved more emphasis was ongoing training of key positions like the co-director, assistant director, production manager and director of the camera department. This training would emphasise the need for key staff to take the lead in a specific area of responsibility and guide the members of the crew under their supervision so that the emphasis was explicitly on shared leadership and responsibility.

**A different approach to specialisation**

In addition to the learning undertaken by the cast and crew about the roles they were assigned, I argue that another kind of learning was also taking place through observation and assisting friends who had other roles on the production set. I acquired my own cinematography skills through a variety of classroom training, workshops, and informal internships but I learned primarily from sink-or-swim on-the
job training and feedback from experienced mentors. It was always a very focused process, like a blinkered horse that is supposed to keep his eyes on the road with no other distractions from peripheral vision. Curiosity about what other people were doing on the set was not encouraged. I received my feature film production experience in low-budget Hollywood, which is not nearly as strict as big budget productions but it still takes specialisation very seriously. Therefore, the way Aliko & Ambai participants learned, worked and socialised on the production set required some flexibility on my part.

The Aliko & Ambai crewmembers tended to drift from their specialisation. It could be a lack of experience, since my observation of the Love Patrol crew in Vanuatu indicated they were quite adept at role specialisation. However, observations of the Tinpis Run production team at the Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa also mentioned this (Sullivan, 1993). Instructors from the Varan school in Paris supervised the production, but despite an adherence to "western production modes," Sullivan states that the actual responsibilities of crewmembers were relatively informal (Sullivan, 1993, p. 381).

Drifting from specialisation can have positive and negative consequences but it is certainly different from a Hollywood crew where members, due to union restrictions, are not allowed to do any tasks outside of their job specialisation. On the Aliko &
Ambai crew, the assistant cameraman is distracted so the assistant director steps in to adjust the tripod legs. The still camera gets passed around and quite a few people are taking photos. The sound mixer and boom operator switch responsibilities quite often. Women on the crew step in to assist the caterer and tend to help each other with wardrobe and costumes. In regards to directing, everyone had an opinion about what the actors were supposed to be doing and would readily share their advice at inopportune moments. When we ventured out in public, random strangers started “directing” the actors. One of my mantras became “that’s not your job!” or the reverse reminder, “because that’s your job!”

One of the things I’ve noticed over the years is that people I have worked with in PNG don’t approach tasks or role specialisation in the same way I have observed it in industrialised countries. This could be because specialisation in a horticulturist society primarily falls into gender categories that many times are carried out communally: the men clear the soil, dig the ditches, build the fences and houses while the women plant the crops, weed, harvest, prepare the food and raise the children (Griffen, 2006; Strathern, 1982). Tasks are generally not specialised but everyone performs the same tasks communally to make light work of whatever needs to be accomplished. People are not familiar with an industrial environment, like an automobile factory, where 20 people might have twenty very different, detailed, specific tasks on an assembly line to contribute to the whole.

I acknowledged that in a Melanesian learning and capacity building environment, many people on the crew wanted to learn how to do something that “wasn’t their job” and allowances had to be made for this. Sometimes it was necessary, because as Kereta said, "If one of the crew didn’t show up, I filled in and helped out with each other's work." But it is also a type of informal learning that is common in PNG. When I taught high school performing arts, students entered my class with a full repertoire of dances and songs from their traditional culture, a repertoire of choral music from their church, and many of them were expert ukulele and guitar players. All of this had been learned, informally, by observation and practice outside of the classroom. I could see the same kind of informal learning happening on the production set. By the end of the shoot, many of the crew had acquired cursory camera skills because they had been learning by observing and occasionally filling in or experimenting. My attitude towards role specialisation, therefore, became a compromise between
demanding that certain skills be mastered and regularly performed by those tasked with those jobs, while allowing for the give and take of the communal social learning environment in which most Papua New Guineans live.

Section 2: Production, communal practice and the social learning environment

This section explores types of identity construction associated with the social learning environment in the *Aliko & Ambai* production. First I discuss the importance of community relationships and then I argue that *wantok* identity emerged as an important element of our peer-based training strategy. In addition, there was the formation of a professional filmmaking identity through shared communal practice and I focus on the kind of identity mediated by the camera that allowed participants to see themselves on screen in a way they hadn’t visualised before.

![Figure 51 Shooting the feast preparation in the Bena community. CSCM, 2014.](image)

Community relationships

Within the context of community research and film production, Verena Thomas (2011b) has pointed out that understanding relationships is key to a Melanesian approach. She observed that when PNG researchers enter their own communities, a new relationship is negotiated that involves a very different dynamic from being a
community member. “Fostering or engaging with pre-existing relationships is important to many Papua New Guinean researchers, as their research perspective draws on these relationships and failure to engage with them may lead to a devaluing of the research for both the researcher and their communities” (2011b, p. 44). Our production arrangements operated on this idea that both the creative team of the production and the community benefited from the relationship. Research and production practice relies on these connections because of the importance and complicated nature of the collective environment in Melanesia. Relying on project participants with ties to their own communities, instead of relying on the commercial transactional approach in developed countries with developed film industries, is the only way to successfully navigate residency and engagement on production locations.

Therefore, the importance of the ways that people relate to each other through clan affiliations that designates people as wantoks, came to the fore in various ways through the production process. I was continuously learning how people in the cast and crew were related to each other and to people in the communities where we worked. Three older actors from Masi, which is a community on the edge of the Goroka Township, were also required to act in the scenes at other locations. This
seemed like a fair distance from their home but their responses demonstrate how communities around Goroka are connected.

Lilly Bebes, who played Aliko’s village aunt explained that she knew some of the community members in Bena who were family and in-laws, just like she did in her home in Masi. Kaupa, who played Aliko’s uncle, agreed that a lot of people from Bena knew him so he didn’t feel depressed. “We have marriage exchange so I had sisters there" (K. Gihiro, personal communication, February 2, 2015). And Inapero, who played Aliko’s father, expressed the hospitality shown him in Melanesian terms. “We spoke together. We shared betel nut, tobacco and food” (I. Susure, personal communication, February 2, 2015). This communal environment is a type of mutual support system and working together amiably and peacefully is what wantoks in PNG aspire to create. Inapero spoke about mutual support on location. “The actors entertained each other with stories and ate together and we helped each other out when we were acting. Supporting each other made it easier for the crew” (I. Susure, personal communication, February 2, 2015). Koupa said when he was acting in front of the camera, “they spoke gently to us and no one got angry. They wanted us to understand and I appreciated this” (K. Gihiro, personal communication, February 2, 2015).

This does not mean there are not moments of tension in the communal environment. Our weeklong shoot on location in the village was delayed for many weeks because someone died. This death was followed up by accusations of sorcery that resulted in the house of the accused being burned and the accused escaping from the village. This family’s house was freshly destroyed when we arrived for our shoot. Although we didn’t witness this violence, it was a reminder of the tensions around unexplained sickness and death that can erupt in the communal environment in PNG. Other tensions arose while we were on location with a great deal of shouting from a local woman on the day of the wedding shoot, but the problem was never explained to me and I was told it had nothing to do with us. All the major conflicts that occurred were

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53 “Mipla maret igo lo ol, maret ikam lo mipla tu na ol sista tu istap lo hap.”
54 “Mi bin tok wantaim ol. Milpla skelim buai, simuk na kaikai.”
55 "Mipla ol actas mipla stap stori na kai kai na mipla bin helpim mipla yet taim mipla laik act. Na taim mipla helpim mipla yet go kam em mekim isi lo ol kru."
56 "Ol toktok isi na ol no koros. Ol laikim lo mipla mas andastand na mi laikim displa.”
tangential to the actual work of the production. Local drunken disturbances on the road leading to location did affect members of our production but were not something that occurred on our set. The point is not to say that the communal practices in PNG always lives up to the ideal, but to recognise that people have an ideal of communal practice that they strive to achieve, where people support each other, work peacefully and where many hands make light work.

**Wantok identity through peer-based training**

As a peer-based trainer, Francis explains his duties from his point-of-view:

> My role in the Production Workshop was to build up the camera and lighting crew, to prepare them for the shoot. My primary focus was to get Dilen Doiki, who was the camera man at the Goroka Uni media centre to get comfortable with using the Canon 5D DSLR camera, camera work/handling, exposure settings etc. My main role was get the crew up to speed and assist the production editor familiarise herself to new codecs, audio/video syncing, and transcoding process that came along with the Canon 5D camera. (personal communication, January 28, 2015)

Charlie taught boom handling and sound mixing. Francis said, “Charlie and I gave our best to push Dilen and boys to be as ready as possible for the shoot” (personal communication, January 28, 2015). It was challenging within the two-week time restriction that they had, but “filmmaking is a learning process. We were open to the participants making mistakes, asking questions. Our patience was really tested” (personal communication, January 28, 2015). Charlie said that his challenge was being a first-time teacher but “I overcame my challenge, by making a teaching plan, working with the participants one day at a time. Always encouraging them to ask questions” (personal communication, February 9, 2015).

Charlie stated “the participants are free to express themselves more with a Melanesian trainer” (personal communication, February 9, 2015). Francis had an idea of what defined his role. “A trainer is first, defined by a passion to teach and a willingness to pass on knowledge to others, and second, has vision. What are the goals when doing the training” (personal communication, January 28, 2015)? But what is interesting is the vision he had for his training process was one of “freedom
to experiment” within a vision of common Melanesian identity. This idea may have been formed in comparison to his own training with various different Australian cinematographers, with whom he had varying degrees of compatibility. In contrast, here he describes his *Aliko & Ambai* project experience:

When I was in Goroka last year doing the workshops, I stopped looking at the crew as participants but as my *wantoks*. *Wantoks* is a powerful word, which links us Melanesians together. Instead of me giving all the talks of do’s and don’t, I gave the crew the freedom to experiment—finding shots, setting light positions etc. . . . It gives the participants the motivation and inspiration that anything is possible. (F. Wai, personal communication, January 28, 2015)

Francis seems to see ‘participants’ as a kind of status without meaningful identity and ‘*wantoks*’ as a powerful acknowledgement of common bonds. I argue that what was happening in our production workshop and later in the production process was learning, not crafted by an expert who delivered lectures in abstraction, but a learning that was taking place through a shared practice of acquiring filmmaking skills, through a community of practice, and through a collective effort with a common purpose as Melanesian *wantoks*. It is the socially situated local context and the claiming of a regional identity that is important here.

This was also revealed through the playful banter that took place from the beginning of the production. PNG *Tok Pisin* and Vanuatu *Bislama* are both English-based creoles with a common ancestry in the Melanesian islands. Francis and Charlie had a habit of saying “*stret no mo,*” which is a kind of affirmative all-purpose exclamation for almost any situation and the crew quickly took it up in playful jest. One crew member even described how he used the *Bislama* he picked up from the trainers to pretend he was from Vanuatu at parties, which apparently, was a way to impress girls. The boys also spent a lot of time after-hours hanging out with the trainers and trying to ease any sense of isolation they might feel away from home. This camaraderie was underlined in the farewell event for Francis and Charlie, which was formally conducted by Nickson (our production manager) with speeches and gift-giving and a traditional performance by Jimmy and Nicky (our sound mixer and boom operator) who chanted and danced a local indigenous farewell and commemorated the very Melanesian nature of the interaction that had taken place.
In addition to the type of peer-based learning guided by Charlie and Francis, there was a range of other kinds of peer-based, observational and practice-based learning that emerged from the Aliko & Ambai production experience. The trainers could only spend two weeks on set, and Anton, Doiki and myself continued as the primary mentors on the production. The positive aspects of a peer-based and observational learning environment are that people learn from each other and are not always dependent on the facilitator.

The formation of a professional filmmaking identity

The previous section put an emphasis on regional ties and common identity through culture instead of professional identity, but it is useful to look at ideas about the kind of identity that forms through apprenticeship. The theory of learning described by Lave is linked with identity and becoming a certain kind of professional person (Lave, 1996). Lave made comparisons with Liberian tailors’ apprenticeship in West Africa, eighteenth century mosque schools in Egypt, and immigrant kids in American high schools, arguing for a through-line about social learning. She argues, “teaching is neither necessary nor sufficient to produce learning” (1996, p. 157). She shifts the focus to the social nature of learning, frames learning as an “aspect of participation in socially situated practices,” and frames all learning environments as a means to
construct an identity (1996, p. 150). As a result, we should not be compartmentalising 'informal' from 'formal' educational endeavours. That is because learning has a common thread, wherever it occurs, as the participant becomes more skilled and assumes an identity shaped by their work and their social situation. I argue that the approach to filmmaking in the Aliko & Ambai project could be considered an apprenticeship environment, creating the possibility for the formation of a professional filmmaking identity. This may have been more significant for the experienced members of our crew, for whom working on Aliko & Ambai was one in a series of film production experiences that is required for successful apprenticeship.

Doiki, in addition to working on this project as cinematographer, has had an extended period of filmmaking mentorship. He started with Verena Thomas’ documentary workshops where he was credited as director and cinematographer, worked as assistant camera man with a Papua New Guinean Australian-trained cinematographer, was assistant camera to an Australian director and cinematographer, and continuing on several projects that I mentored as director where Doiki and I traded off cinematographer duties. Through this apprenticeship process over a period of years, he has developed an identity as a professional Melanesian filmmaker. Doiki states, “I would love to build my career on what I’m doing now” (personal communication, February 20, 2016).

Ruth Ketau, our assistant editor, is working on a new film idea and looking for ways to get her project funded. Ketau attended the local film school at the time in the 1980s, Skul Bilong Wokim Piksa, and was part of a three-month exchange program with the Parisian film school, Atelier Varan, founded by Jean Rouch (Spark, 2013; Sullivan, 1993). Her documentary, *The Last Real Men* (*Ketau & Ketau, 2010*) screened at the Pacific Arts Festival in the Solomon Islands in 2012. Ketau and I also worked together on the 30-minute biography *Never Give Up* in the Pawa Meri series (Thomas et al., 2014). Ketau was a long-term employee of the National Film Institute but has frequently spoken about the challenges of finding financial and logistical support for her film projects over the years. As the eldest and most experienced member of the *Aliko & Ambai* team, our project provided her new inspiration as she began developing her own film project about gender-based violence and she saw the value in the capacity building process it created:
I’m starting my own new firm. The name of my firm is Community Eye Films so I will be doing more of directing and producing…. I think in this production for A&A I managed to pick some members of the production to work in my production too…. I would say that A&A gave me the opportunity to break down my own script and I’m doing a great job in my new film so I would like to thank the production team and the directors of the film (R. Ketau, personal communication, February 27, 2015).

Our screenwriter also shared story ideas he was incubating for potential future films:

I fully understand the process. I’m trying to work on a few other scripts on my own and then give them out and see if people want to produce them. The second script that I’m currently working on is about . . . targeting the lack of health facilities in the country . . . it’s not a documentary, but it’s about a small boy with a heart problem trying to survive . . . The other one is the story of my own people, how they came to be and the village where they ended up. Actually, I got the whole storyline from my uncle before I got on the plane. It’s all on paper. So I have to write the storyline and then figure out how to put it into a script (J. Kanagio, personal communication, February 27, 2016).

But even first-time actors, such as Inapero who played Aliko’s father, loved the reception he received when he went back to his community. “This is my first time to act, and when I came back home some people called me an actor and that made me very happy and proud”

But even first-time actors, such as Inapero who played Aliko’s father, loved the reception he received when he went back to his community. “This is my first time to act, and when I came back home some people called me an actor and that made me very happy and proud” (personal communication, February 2, 2015). From an actor’s perspective, Chris Pondriliki, who played the role of John Tango, stated “I read from history that film was flourishing in the late 70s to the 80s, and in the 90s it died away. And to revive this industry again would be a very good idea. There are people out there. Papua New Guineans are natural talented actors” (personal communication, March 13, 2015). This demonstrates that building an identity as a filmmaker, screenwriter or actor is important to the participants in our production, creating enthusiasm and a foundation for further productions.

The cast and crew particularly mentioned the idea that film production can potentially provide a source of income for local communities. As Chris states:

57 “Em fest taim blo mi, na taim mi actim na mi kam bek lo ples ol sampla man I bin tok acta acta na mi amamas tru na ol upliftim bel blo mi.”
I really want to see this industry really revive and more people taking part in it. I want to see people being scouted and taken overseas. It’s a long shot but we had people going like William Takaku\textsuperscript{58} and a few others … This film industry could give our street kids and those who are not working some opportunities to earn some money (personal communication, March 13, 2015).

Kanagio concludes “This film shows the viability of the film industry in PNG. People had done some movies in PNG before but, it was like dying out … and I think we need to do more films” (personal communication, February 27, 2016). I propose that for our participants, the beginnings of an identity shaped by film production revolves around the idea that film production can provide a career path as both Doiki and Ketau have exemplified, that it can potentially provide an income as Chris and many others noted in their interview responses, and that it is a creative medium for storytellers, as Kanagio has demonstrated with his screenplay ideas. Beginning to form a professional identity is one thing, but this can only be nourished if there is funding support for ongoing production projects and the growth of a recognisable local PNG film production industry sustained by community engagement.

Identity mediated by the camera

This was the first time for most of our cast, and the crew who performed in front of the camera, to see themselves and their communities reflected on the screen in a fictional narrative. When asked how he felt when he got the role of Aliko’s father, Inapero replied, “I was really happy because I’m from the village and I was able to take up something I hadn’t experienced before\textsuperscript{59}” (I. Sasure). Koupa, who played Aliko’s uncle, said of the film, “we’ve been watching TV but now we’ve produced it ourselves and I’m pleased”\textsuperscript{60} (K. Gihiro). Based on the comments of *Aliko & Ambai* cast and crew, the way that the camera captured aspects of their daily lives was something worthy of comment. No matter how humble, the dirt floors, thatched roofs, and open fires of the PNG Highlands houses frequented by our cast and crew for

\textsuperscript{58} A well known actor who co-starred in the Hollywood film Robinson Crusoe (Karango & Hardy, Miller, 1997).

\textsuperscript{59} “Mi amamas tru osem mi b in stap lo ples na mi igo insait lo wanpla samtin we mi no save lo em na mi laik train lo experiensim.”

\textsuperscript{60} “Mipla save lukim lo TV sol na nau mipla yet wokim na mi amamas.”
both accommodation and film locations, it was reflected on the screen to everyone’s satisfaction. Melanesian skin tone and facial features from every region of PNG and level of society were represented in our story and on screen. As mentioned in the previous chapter, everyone commented that “true PNG life” and “natural acting” was evident in this film. The portrayal of tribal conflict was seen as reflecting something that everyone could relate to and had experienced. The ‘authentic details’ of capturing traditional customs like the exchange of bride wealth and traditional performance was seen as an important aspect of representing the clan identity of where we were filming. Situations of adopted children being over-worked and domestic abuse were seen as negative aspects of society being openly revealed to the public.

These processes of reflecting on your own life as it is being mediated by the camera is part of “identity deconstruction,” according to Clemencia Rodriguez (1994, p. 160). How the camera affects identity is a focus of Rodriguez’s work and her analysis of participatory video production among Latin American women (1994). This is framed as a learning situation in a media production environment, when the camera is turned on oneself or one’s peers. Rodriguez points out that to be a poor woman in

Figure 54 Identity mediated by the camera. CSCM, 2014.
Latin America implies a situation of marginality, which includes a lack of representation in cultural texts. While other sectors of society may see their lives reflected in the mass media, these women have to look at the “faces, the bodies, and the lives of others” (p. 153). Through the production process the group engaged in a process of self-investigation and also began to see themselves and their home environment mediated by the camera in a way they had never experienced before.

When we were shooting in the village, no one went home after the day’s shoot since we were on location in an isolated environment, and were in very tight quarters in a communal living situation. Although we usually had evening shoots as well, there was still some extra time and it turned out that many of the cast and crew would eagerly gather and review the day’s video with a lot of concentration and amusement at various details. The way that the camera mediates how young people see themselves and their world in a production environment is a social learning process that isn’t always clarified or discussed when determining the value of the production process.

**Summary**

In this chapter I have described what was expected in terms of capacity building in feature film production for this project and how that was delivered through a production training workshop that involved expert Melanesian peer-based training and was continued through the production process by Anton and Doiki and myself. As facilitator, I was also involved in a learning curve along with the core creative team and crew, but I managed to establish job descriptions and responsibilities for each position, and crewmembers learned through every-day hands-on experience as the production progressed. Sometimes, this happened very slowly as individual crew members learned what would happen if they forgot to charge the camera batteries or left a crucial wardrobe item at the last location. The Melanesian communal social environment helped strengthen the ties for the community of practice that we developed together that allowed peer-based learning to flourish, with many of the crew supporting each other in their roles. Other responsibilities and a lack of more experienced mentors besides myself, resulted in some members of the crew not receiving the kind of mentorship they deserved and a production schedule that was stretched over many months. This had some benefits as it gave us time to make
logistical arrangements for locations and provided time for additional actor auditions at intervals throughout the production when necessary.

Through this film project I have endeavoured to expand the parameters of ideas and outcomes that can add to the discussion of media development in PNG, drawing on ideas from scholars in other contexts. I argue that donors often endorse professional industry models from outside of PNG that are primarily interested in skills development in the formal television, radio and print media industry, without addressing the issues discussed in this exegesis that emerged out of narrative film production. The focus on learning through a community of practice, nurturing the social learning environment, encouraging peer-based training, recognising the strengths and weaknesses of the communal environment when applied to production practice, the strengthening of professional media practitioner identities through practice, developing methods of engaging local communities in our logistical arrangements, and recognising community affiliations and communal values that our cast, crew and community members shared were the key findings that came out of our capacity building exercise.
Conclusion

Figure 55 Aliko and Ambai hold hands on their way to school. CSCM, 2014.

This project and exegesis explored the question of how to develop and support a local Melanesian narrative feature film production practice. To do this I produced a feature film in collaboration with local young people, guided by donor guidelines that articulated principles that come from the practice of communication for development and social change. Three major areas of inquiry emerged from this project through the production process and the research that went into the exegesis: facilitating structured screenplay development; the role fictional narrative can play in exploring the tensions of social change and the importance of engaging with local communities in the production process to ground that narrative in local context; and recognising and nurturing the collective learning environment and the community of practice that emerged from our capacity building exercise. These areas of inquiry contribute to debates in development communication about media for development (focusing on content), participatory communication (focusing on process and dialogue) and media development (focusing on structure and capacity building). Although these separate C4D approaches guided my inquiry, in practice these approaches overlapped in
many ways. My conclusions emerge from the collaborative practice of producing a film in Papua New Guinea and the considered reflection and analysis that has followed the production about how this practice aligned with other C4D initiatives, how it differed, and in what ways it can contribute to a better understanding of ‘media interventions’ as a strategy in the context of development.

In this exegesis I pointed out the historical context for early narrative film production in PNG as a record of the interactions of outsiders with local Melanesian indigenous communities resulting in problematic issues of representation in narratives that foregrounded foreign protagonists. Reviewing the film record also provides an insight into the cinematic discourse around development and the beginnings of capacity building that provides us with an insight into colonial power dynamics. But other paradigms for community engagement that consciously utilised inclusive methods of participation emerged that helped create a national cinema, engaged with social change narratives, and focused on educational objectives. These films were seminal cinematic explorations of social change, local collaboration and national identity in PNG but were one-off productions, funded and supported in ways that did not lead to ongoing sustained feature film production.

More recent films have had a health intervention agenda with a motivation of directed social change. I argue that the Pasin Senis films reflect religious media efforts in Melanesia that could be described as an indigenisation of media for development in health messaging with an emphasis on melodrama, primarily because of its mode of production (relying on the wantok system) and the emphasis of the story (relying on the breach of the wantok system as the primary motivator of the narrative). Based on the most recent Pacific region intervention initiatives by Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu and the Centre for Social and Creative Media in Papua New Guinea the primary rationale that has emerged for edutainment in the Pacific is the benefit for social dialogue around difficult and taboo social issues in collective community viewing venues and the resulting stigma reduction for socially marginalised people.

**A reflection on the writing and analysis process**

The practice-led nature of the research provided a rich experience that I could draw on but the sustained research into cinema in PNG and communication for
development and social change in the exegesis writing process provide additional insights. These were around the various narrative threads that emerged from the history of film in PNG, that careful thought and analysis can reveal ephemeral structures that are used to guide and support creative practice, and the identity-strengthening results of our enterprise. As outlined in the introductory chapters, there is a little-known history of narrative film production in PNG that stretches from the silent movie era to the "revival" of narrative film production in the last few years and there are common narrative threads in the films produced in collaboration with local filmmakers stretching as far back as the 1950s, some of which appeared in Aliko & Ambai. In addition, while reviewing the production process, I recognised the ephemeral structures that I have used in my practice as a facilitator. The idea that we weren't just teaching skills but creating a community of practice and that people were connecting with other Melanesian practitioners as wantoks and strengthening their professional identity through that practice grew in importance through the analysis process.

Finally, the week of full-time production in an isolated village I consider a magical time with the cast and crew, when everyone was working together and we had the full support of the local community who housed and fed us and worked side-by-side with us on location. This is when the cast and crew, both young men and women, sat together and screened the day's footage with excitement. Those screenings, organised through their own initiative, was the epiphany for me that something special was happening in their lives, a way of seeing themselves mediated by the camera, linked together in a common endeavour and learning lessons that they would carry forward into future activities. It was descriptions and analysis of moments like this that grew in importance during the writing process as I found other scholars who had written about media production and found a new language with which to describe these experiences and link them to the ideas others had explored. These insights helped me expand on the ideal of harmony that people aspire to in their communal social engagement, that learning happens in communities of practice, and that identity formation is an important outcome of that learning. Ongoing support for the community of practice we formed will encourage people to continue to tell their own stories and to imagine the change they want to see in the world.
Screenplay development

Focusing on a difficult social issue like GBV requires a balance between expertise input and trusting young writers' to write from their own experience. Capacity building for screenwriters requires a balance between structured mentorship and guidance while giving them room to make mistakes and go through a discovery process to produce a story that will have local cultural relevance for the target audience. In response to the challenge of addressing GBV, the Aliko & Ambai project included a range of participants in preliminary discussions and encouraged the production of life narratives that explored an ecosystem of interwoven factors that affect men and women in contemporary PNG. With our writers' workshop's focus on content we broadened the dialogue around GBV issues, in addition to drawing inspiration from creative drama exercises and other media initiatives in the region. Through a range of inclusionary practices we created connections between our participants and various experts, forming a group that cared about our project and were willing to continue to give feedback through its different phases. The strength of this approach was not to take a position on the causes of gender-based violence but to encourage the development of narratives that allowed young men and women to explore the obstacles to the achievement of their goals in life and imagine positive resolutions and outcomes. All of these outcomes might not be in the realm of current actuality, but fiction supports the creative freedom to imagine things that might not already exist.

The screenplay is a blueprint for the production, so being well-versed in how to create a story that feels organic and brings the audience along for a meaningful and satisfactory experience is very important when guiding young people in the writing process. In addition to the focus on content, I argue that screenplay development for beginning writers requires an exploration and adaptation of existing cinematic storytelling structures, which involved exercises to address plot and screenplay design. I realise this approach was highly structured but it was important that we strove to create a “PNG version” of the international movies participants see in their own village cinemas.

Having multiple participants each create their own storyline based on their understanding of the themes and issues explored in the workshop gave the project a
variety of creative outputs and several options for the direction the screenplay could take. The balance of group participation and individual contribution was a strength of the project and also provided insight into the thematic preoccupations of our young Melanesian writers. I argue that without a step-by-step structured approach, it’s easy for the creative writing process to get bogged down or appear over-whelming to beginning writers. Since the main turning points were created in the storyline exercise both Anton and Kanagio were able to expand the story with more ease. The dialogue of the script must be in a language that all the actors are comfortable speaking and is in the every-day language of the audience, which is why the dialogue in the Aliko & Ambai script is primarily in Tok Pisin. My attention to the detail of the screenwriting process is to demonstrate the steps we took in development. Although other approaches to story development are available for exploration, I argue that one way to fully support young screenplay writers, requires an exchange of ideas, a creation of a storyline, the development of a treatment, a step outline and then writing of scenes, always going back to make sure they aligned with the original turning points of the story structure.

Ongoing participation by those who had participated in the original writers’ workshop was crucial in our effort to hear from as many point-of-view as possible to make sure our story would be engaging, have an arc that draws people into the story, responds to culturally-sensitive concerns, reflects the theme of gender-based violence in a way that resonates for our participants, and provides inspiration for young woman overcoming numerous obstacles in their life. Key points about facilitation, participation, content production, and capacity building can be drawn from the screenplay development process created by this project.

The intention of the project has been to contribute to the discourse about media for development by bringing together C4D approaches to content with a screen studies approach to screenplay development. Although there is a lot of ‘how to write a screenplay’ guides that have helped me develop my own methods and The Screenwriter Activist: Writing Social Issue Movies (Beker, 2012) does explore mainstream movies in developed industries involvement with social issues, there are no guides that have been adapted for a C4D framework to address particular social issues in developing countries, and this is where this project has made a contribution
to the larger discourse about media for development. This structured approach could potentially be used for future feature film projects in PNG and the region.

Although the approach I have outlined does not have to be prescriptive, both stages of content exploration and script development could be adapted in a multitude of ways to result in a screenplay. Workshopping content with writers and experts could easily be adapted to a focus group of people that have life experience with a particular social issue. Alternatively, we could have started in the community, workshopping role-play scenarios that could be developed into storylines as Anton (2016) did in her research after the development of the screenplay for this project. Or a community could be engaged to explore traditional myths that could provide a commentary on development and look for a structure that was already present in the myth as was pioneered by Greg Murphy for PNG theatre and has been continued by scholars like Jane Awi (Awi, 2014; Life Drama, 2010; Murphy, 2010). Script development could explore alternative story structures but still use the step-by-step process to develop the storylines outlined here. Moreover, a script could be developed that only outlines the general direction of the scenes and dialogue that could be improvised by the community in production. There are many options for screenplay development that can be explored in the future that could produce surprising creative results.

**Narrative, the tensions of social change, and community engagement**

Engaging with the pressures of social change, I argue that the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative problematizes basic Melanesian values around land, clan allegiance, leadership, education, and reciprocity through the complications of two young women's journeys. In addition, the narrative engages with what is considered to be three of the most important factors in GBV that include economic dependence, bride price, and compensation and reconciliation practices (Mary Ellsberg et al., 2008). The narrative requires Aliko to navigate these practices in her own culture and find a solution that removes her from untenable circumstances. Although the narrative is focused on young women and their female mentors that provide role models, it also provides a range of male characters that either support their progress or create obstacles in their lives. I argue that the way that these male characters are portrayed in the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative gives us insight into alternative masculinities as they
are conceived by a new generation of Papua New Guineans. *Aliko & Ambai* was not produced in a narrative vacuum and understanding the role of melodrama in popular films in PNG village cinemas and how those same themes appeared in our narrative help us understand the function of fiction entertainment in contemporary PNG.

To grasp how the *Aliko & Ambai* narrative is grounded in the local cultural context, I examined how a rural community became involved in our film production practice, which leads to a more complex framing of tensions created by social change. Traditional rights to land ownership is a core feature of Melanesian identity and the exchange of bride wealth is a core engine of the traditional economy so how the scenes around these two issues were portrayed was of particular importance to the community. Exploring points of contention and negotiation in the production process helps explain how young women, in particular, are balancing the tensions between their urban, educated lives and their cultural roots in a traditional village. This was underscored by the challenge for our co-director who had to bolster the connections with her grandmother’s relatives in a Highlands village. I argue that her experience is representative of many Papua New Guineans who live in urban areas but still maintain ties to rural communities through clan affiliations. Those living in urban areas may be seen as having more choices, more freedom, more economic opportunity, more chances for mobility, and, possibly, less day-to-day pressure from traditional obligations than those who remain in the village. These tensions are played out in our script and were also present in the production process.

**Capacity building**

Media development is usually concerned with things like capacity building, skills development, and training. Our participants put a high value on the skills they learned through the production process and emphasised the need for additional and ongoing training. Many of the challenges of our production would have been better addressed by additional focused training for key staff so that responsibilities on the production team were more evenly distributed. In addition, ‘western’ approaches towards role specialisation need to be adjusted to allow for the give and take of the communal social learning environment in which most Papua New Guineans live. Donors often endorse professional industry models from outside of PNG that are primarily interested in skills development in the formal television, radio and print
media industry, without addressing key issues that came out of our capacity building exercise that include the focus on learning through a community of practice; encouraging peer-based training; engaging local communities; recognising community affiliations and communal values that our cast, crew and community members shared; and exploring various ways that production practice shapes and strengthens certain kinds of identity.

Our training process demonstrated that partnering with other Melanesian organisations can have a very positive impact and the professionalism that Francis and Charlie learned on the set of *Love Patrol* was something that the crew needed to see and emulate as aspiring Melanesian professionals. There is a prevailing practice in media capacity building in the Pacific that tends to bring in expertise from Australia or New Zealand for short-term training opportunities but our experience shows that experienced Melanesian media practitioners are available and willing to serve as trainers. Our crew would also have benefited from additional female Melanesian trainers in production management positions, and both male and female actors providing training.

There are benefits to a Pacific skills exchange, as it is not only the technical skills that impact on the learning of participants but also the relationships that are formed and a professional Melanesian filmmaker identity strengthened in the process that benefits both the trainer and the learner. What emerged from this was the importance of peer-based learning where Melanesians were teaching other Melanesians and the crew were supporting and teaching each other. My key role as facilitator was to keep things moving and provide structures within which people could learn through practice. My job was to be adaptable, while still holding people to professional standards of accountability. The support structures for production emerged from the Melanesian communal environment, and my job as facilitator was to understand this and not get in the way.

Research and production practice relies on community relationships because of the importance and complicated nature of the collective environment in Melanesia. Relying on project participants with ties to their own communities, instead of relying on the commercial transactional approach in countries with developed film industries, is the only way to successfully navigate residency and engagement on production.
locations. Therefore, the importance of the ways that people relate to each other through clan affiliations that designates people as *wantoks*, came to the fore in various ways through the production process. Learning took place, not crafted by an expert who delivered lectures in abstraction, but through a shared practice of acquiring filmmaking skills, through a community of practice, and through a collective effort with a common purpose as Melanesian *wantoks*. It is the socially situated local context and the claiming of a regional identity that is important here.

In addition to this, I also argue that the approach to filmmaking in the *Aliko & Ambai* project could be considered an apprenticeship environment and for some participants a professional filmmaking identity began to emerge. But this can only be sustained and nourished if there are ongoing production projects and a recognisable media production industry because successful film production apprenticeship takes time. Also, this was the first time for those who performed in front of the camera to see themselves and their communities reflected on the screen in a fictional narrative. The way that the camera mediates how young people see themselves and their world in a production environment is a social learning process that isn’t always clarified or discussed when determining the value of the production process.

My aspiration to explore a Melanesian film production practice does not ignore the fact that my role as facilitator was crucial in various ways. First, in the framing of the project in the grant application that relied on the track record of the CSCM, an understanding of how to frame the creative aspirations of the project to match the C4D agendas of the donor agency, a previous successful project with the donor agency, and my own extensive experience in production. Second, I have a fairly well rounded knowledge of production that allows me to step into any situation in the production process. Third, I had a full-time position at the University of Goroka that supported me financially so that my compensation didn’t have to come out of the grant, and therefore allowed the production money to go much further.

These three things, my track record, my experience and a job that supported me allowed this film to be produced in a way that wouldn’t be possible for my young collaborators on their own. So I am not suggesting that we have created an approach to feature film production in Melanesian that could be immediately embraced by my young collaborators, without the support of a facilitator. What I am
suggesting is that ongoing support requires ongoing training, more collaborative efforts, continued experimentation with production models, and ways to engage with social change narratives and connect with indigenous communities. I played the roles that were necessary to bring the production to completion but future projects would look at ways to reduce the production roles of the facilitator and increase the involvement of other participants to the point where indigenous producers, directors and writers in PNG can work together to bring their projects to completion. There has been some success already in this area, in the case of the Pasin Senis Films, for example.

**Questions that originally inspired this project**

The storytelling in the *Aliko & Ambai* film reflects the anxieties of young people who are faced with allegiance to traditional customs and the conflict with becoming modern, educated citizens. This conflict has been a key focus of ‘development’ over the years that have many times unfairly problematized ‘tradition’ as a hindrance to progress and, clearly, this tension remains unresolved by those who work in development and in the day-to-day lives of Papua New Guineans. These tensions include problematic dynamics between men and women, the urban and the rural, the educated class and school drop-outs, those who have jobs in the formal economy and those who struggle to make ends meet in the informal economy, the government employee and the subsistent farmer, the devoutly religious and those who keep their lack of faith to themselves, those who keep the traditions of their ancestors and those who try to escape the obligations those traditions impose. Many continue to embrace indigenous clan identity and yet, are also challenged by circumstances and attitudes that produce tribal conflict and an environment, both urban and rural, that allow gender-based violence to occur. Cinema provides an opportunity to portray tragedy and melodrama, and the complex tensions created by modernity and social change in a ‘transitional’ society that is still strongly rooted in traditional indigenous practices. This allows a rich exploration. PNG people also recognise that indigenous ties provides land for self-sufficient living, a supportive social network, and a meaningful traditional exchange economy. Without resolving the conundrum in ‘real life’, cinema is a medium that can express dramatic tensions that may mirror people’s experience but also lead to new outcomes that people haven’t imagined yet.
Some of the larger questions that inspired the beginning of this investigation, or began to loom larger during the research process, still remain unanswered. A question, very difficult to answer conclusively, is how best to help alleviate the problem of gender-based violence that so many women and men deal with in their daily lives in PNG. A social problem of this magnitude and complexity arises out of the rapid pace of social change: the adapting of traditional social structures and Christian religious precepts, sometimes to reinforce unequal gender relations and other times to challenge them; the crushing inequalities of contemporary economic life; the uneasy co-existence of traditional practices of mediation and compensation practices with policing and court administrated justice; and the general tensions that each new generation of Papua New Guineans feel as they negotiate family life in ways very different from their own parents and even more radically removed from their grandparents and great grandparents. These are all reasons why ‘intervention initiatives’ might not have an immediate effect in regards to "reducing the rate of gender-based violence." The number of factors that contribute to this problem – social, spiritual, political and economic – require a long-term view of change.

This does not mean we should not try to engage with the issue of violence in its various manifestations: to try and understand it better, to gather people together to discuss it, to engage with victims and perpetrators, to ask how it affects young men and women, to support young people in their creative story-telling enterprises, and to tell a story that shows young men and women overcoming the obstacles in their lives. As long as collaborative processes and community engagement continues to be used in the investigation of these kind of social issues, we are on the right track. The process of engagement I have described in this exegesis creates an environment where people are supported to define and imagine the kind of social change they desire and welcome in their lives, instead of just reacting to social change over which they have no control. This allows young people to be active participants in creating new narratives for their lives and dream bigger dreams, to strive to create spaces in their imagination that are safe and absent of violence that might translate to their daily lives. That is one of the advantages of the creative process; the possibilities of imagining a future that needs to be brought into existence.
In spite of my own reservations about the ability of a single film to affect significant change in audience behaviour, project participants pointed out that our story showcased social issues in the communities that were hidden. Some feedback blamed culture for the normalisation of gender-based violence. Some pointed out the abusive scenes as important because these things are common problems but rarely discussed in public and the film was seen as a way to start this discussion. Analysing the Aliko story, one participant makes an insightful comparison to the intent of traditional myths: “We see the history of one of the characters and then we see how she is mistreated. Mistreatment in our ancestors’ time was put into legend form but now it has become reality in modern times” (R. Ketau, personal communication, February 27, 2015). The idea that moral lessons about abuse were embedded in traditional myths makes a potential analogy to the way indigenous PNG audiences might read the moral lessons embedded in film and reflect on their own behaviour accordingly. In this way, project participants expected audience members to learn from what the characters’ experience in the film.

In the introduction of this exegesis, as I framed my approach to social change, I claimed that communication is not for social change, as if social change needs an activator, but it is communication to engage with social change that is a process always in motion, usually beyond the control of any particular individual or group. On the other hand, these social change processes are something that each generation learns to navigate and contribute to in their own way, and there is always hope that the next generation will find solutions to pressing social and economic issues. In this project I have supported storytelling in a digital film medium that is growing in popularity in PNG via the village cinemas. Instead of just being passive recipients of foreign narratives, Aliko & Ambai, allowed young people to create their own narratives that reflect their experience in the world. And like a droplet of inspiration in a daily PNG Highlands afternoon shower, it falls into a groundwater flow of mythic elements that trickle into a creek of stories tumbling over and around rocky obstacles and is carried to a fast-flowing river of every-day lived experience that winds its way between sheer canyon walls of tradition towards the lowlands to join the wide slowly

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61 Olsem em bringim stori long pastaim blong wanpla character, then mipela lukim hau mistreatment I kam. Mistreatment, bifo long Tumbuna taim em kamap olsem legend but now it has become reality in modern times too.
meandering river of social change that empties into the ocean of shared global influences. That droplet then evaporates and condenses in the collective consciousness of the atmosphere, only to be drawn into precipitation that falls to the ground once more in the never-ending cycle of life and storytelling that make us human—always searching to find a better way to project a moving image onto the mystifying screen of our daily existence to create meaning.

**Next steps**

These days, development funding is rarely tied to the idea that creating awareness about a social issue will, in and of itself, lead to the alleviation of that problem, without addressing an entire range of other potential factors using a variety of strategies that involve engaging the local community that are affected. A film is usually just one element of a larger campaign but I have also tried to demonstrate, by focusing on the production process, that the “relevance” of a creative endeavour cannot be measured by the single criteria of its affect on an audience’s behaviour. Even multi-strand campaigns haven’t always been successful.

A primary concern involves economic sustainability for the film industry in Melanesia. In addition to continuing to develop the production processes explored in this project, economic sustainability depends on a combination of ongoing sources of funding and a distribution and screening process that would provide an economic return on investment. To explore how to encourage and support a viable industry for feature film production in the country and the wider Melanesian region, we could start with a focused and supported screening and distribution strategy for the *Aliko & Ambai* film.

Although this project was in collaboration with a range of participants that incorporated the village community at the production stage of the project, future endeavours might include the village community from the outset and focus on adapting filmmaking as a micro-enterprise that could be developed at the ‘grass-roots’ level. Community engagement can produce films that reflect local stories and then be distributed to village cinemas throughout the country. This will require follow-up practice and research to flesh out if there is an industry opportunity in PNG that can be compared to the development of Nollywood and other video-film industries in Africa.
Supporting media development and community engagement in the development of a film industry would test how far development concerns have really come from the emphasis on messaging that tends to dominate C4D and was also part of the dialogue for this project during screenplay development. Pragmatic approaches that can fully support the development of a film industry might take the emphasis off targeted messaging around social issues and allow communities to generate content that promotes a fuller and more creative expression of local values and entertainment interests. My pedagogical experience has been to create a framework that gives participants the space to master the technology that is required in digital media production and the creative freedom to explore content that is meaningful to them, their peers, and their community. In this project, where delivering social issue-focused content was part of our contract, I still tried to create a framework that opened up the possibilities for a range of storylines. I think this is important for creative expression that actually reflects the local aesthetic.

Additional creative practice-led research is necessary to explore entertainment endeavours that are culturally relevant to local communities and support the growth of a regional Melanesian film industry. Training strategies might focus on micro-budget productions, like this one, but also focus on distribution, screening, and return
on investment that can produce another film. Consistent support that recognises the entire informal media ecosystem and ongoing local production would be a truly innovative communication for development and social change initiative and a route to a local sustainable film industry.
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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Essay – Early New Guinea Cinema and Community Engagement
Section Removed from Chapter 2: Cinema and Social Change in Papua New Guinea

Early New Guinea Cinema and Community Engagement

To shoot on location in New Guinea, you must interact with a local indigenous community. Based on an analysis of early cinema narratives from the colonial era, I discuss how foreign filmmakers were interested in exotic locations and using the local population to play supporting roles as wild natives or loyal servants. By doing so they masked the fact that peaceful collaboration among equals is required to film in a local indigenous community and this was not represented on screen. This is an issue of representation. The history of cinema in PNG is a reminder that indigenous community engagement with film production in PNG dates back almost a hundred years to the earliest productions of narrative cinema in the silent movie era, facilitated by creative mavericks. It didn't just emerge out of mid-twentieth century colonial government interventions or the conscious use of participatory practices in the 1970s.

The Cinema of Colonial Adventure in New Guinea

Although there is a perception that the remote islands of Melanesia were pursuing their indigenous way of life, unconnected to the urban centres where the technical innovation of cinema was being explored, the cinematic record suggests that adventure explorers specifically sought out these islands with their cameras, exactly because they were remote from Western urban centres. It was their 'untouched' quality and the idea of first contact that made the cinematic images valuable and a 'curious spectacle' that audiences in urban centres sought out as entertainment. And this was not just a matter of creating an ethnographic record. As cinematic fashion turned to creating melodramas in the silent movie era, the Melanesian islands were employed as locations, and shooting on location in Melanesia required community engagement.

On his first journey to New Guinea, the Australian celebrity photographer, Frank Hurley, produced Pearls and Savages (Hurley, 1921), comprising travel footage and photographs of
the Torres Strait and Papua (Landman & Ballard, 2010). Early adventurers in Melanesia also included Americans, Martin and Osa Johnson, who departed on a nine month trip through the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and Solomon Islands in 1917 (Ahrens, 2014; Ahrens, Lindstrom, & Paisley, 2013), which resulted in the film, *Among the Cannibal Isles of the South Pacific* (Johnson, 1918). Another American, was able to persuade Solomon Islanders to re-enact a canoe journey and a war that erupted as a dispute over blackbirding (Salisbury, 1931). These adventure explorers tended to participate in duplicity, discovering indigenous people who were friendly, who wanted to trade, and were even willing to reenact tribal conflict or perform dances for the camera. But when the adventurers returned to the audiences of their own culture they invariably presented these images as being obtained by putting their own lives in danger as they documented ‘cannibals’ and 'headhunters' performing primitive rituals (Ahrens, 2014; Ahrens et al., 2013; Lindstrom, 2016), even if these customs were no longer practiced by local populations.

Hurley turned to the idea of creating feature film melodramas, which resulted in *The Hound of the Deep* (Hurley, 1926a) shot in the Torres Strait Islands and *Jungle Woman* (Hurley, 1926b), shot in Merauke, Dutch New Guinea (Pike & Cooper, 1980). Originally, Hurley had wanted to film in Papua with people he had encountered on his first journey but since his movie plans violated almost all of the stipulations of the Australian administration concerning 'Picture Shows', he opted to film in Dutch New Guinea. In spite of the effort taken to get to a remote location, apparently the indigenous aesthetic did not always match the mood or effect Hurley wanted to create. In *Jungle Woman*, when the white men are captured and tied up the natives do a dance around the fire that is uncharacteristic of

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62 Hurley's remarkable footage documented a range of activities that made up the daily life of indigenous communities along the Papuan coast and continues to stand as a remarkable achievement in early cinematography, in spite of the dubious ways it was packaged, framed and marketed to audiences.

63 Captain Edward Salisbury, produced *Gow the Killer* (Salisbury, 1931). The resulting drama is narrated by Salisbury, an unreliable narrator to say the least.

64 Mayer describes these efforts as a conflation of ethnography and fiction that aspire to ‘realism’ within “the context of overt romanticization” (Mawyer, 1998, p. 460).

65 Hurley's communication with Hubert Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, caused him to change his mind. This involved Statuary Rule No. 9 created in 1918 concerning Picture Shows. This stipulated that the “native” had to obtain permission from a Resident Magistrate to be photographed and the Resident Magistrate was not to give permission if the scenes “suggest anything of a sexual nature … bring a white woman into close contact with natives, though there may be no sexual suggestion … show an attack by natives upon Europeans, or by Europeans upon natives, or by natives upon other natives … show any criminal action or breach of the law whatever, either by natives or others” (Landman, 2006, p. 65).
Melanesian performance aesthetic. Hurley cuts the footage to make it appear more frenzied and shows the rapid beating of something that looks like a West African *djembe* to create the effect.

In *Jungle Woman* there are characters, storylines and turning points that reoccur through an entire oeuvre of films\(^{66}\) that are set in New Guinea in collaboration with local indigenous communities. These similarities include male bonding between two adventuring colonial buddies in a love triangle with a woman, sometimes complicated by an 'island girl' of questionable ethnicity, while in search of pearls, gold or oil, that takes them into uncharted territory, an encounter with hostile natives with the implicit or explicit implication that it is a first contact situation, many times involving an encounter with a witch doctor, while demonstrating the “white man’s magic” of medicine (usually curing malaria), which saves an indigenous life that redeems the colonial adventurer in some way or another.

Indigenous people are represented as faithful servants, guides, native police, and boat drivers on the one hand or depicted as wild hostile tribes, on the other. Pearling had taken place in the islands since the 19th century but gold was discovered at Koranga Creek in the Morose region of New Guinea in 1910 and the gold rush to the area started in the early 20s and gained steam in 1926 when the Upper Edie Creek was discovered to have rich alluvial gold deposits (Nelson, 2016). Pearling and later gold prospecting caught the imagination of filmmakers. The ‘savage natives’ trope reflects accounts in the historical record that young Australian men, traipsing across indigenous land in search of gold did lead to violent encounters and there were deaths on both sides (Halvaksz, 2007). However, in the fictional cinema accounts, the characters that get killed are primarily local native extras.

This misrepresentation of violence worked both ways. In later films, the Australian administration demanded that no violence against local inhabitants be portrayed on screen as part of the permission for filming (Landman, 2006). In *Walk Into Paradise* (Robinson & Pagliero, 1956) Chips Rafferty, playing the patrol office role McAllister, who shows no fear when warriors rise stealthily out of the *kunai*\(^{67}\) with bows and arrows. He explains why they are there and asks them to lower their weapons. The warriors respond and the entire


\(^{67}\) A wide-bladed grass used to thatch grooves that grows commonly in PNG Highlands valleys.
encounter concludes without violence. Even in a later scene, in open conflict, when the patrol is dodging arrows, they refuse to shoot back directly but only shoot warning shots. However, this is where fiction parts from the historical record. By Mic and Danny Leahy's own accounts, the first patrol into the highlands were peaceful because the indigenous inhabitants were dumbstruck by the appearance of white people and their Melanesian carriers, many times assuming they were their own ancestors returned from the dead. But subsequent visits, when initial shock had worn off and they were aware that the patrols carried goods they were interested in - especially the highly coveted cowrie shells, and steel axes and knives - led to misunderstandings on both sides, many times ending in violent encounters where patrolling Australians shot and killed local inhabitants (Connelly & Anderson, 1987).

My argument is that indigenous communities are consistently portrayed as hostile in a 'historical setting,' when clearly, the filmmakers had to befriend the local community and have working diplomatic relationships with them to make a film. The local communities would have engaged in their depictions of 'savage warriors' in full regalia in good humour, using spears, bows and arrows, without actually harming anyone. In the fiction films made in Melanesia from the 1920s through the 1950s, the actual relationship the colonial filmmakers were experiencing with the Melanesian communities they were 'collaborating with' was absent from depiction on the screen and was not part of the fictional narrative filmmakers were interested in telling.

**Going Native**

In the 1970s, foreign filmmakers experimented with new ways to interact with local communities, many times 'going native' as a common motif. I argue that there is some improvement in the representation of local indigenous cultures but it still only provides a backdrop for a narrative that foregrounds foreign protagonists. *La Valee* (Schroeder, 1972) in some ways took its lead from *Walk Into Paradise* (Robinson & Pagliero, 1956) but fifteen years later the journey is about a self-absorbed generation in the uncharted New Guinea geography, a wandering band of hippies exploring 'free love' and an escape from Western bourgeois restrictions in search of a valley paradise. There are many improbabilities, in the story, including the fact that the group wanders through an unpopulated Highlands landscape without a local guide since, in reality, they would have been surrounded by hundreds of local people extremely curious as to why this band of white people were crossing their land.
Encounters with the local highlanders is restricted to several crucial scenes and the film implies that they are making first contact. They temporarily settle with the local people and arrangements are made for a celebration and pig feast. The young French boy dons local attire, similar to his local age group and learns how to use a bow and arrow while his parents also 'go native' by being painted and traditionally dressed. They dance and eat together with the local community. The Hagen men make speeches about the fact that this is the first time white people have participated in their festivities. Breaking the fourth wall, the orator says in his own language, “I hope this picture is seen throughout the world and they will know we exist.” This demonstrates that an indigenous man without a lot of experience with media production is still aware of the power of cinema. He is aware that it provides an unusual platform that will connect his oration with a larger audience in the world beyond his valley. And for him, creating awareness about the existence of indigenous people still participating in a traditional way of life is important. So Schroeder, the director, accomplishes several things here. In spite of the artifice of much of the film, in these scenes, he does capture the relationship between the cast and the local community in a way the earlier colonial films intentionally avoided. And he does allow, for a brief moment, an insight into what the local participant thinks of the interaction.

In the Australian film, *In a Savage Land* (Bennett, 1999), the primary contact between the anthropologists, Evelyn and Phillip Spence, and the local inhabitants of the village are two young people, a boy and a girl, who speak English and serve as field interpreters. The Australian expats become fully emerged in the local culture and yet we learn virtually nothing about the inner lives of the indigenous characters that surround them. The drama of Evelyn and her husband and her lover and even the minor expat characters are more clearly delineated than a single indigenous character. Evelyn participates in the local mourning custom in the culminating scene of the film and it is a way of involving the audience emotionally with aspects of indigenous culture without foregrounding the Melanesian characters themselves. The audience, through the white protagonist, connects emotionally to an indigenous ritual. It’s an exercise in ‘going native’ but it is fleeting. And the protagonists has the freedom to move on, to go home, to move back into their own cultural frame of reference that they share with their audience.

Through the cinema of colonial adventure, to the era of 'going native,' and the exploration of the inner lives of Melanesians, I have started to trace the representation of Melanesians
onscreen. I have asked how that has reflected the local collaboration required of filmmaking. The film is an artefact of that collaboration and, regardless of the faithful or errant representation of the communities in the actual narrative on the screen—the fact that it exists is testament to the goodwill of the local community. In many ways, the history of cinema in Melanesia is one that many people might prefer to ignore. Very few contemporary Papua New Guineans would even be aware of these films.

However, Andrew Pike (1981) writes about a program of screenings in 1980 in Port Moresby of films from the first half of the 20th century. They included Frank Hurley's films and Walk into Paradise. He writes that the audience response to the films were remarkable. Reactions were vocal and positive. “The racist elements in the commentaries of most of the films were greeted with laughter and sometimes sarcastic cheers, and open hostility was reserved for scenes showing the exploitation by Australia of PNG's resources and labour” (Pike, 1981, p. 21). According to Pike, the films demonstrated a demand by Papua New Guineans to see their own history and culture on the screen. “It is only to be regretted that it has taken over 50 years for the film ever to be shown to the audience for whom it carries most significance(Pike, 1981, p. 21). It became clear that screening the films gave local people a chance to understand the scale of misrepresentation perpetrated by cinema in the hands of foreigners.

That protagonists of European origin have spent many self-centred fictional hours in an imaginary Melanesia without sharing the spotlight is problematic, but also a stark metaphor for colonialism and the kinds of community engagement and misrepresentation it propagated. It was also a call to action that reflects what Edward Said writes about in Orientalism, when he talks about the invention of "collective identities for large numbers of individuals who are actually quite diverse”(1979/2003, p. xxii). Said wrote that this must be opposed. That Papua New Guineans found a way to start representing themselves and their own narrative cinematic preoccupations, with the support of mentors willing to create another model for collaboration, participation and community engagement in feature film production, is the topic of subsequent sections.

**Colonial Documentary**

The documentaries produced about the Australian Territory during the colonial era from the 1940s through the early 1970s highlighted the achievements of the Australian colonial administration but were focused around how the administration was successfully 'guiding’ the
local population in its 'development' efforts. I argue that understanding the educational
documentary aesthetic of this era that featured the overpowering pedantic voice of the
narrator provides us with an insight into colonial power dynamics. In 1920, the Australian
Government was given a mandate by the League of Nations "to prepare the peoples of New
Guinea to step into the 20th Century" (National Film and Sound Archive of Australia, 2011).
Native Earth (Heyer, 1946) frames how Australia was fulfilling its responsibilities. This
black and white 13-minute documentary includes how the Government encouraged villagers
to embrace literacy and provided training for modern methods of agriculture and fishing in
anticipation of self-government (2011). This is the beginning of the official cinematic
discourse around development in the territories and Australia’s colonial role in that
development. When the Australian government changed in the mid-1950s an estimated 40
films were made from 1956 to 1966 by the Commonwealth Film Unit 68 (CFU) that created
cinematic support for the policy of the new administration and its development practices
(Landman, 2010). These early government films in the territory of Papua and New Guinea
were “largely derived from the institutional and aesthetic models of the British documentary
movement as practiced in Australia”(2010, p. 71). These films involved “summarising
colonial history in the familiar didactically voiced commentary which is the most
characteristic trait of this style of educational film-making” (2010, p. 72). Most of these films
were propaganda films explaining Australia’s colonial endeavour to its own citizens and the
wider world. But some of the films were meant as educational films for the local population,
instructing colonial subjects in best practices for 'development.'

Cinema was also viewed as an “ideal communication medium” in light of PNG’s high rate of
illiteracy (McLaren, 2003, p. 83). The Australian administration created a method of
showing educational films to the audiences in the territories through mobile cinema to
instruct the local ‘native’ population, taking its cue from the British colonial media practices
pioneered in other parts of the world like India and Nigeria (Larkin, 2008). These films were
considered ‘training films,’ which "are designed to help the people to change their way of
life, take up new practices in agriculture, and house design, road building, and in village
sanitation" (Williams & Morris, 1962). The narration for these films were produced in
English, in Tok Pisin 69, and in Police Motu. If the local populations didn’t speak one of these

68 Paul Hasluck was the Minister for Territories and Maslyn Williams was producer. CFU
was later known as Film Australia, now Screen Australia (Landman, 2010).
69 Referred to as Pidgin English in the film.
languages, "Mobile Cinema units, provided the opportunity for a commentary to be made on the spot in the local language (1962). In a film called Bridging the Gap (Williams & Morris, 1962) that documents the training of young Australian employees being sent to work in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, an instructor claims that films were made for a local ‘native’ audience as a teaching aid because they were more time and cost effective (Williams & Morris, 1962).

An early example of working with local actors with a fictional narrative, Make Good Copra (Morris, 1960) and The Luluai’s Dream (Howe, 1964) were produced to instruct a local audience in development matters and staged as a kind of morality play. They also may have involved some creative collaboration (Foster, 2001; Harris, 1983). It is the story of two men: Tengen, a luluai, and John, an agricultural field officer. John goes on a long journey to Tengen’s village and along the way, when an accidental fire almost consumes his cash, teaches him an important lesson about why it’s important to open a bank account. But the heavy-handed ‘voice of God’ pedantic narration certainly gets in the way of the drama. It is also a window into the government’s paternalistic attitudes towards development. The narration was deployed as an effort at ‘serious education’ in direct opposition to the style employed by Hollywood entertainment. However, the stifling aspect of the exposition leaves no room for alternate readings and it doesn't allow people to speak for themselves. But viewing these documentaries does gives us a better appreciation for the cinematic practices that eventually developed in opposition to this aesthetic that facilitated local voices telling their own stories.

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70 The Tok Pisin name for the leader in a community that was appointed government representative in colonial times.

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Appendix 2 – Table – 100 years of New Guinea Cinema

An overview of fictional cinematic narratives over the last 100 years that are shot on location in New Guinea and its islands\(^{71}\), or that focus on New Guinea as its subject, numbers about 45 films and can be grouped into about six different categories, the first five categories being produced and directed by foreign filmmakers.

1. Colonial adventure films shot on location;\(^{72}\)

2. Films about World War II,\(^{73}\) although many more news reels and documentaries were made about this subject;

3. Films that were not shot on location in PNG but created an imaginary Melanesia, many times employing shocking stereotypes for exploitation, titillation, and comedy;\(^{74}\)

4. Films that attempted to actually engage local Papua New Guinea communities and involve them in some way, but still primary focused on European main characters\(^{75}\) (some of them experimenting with ‘going native’);

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\(^{71}\) Includes the country of Papua New Guinea, the Papua and West Papua provinces of Indonesia, and the Torres Strait Islands of Queensland, Australia (the latter being included because of the significance of the early films shot there)

\(^{72}\) There were 7 colonial adventure films beginning with the production of *Australia’s Own* (Ward, 1918), the first fictional film produced in New Guinea in the silent movie era on Yule Island and ending with the Chips Rafferty production of *Walk into Paradise* (Robinson & Pagliero, 1956) shot in Goroka, Madang and the Sepik.

\(^{73}\) Four feature films that explore World War II fought in New Guinea from *The Rats of Tobruk* (Chauvel, 1944) to *Sisters of War* (Maher, 2010)

\(^{74}\) Seven films starting with *The Devil's Playground* (Bindley, 1928) that aimed to recreate the Trobriand Islands in Sydney and *Krippendorf's Tribe* (Holland, 1998) that tried to recreate the highlands of PNG in Hawaii.
5. Films that foregrounded Melanesian actors and focused on their inner lives⁷⁶;

6. Films that could be considered national Papua New Guinean cinema, which began, arguably, with *The Painted Men* (Jeffrey, 1954), the first film with an all Papua New Guinean cast, through to the latest PNG film, *Grace* (Koima, 2014), produced and directed by McPolly Koima.

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⁷⁵ These films include the Untied States-produced *Peace Child* (Forsberg, 1972) shot in Papua, Indonesia and the French *La Vallee* (Schroeder, 1972) where the characters experiment with ‘going native.’ And more recently produced was *Jungle Child* (Richter, 2011), the story of a young German girl growing up in Papua, Indonesia.

⁷⁶ Starting with *Birdman-Tale (Aku ingin menciummu sekali saja)* (Nugroho, 2003) set in the city of Jayapura, in Papua, Indonesia and more recently, the New Zealand production of, *Mr. Pip* (Adamson, 2013), shot in Bougainville, PNG.
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<th>#</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Australia's Own</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Yule Island, Port Moresby</td>
<td>Drama - silent</td>
<td>Jack Ward</td>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>Jungle Woman</td>
<td>Australia, UK</td>
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<td>Drama - silent</td>
<td>Frank Hurley</td>
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<td>The Hound of the Deep</td>
<td>Australia, UK</td>
<td>Thursday Island, Torres Strait</td>
<td>Drama - silent</td>
<td>Frank Hurley</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>The Adorable Outcast</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Sydney recreating Trobriands</td>
<td>Drama - silent</td>
<td>Victor Bindley</td>
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<td>1928</td>
<td>The Devil's Playground</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Sydney with back-projection of Torres Strait Islands</td>
<td>Drama - silent</td>
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<td>The Unsleeping Eye</td>
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<td>Captain Edward Salisbury</td>
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<td>Sydney with back-projection of Torres Strait Islands</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>The Rats of Tobruk</td>
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<td>New Guinea sequences shot on Lamington Plateau in Queensland</td>
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<td>1954</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Location/Region</td>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>Director</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Sanctum</td>
<td>US/Australia</td>
<td>Cave Of The Swallows, San Luis Potosi, Mexico &amp; Queensland, Australia</td>
<td>Drama - Action/Adventure</td>
<td>Alister Grierson</td>
<td>Andrew Wight</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Painim Aut</td>
<td>PNG</td>
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<td>Drama</td>
<td>Platon Theodoris</td>
<td>Verena Thomas</td>
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<td>Bai Mi Sanap Strong</td>
<td>PNG</td>
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<td>Drama</td>
<td>Matupit Darius</td>
<td>M. Darius &amp; N. Langdom</td>
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<td>2013</td>
<td>Mr Pip</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Bouganville</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>Andrew Adamson</td>
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<td>2014</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>PNG</td>
<td></td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>McPolly Koima</td>
<td>McPolly Koima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Filmography**


Bindley, V. (Producer) & Bindley, V. (Director). (1928). *The Devil's Playground* [Silent Film]. Australia: Fineart Films Productions


Wiseman, A. (Producer) & Maher, B. (Director). (2010). *Sisters of War* [Motion Picture]. Australia: AB


Schroeder, B. (Producer) & Schroeder, B. (Director). (1972). *La Vallee* [Motion Picture]. France: Imperia Films

Ward, J.E. (Producer) & Ward, J. (Director). (1918). *Australia’s Own* [Silent Film]. Australia
Appendix 3 – Ethics Approval

Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)
Research and Innovation office
NHMRC Code: EC00237

Notice of Approval

Date: 6 May 2014
Project number: 04/14
Project title: Film Production and Distribution in Papua New Guinea as Communication for Social Change
Risk classification: More than low risk
Investigator: A/Prof Heather Horst
Approved: From 6 May 2014 To 30 June 2017

Terms of approval:
1. Responsibilities of Investigator
   It is the responsibility of the above investigator to ensure that all other investigators and staff on a project are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure that the project is conducted as approved by HREC. Approval is only valid whilst investigator holds a position at RMIT University.

2. Amendments
   Approval must be sought from HREC to amend any aspect of a project including approved documents. To apply for an amendment use the request for amendment form, which is available on the HREC website and submitted to the HREC secretary. Amendments must not be implemented without first gaining approval from HREC.

3. Adverse events
   You should notify HREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.

4. Plain Language Statement (PLS)
   The PLS and any other material used to recruit and inform participants of the project must include the RMIT university logo. The PLS must contain a complaints clause including the above project number.

5. Annual reports
   Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an annual report.

6. Final report
   A final report must be provided at the conclusion of the project. HREC must be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

7. Monitoring
   Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by HREC at any time.

8. Retention and storage of data
   The investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

9. Special conditions of approval
   Project is approved subject to completion of ‘trial’ screenings of film. Trial screenings are to be conducted in local areas and to be attended by Mr Mark Eby (research candidate) and Dr Verena Thomas (co-investigator, Centre for Social and Creative Media, University of Goroka). Following completion of trial screenings a report is to be forwarded to the HREC, where ongoing approval for the project will be considered.

In any future correspondence please quote the project number and project title above.

A/Prof Barbara Polus
Chairperson
RMIT HREC

K/IR and I/Research Office/Governance/RMIT Ethics/HREC/Applications database/2014/04-14/04-14 notice of approval.doc

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Appendix 4 – Participant Information Form

CSCM, University of Goroka
RMIT University School of Media and Communication

Invitation to Participate in a Research Project
(Askim b’long helpim mipela long Research Project)

TO BE KEPT BY PARTICIPANT
(Dispeka em b’long yu yet ken holim)

Title of the study:
(Nern)
Love and Violence: A Case Study of Film Production and Distribution in Papua New Guinea
(Pasin b’long Laikim na Pait; Pasim aut bilong Wokim Pikaa na Som long CD Haus long PNG)

Researcher Details:
(Nem na Namba b’long ol research iain)
Lead Researcher: Mark Eby
PhD Candidate, School of Media and Communication, RMIT University, Australia
Lecturer, Centre for Social and Creative Media, University of Goroka, Papua New Guinea.
Email Contact: ebym@uag.ac.pg Phone Contact: (675) 531-1858

PhD Supervisors: Associate Professor Heather Horst, heather.horst@rmit.edu.au
Professor Jo Tacchi, jo.tacchi@rmit.edu.au
Dr. Verena Thomas, verena.thomas@uts.edu.au

Invitation:
(Tok Save)

Dear ______________________

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by RMIT University, Melbourne and the Centre for Social and Creative Media at the University of Goroka. Please read this sheet carefully and be confident that you understand its contents before deciding whether to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please ask Mr Mark Eby or one of the investigators.

Tok Pisin
Mipela laik askim yu long wok wataim mipela long research project b’long ol iain b’long RMIT University na Centre for Social and Creative Media long University of Goroka. Kithm gut dispeka tok save na supas yu wanelong oligeta toktok yu ken wok wantaipai mipela. Supas yu gut sampeia askim, yu ken toktok wantaipai wanpeia researcher.

Who is involved in this research project? Why is it being conducted?
(Husat i wokim dispeia research? b’long wanem ol wokim?)

- Mark Eby, who is a PhD Candidate at RMIT University and a filmmaker, researcher and lecturer at the Centre for Social and Creative Media, will conduct the research. Associate Professor Horst and Professor Tacchi are his RMIT PhD supervisors and Dr. Thomas is his UOG supervisor.
- This research is being conducted to obtain a PhD in Communication Studies from RMIT University and an BA Honors degree in Communication and Social Change at the University of Goroka.
- The project has been approved by the RMIT University Human Research Ethics Committee and the University of Goroka Research Ethics Committee.
This study is funded by a PACMAS Innovation Grant and the Australian Research Council.

The findings may also be included in the findings of the Mobilising Media for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region ARC Linkage project.

Tok Piksa

- Mark Eby em i save wokim piksa, wokim research, na stap lecturer long Centre for Social and Creative Media. Em bai stap bosman b’long dispiel wok. Dr. Horst na Professor Tacchi ol i RMIT bosmeri b’long PhD wok. na Dr. Thomas em i UOG bosmeri b’long PhD wok.
- Dipela research tupela bai wokim long klim PhD long Communication Studies long RMIT na BA Honors degree In Communication and Social Change long UOG.
- Ol lain b’long RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee na University of Goroka Research Ethics Committee ol i tak orait long dispiel wok.
- PACMAS Innovation Grant i bin givim mani long mekim dispiela wok.
- Painim ou i kampal long dispiel wok bai ga insai long ripot long wampeka project ol i koli im Mobilising Media for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region ARC Linkage project.

Why have you been approached?
(B’long wanem mipele aikim yu?)
[Note: The appropriate reason will be chosen from this list for different stages of the project and the other activities will be deleted if not applicable]

Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop
You have been chosen because of the short script you wrote in your undergraduate screenwriting course. Because of the narrative content and the quality of your writing you are being asked to participate in the screenwriting process for a feature film and to be a creative collaborative participant in a research project.

Phase 2 – Film Production
You have been chosen as an actor or as a member of the production crew because you have demonstrated interest and ability for that specific role. You have also been chosen to take part in producing a film as a collaborative participant in a research project. In addition, you may be asked to participate in an interview to reflect on the production process. The interview is optional and you may freely choose to opt in or out of the reflective process that will provide additional data for research purposes.

Phase 3 – DVD Screenings and Distribution
Option 1. You have been selected as a student research assistant to conduct screenings, facilitate community feedback discussions, and conduct individual audience surveys. In addition, you may be asked to participate in an interview to reflect on the screening and distribution process. The interview is optional and you may freely choose to opt in or out of the reflective process that will provide additional data for research purposes.

Option 2. You have volunteered from the screening audience to participate in a group discussion and fill out an evaluation form.

Option 3. You have been selected as one of the business men in DVD production and distribution in the highlands of PNG for an interview.

Tok Piksa
Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop
No need for translation. All writers will be fluent in written and spoken English.

Phase 2 – Wokim Piksa
Mi askim yu long stap wanwok long dispela piksa mipela laik wokim na dispela research project. Sapos yu stap wanwok, mi bai gat sampela askim tu long wok b’long yu na em bai helpim mi long painim aut mi bai mekim. Sapos yu laik wok long piksa tasol na yu les long bekim askim, em orait tu.

**Phase 3 – DVD Distribution**

Option 1. No need for translation. All distributors will be fluent in written and spoken English.

Option 2. Yu bin lukim piksa na yu tok orait long bekim askim long tingling b’long yu yet. Yu laikim wanem samting, O yu gat sampela toktok long mekim mipela laik harim.

Option 3. No Need for translation.

**What is the project about? What are the questions being addressed?**

*(Em wanem kain wok? Em wanem kain painim aut?)*

The objective of this project is to produce a low-budget feature film written by young Papua New Guinea (PNG) screenwriters based on their experiences of love and gender-based violence. The feature film will be screened and distributed through village cinemas. The PhD exegesis will reflect on the process of facilitation and ask questions about the sustainability (long term impact) of the production and distribution model that will be created.

**Tok Pisin**

Dispela wok em bilong helpim ol yangpeia lain b’long PNG long wokim piksa. Dispela stori em b’long painim laikim b’long ol yangpeia, na painim b’long kros is stap namel long ol tulepa marit. Mipela wokim piksa pinis mipela bai soim long ol haus piksa. Mipela mekim dispela wok pinis, mi bai raflim ipot na skelim ose ol man b’long ples i wanbel long dispela piksa or nogat. Na sapos ol yangpeia i gat laik long mekim piksa gen em i gat gutpela rot long mekim o nogat.

**Communication for Development Issue:**

*(Tok save b’long halavim ol manmeri I bagarap)*

Gender-based violence and related health concerns have been a prominent concern in Melanesia. Particularly affected are young people due to issues such as the breakdown of family relationships, urbanisation, unemployment and lack of appropriate awareness and information dissemination around issues affecting youth today. The project seeks to increase awareness and stimulate discussion among youth in Melanesia about these issues. An entertainment model will be used to produce a film based on narratives created by young people and that will be distributed by young people to their own communities.

**Tok Pisin**

Tok pait na tok kros i stap namel long tulepa marit em i bikpela hevi long PNG na ol narapela aian kantri b’long Melanesia. Ol yangpeia i gat bel hevi taim mamanpapa b’long ol kros na femili I bagarap. Narapela hevi i stap long settlament long laun, man i no gat wok, na no gat gutpela tok save long sindaun lisi na stap wan bel. Dispela piksa em bilong karim tok save I go long ol manmeri i gat hevi na femili laif bilong ol I bagarap. Mipela laik wokim dispela piksa na salim i go out long ol as ples laim na givim gutpela tok save long ol.

**If I agree to participate, what will I be required to do?**

*(Sapos mi tok orait, me bai mek wanem?)*

[Note: The appropriate participant activity will be chosen from this list for different stages of the project and the other activities will be deleted if not applicable]

**Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop**
You will read and comment on the short screenplays produced by other participants. This is a chance to get to know each other as creative writers. In addition, you will be asked to explore the theme of love and gender-based violence based on your own experiences or those of your friends and family. The outcome of the workshop will be an outline for a feature length treatment that draws from characters and narratives from your scripts and additional characters and narratives that have emerged out of our discussions. **Workshop sessions may be audio recorded and photographed.** Time commitment will be 5 days.

**Phase 2 – Film Production**

As an actor you will be asked to learn your lines and come to rehearsal and shooting days based on the shooting schedule you will receive at the beginning of the production. You will work in front of the video camera and you will be recorded. The character you will portray will be an integral part of the narrative that will be edited in post production. You will sign two release forms: a participant information consent form (PICF) and a model information consent form (MICF). As a member of the crew you will be asked to work based on the shooting schedule you will receive at the beginning of the production. In addition, actors and crew members may be asked to participate in an interview to reflect on the production process. Participation in the interview is unpaid and completely voluntary. **The film production and interview may be photographed, videotaped and audio recorded.** Time commitment for film production may be up to five weeks. The interview will be about an hour.

**Phase 3 – DVD Screening and Distribution**

**Option 1.** As a research assistant you will be trained in a workshop to distribute DVDs, conduct screenings, facilitate discussion and hand out and collect feedback surveys. You may also be asked to participate in an individual interview about your screening and distribution experience. Participation in the interview is unpaid and completely voluntary. **Training workshops, screenings and discussions may be videotaped, photographed and audio recorded.** Time commitment will be 4 hours for the workshop and 3 to 5 evenings for screenings plus travel time.

**Option 2.** You have volunteered from the screening audience to participate in a group discussion and fill out an evaluation form that will ask some personal questions and then ask you to respond to some questions about the film you have just watched. **Screening discussions may be videotaped, photographed and audio recorded.** Time commitment will be less than an hour.

**Option 3.** You have agreed to participate in an interview about your role in DVD production and distribution in Papua New Guinea. **The interview may be audio recorded.** Time commitment will be less than an hour.

**Tok Pisin**

**Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop**

No need for translation.

**Phase 2 – Wokim Piksa**

Sapos yu wok osem actor insait long piksa yu mas ianim gut ol totok long script. Yu mas lukim gut program b’long piksa na wanem de nem bilong yu stap long program yu mas kam wok long dispela de. Video kamera bai rekordim totok bilong yu na bhain ol bai cutim piksa na wokim stori na yu bai stap insait long dispela stori. Supos yu sup wokman or wokmeri bilong wokim piksa em dispela sem totok bilong program yu mas bhainim tu. Narapela samting, taim yu pinim wok, mi bai askim supos em i oralt long wokim interview wantaim yu. Mi gat sampela askim long dispela work mipela bin mekim. Sapos yu les long bekim dispela askim, em i oralt tu. Taim yu wok long piksa na wokim interview ol bai kisim video na kisim piksa na wokim audio recording. Taim bilong wok inap long falvpeia wik samting tasol interview em i nanap winim wanpela hour.
Phase 3 – DVD Distribution
Option 1. No need for translation.
Option 2.
Option 3. No Need for translation.

What are the possible risks or disadvantages?
(Yu bal kisim sampaia bagarap long dispela wok a noga?)
[Note: The appropriate risk and disadvantage will be chosen from this list for different stages of the project and the other activities will be deleted if not applicable]

Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop
As the writer’s workshop deals with areas of experience that can be emotionally charged, there may be some issues raised in the discussions that will upset you. Counselling will be available free of charge at the University of Goroka to any participant who wants or needs counselling as a result of their participation in the workshop (Director of Counselling at UOG is Ms Monika Pusai). You can suspend or end your involvement in the workshop at any time if you wish. Previous study has shown that most research of this kind has a positive impact on participants as they have a chance to tell stories they may not otherwise be able to voice.

Phase 2 – Film Production
As a participant in the film production as an actor or member of the crew there will be occasions when we will be shooting in a public location. Because shooting a film is a rare event in Goroka, this activity may draw a large crowd, which may be uncomfortable for you as a participant. In regards to your interview about the production process, there are no perceived risks outside your normal day-to-day activities.

Phase 3 – DVD Screening and Distribution
Option 1. As a research assistant you will be asked to screen films at CD houses in your home area. Because CD houses are public places that may have patrons who are drinking, it is advised that you work in pairs. If you are uncomfortable dealing with this kind of crowd you should reconsider taking the job. In regards to your interview about the screening process, there are no perceived risks outside your normal day-to-day activities.

Option 2. As a volunteer from the screening audience to participate in a group discussion and fill out an evaluation form. There are no perceived risks outside your normal day-to-day activities and your identity will not be revealed.

Option 3. As a participant in an interview about your role in DVD production and distribution in Papua New Guinea. There are no perceived risks outside your normal day-to-day activities.

Tak Pisin
Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop
No need for translation.

Phase 2 – Wokim Pika
Supsa yu stop wokman o wokmeri long piksa, sampaia taim plant manmeri bal bung na lukiuk long wok bilong miplea, bilong waneni I no gat plant man wokim piksa long Goroka. Sapos yu les long dispela, mo beta yu palim narapela wok. Long wok interview, I no gat wanpela bagarap I kam long mekim dispela.
Phase 3 – DVD Screening and Distribution

Option 1. No need for translation.

Option 2. Supos yu bekim askim long piksa yu bin lukim. I no gat wanpela bagarap I kam long mekim dispela.

Option 3. No need for translation.

What are the benefits associated with participation?
(Note: The appropriate information for participants will be chosen from this list for different stages of the project and the other information will be deleted if not applicable)

Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop
As a participant in the writers’ workshop all travel expenses, meals and accommodation (if necessary) will be provided during the workshop and you will be given a per diem as outlined in the accompanying terms of reference. You will be credited as one of the writers of the film.

Phase 2 – Film Production
As a member of the production crew or as an actor, your meals will be provided and you will be paid as outlined in the accompanying terms of reference. Participating in an interview for research purposes about the process is voluntary and unpaid. You be credited in the film and the hands-on experience will enhance your training in the area of film production.

Phase 3 – DVD Screening and Distribution
Option 1. As a student researcher your travel and per diems will be paid as outlined in the accompanying terms of reference. Participating in an interview for research purposes about the process is voluntary and unpaid. You will gain valuable experience as a researcher and will be provided with a reference from the CSCM when you have completed your work.

Option 2. As an audience member voluntarily willing to fill out an individual evaluation form we thank you for your participation. Your feedback is valuable to us and we hope that your assessment will improve future productions. We cannot guarantee or promise that you will personally receive any benefits from this study.

Option 3. As an interview participant about DVD distribution in PNG, the information you provide will help enhance the public understanding of this business. We cannot guarantee or promise that you will personally receive any benefits from this study.

Tok Pisin

Phase 1 – Writer’s Workshop
No need for translation.

Phase 2 – Wokim Piksa
Yu irap wokman o wokmeri long wokim piksa mirina bai givim koikai long yu na pe bilong yu bai bimanim terms of reference. Supos yu bekim askim long interview long wok biloing yu long dispela piksa. em i narapela liklik wok na nagat pe long dispela interview. Nem bilong yu bai stap inait long piksa mirina bai wokim.

Phase 3 – DVD Screening and Distribution
Option 1. No need for translation.
Option 2. Supos yu lukim piksa bilong mipela na bekim askim mipela laik tok tenkyu tu long dispela. Em i no gat pe tasol bekim bilong yu bai helpim mipela wokim gutpela piksa long bihaim taim.

Option 3. No need for translation.

What will happen to the film production and the information I provide? (Wanem samling bai kamap long dispela piksa na toktok mi bai mekim?)

Any information found in this project will identify you will not be made public unless you give your permission. It will only be made public if you give your consent. In case you do not agree to be identified, your name and any identifying details will be removed from field notes and transcripts before analysis and publication. If you agree by signing the Consent Form, Mark Eby will submit the results as part of a PhD Project and Exegesis. The Exegesis and will be stored and available to the public in the RMIT online repository. The film will be produced and distributed on DVD, which will be available to the general public. Excerpts may be uploaded to social media. This project is funded by a Pacific Media Assistance Program (PACMAS) Innovation Grant and the results will be published in a report that will be made available to the public on their website. The findings may also contribute to the Mobilising Media for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region Australian Research Council Linkage project. The results may also be presented at conferences and may be referenced in future publications. Original materials will be stored for five years safely at RMIT University and only accessed by the core researchers of the project.

Nem bilong yu bai stap long dispela painim aut supos yu tok orait. Supos yu les long nem bilong yu I stap long dispel painim aut, mi bai rausim nem bilong yu long ofeita pepa. Supos yu tok orait na putim nem bilong yu long dispel pepa, Mark Eby bai givim dispela painim aut long RMIT University na kisim PhD degree. Mipela bai wokim DVD long dispela piksa na planti manmeri bai lukim. Mori bilong dispel project I kam long Pacific Media Assistance Program (PACMAS) Innovation Grant na ripot bai stap long website bilong ol. Dispela painim aut bai go insalt long wanpela project ol kollim Mobilising Media for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region ARC Linkage project. Painim aut bai kamap long sampela conference o symposium o sampela buk. Ol dispel painim aut bai stap long faliwela yia long RMIT University na i no gat narapela outsalt man bil kisim.

Please Note:
A separate model release will be signed by actors in front of the camera.

What are my rights as a participant? (Supos mi tok orait long dispel, mi gat wanem rait?)

- The right to withdraw from participation at any time (this does not apply to actors in the film who will sign a separate release form)
- The right to request that any recording cease
- The right to have any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed, provided it can be reliably identified, and provided that so doing does not increase the risk for the participant.
- The right to be de-identified in any photographs intended for public publication, before the point of publication.
- The right to have any questions answered at any time.

Tok Pisin
- Ralt long tok nagat (supos yu act insalt long piksa yu bai stap ananit long narapela la)
- Ralt long tok nagat long video na audio i kisim nek bilong mi
- Ralt long rausim ol painim aut i no go insalt long pepa yet, supos em i no barapim wanpela samling.
- Ralt long rausim nem long piksa bifo o wokim publication na ol outsalt lai lukim.
Rait long askim na bekim olgeta warilong yu

Contact Details
(Nem na Namba)
This project will be carried out according to the guidelines of the Ethics Committees of RMIT University and the University of Goroka. Should you need any further information or have concerns as a participant, please contact:

Dispela wok i bihanlim olgeta lo bilong Ethics Committees bilong RMIT University na University of Goroka. Supos yu gat sampela mo askim o waril yu ken askim hia:

Mark Eby,
PHD Candidate
School of Media and Communication
RMIT University
PO Box 2476
Melbourne, Victoria 3001
Australia

Lecturer
Centre for Social and Creative Media
University of Goroka
P.O. Box 1078
Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province 441
Tel (675) 531-1858
Fax (675) 532-2620

We would like to thank you for your time and interest in taking part in this project.

Yours Sincerely,

Mark Eby
Lecturer
Centre for Social and Creative Media
University of Goroka, Papua New Guinea &
PHD Candidate
School of Media and Communication
RMIT University
GPO Box 2476
Melbourne, VIC 3001.

Dr. Verena Thomas
Director
Centre for Social and Creative Media
University of Goroka, Papua New Guinea.

Diane Anton
BA Honors Candidate
Centre for Social and Creative Media
University of Goroka, Papua New Guinea.

Associate Professor Heather Horst
School of Media and Communication
RMIT University
GPO Box 2476
Melbourne, VIC 3001.
Tel: (03) 9925 3988 or email heather.horst@rmit.edu.au

Professor Jo Tacchi
School of Media and Communication
RMIT University
GPO Box 2476
Melbourne, VIC 3001.

All researchers must sign the information sheet, with his/her qualification/s listed below each name.

If you have any concerns about your participation in this project, which you do not wish to discuss with the researchers, then you can contact the Ethics Officer, Research Integrity, Governance and Systems, RMIT University, GPO Box 2476V VIC 3001. Tel: (03) 9925 2251 or email human.ethics@rmit.edu.au

- The above ‘complaints box’ is a compulsory component of the PICF.
Appendix 5 – Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM (Tok Oralt)

Title of the study:
Film production and distribution in Papua New Guinea as Communication for Social Change
Professor Philip Moore

1. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the information sheet
   Mi kia long tok save bilong dispela wok na mi bin nim olgeta toktok ol bin ralim.

2. I agree to participate in the research project as described
   Mi tok oralt long mekim dispela wok bilong research project.

3. I agree:
   ▪ to voluntarily participate in the project
   ▪ to be interviewed
   ▪ that my voice will be audio recorded
   ▪ that my image will be taken

Tok Plain
   Mi tok oralt:
   ▪ long wok long dispela project
   ▪ long bekim askim
   ▪ long ol i ken rikordim toktok bilong mi
   ▪ long ol i ken kisim video na kisim piksa bilong mi

4. I acknowledge that:
   (a) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at
       any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied (unless follow-up is needed
       for safety).
   (b) The project is for the purpose of research. It may not be of direct benefit to me.
   (c) The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I
       have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
   (d) The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The
       data collected during the study may be published, and a report of the project outcomes will be
       provided to PACMAS, UOG, RMIT University and included in the findings of the Mobilising Media
       for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region ARC Linkage project.

Tok Plain
   Mi wanbe:
   (a) Mi yet mi tok oralt long mekim dispela wok na supos mi sanism tingtint em i no gat samting na
       supos old i no usim dispela bekim bilong mi yet ol bai rausim long dispela tok save.
   (b) Wok em bilong painim aut. Em i no bilong helpim mi tumas.
   (c) Dispela bekim mi bai mekim ol bai lukautim gut na nem bilong mi bai alap supos mi tok oralt.
   (d) Dispela bekim mi bai mekim ol bai lukautim gut nau na bihain taim tu. Dispela bekim bilong buk
       bai kamap long ripot na ol bai givim long PACMAS, UOG, RMIT na Mobilising Media for
       Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region ARC Linkage project.

Participant’s Consent

Participant: ___________________________ Date: ___________________________
(Signature)

Witness: ____________________________ Date: ___________________________
[only required if research is assessed as more than low risk; otherwise delete]
(Signature)

Participants should be given a photocopy of this PICF after it has been signed.
Appendix 6 – Actor Consent Form

Actor Information and Consent Form
RMIT University

Mark Eby, PhD Candidate, School of Media and Communication
RMIT student number: 3454856
Contact details: ebym@log.ac.pg and markeby@azbri.com

Diane Anton, Postgraduate Student, Centre for Social and Creative Media,
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Supervisor's names:
Associate Professor, Heather Horst, heather.horst@rmit.edu.au
Professor Jo Tacchi, jo.tacchi@rmit.edu.au
Dr. Verena Thomas, Verena.Thomas@uts.edu.au

1. I consent to voluntarily participate in the project of Mark Eby called Film production and
distribution in Papua New Guinea as Communication for Social Change, which will produce a
low-budget feature film written by young Papua New Guinea screenwriters based on their
awareness and experience of love and gender-based violence and distribute the film through
village cinemas. The project explores the possibility that film production can be economically
viable and sustainable in PNG.

(Mi tok orait long dispela project bilong Mark Eby em l kalim Painim aut bilong Wokim Piksa
na Solm long CD Haus long PNG em Tokek bilong Sanis. Sampela yangpela manmeri bilong PNG na ralim storil long dispela painin bilong laikim na pati l stap namer long tupo
marit na ol bil wokim piksa. Em bil solm long CD Haus na painim aut bilong em bil lukuku
long ol man bilong PNG ken wokim piksa ilong ol yet.)

2. I understand that my participation will involve identifying recordings of me in the form of visual
images (photography and video) and audio recordings and I agree that the researcher will
produce a film and may use the images for publication in a PhD Exegesis and Pacific Media
Assistance Program (PACMAS) report and the resulting research publication will be also be
published online in the RMIT University online repository: http://researchbank.rmit.edu.au.
The findings may also contribute to the Australian Research Council Linkage project,
Mobilising Media for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific Region. The film will be produced
and distributed on DVD, which will be available to the general public. Excerpts may be
uploaded to social media.

(Mi wanbel long dispela wok na tok orait long piksa na video na audio ol bil wokim. Mi save
ol bil wokim piksa na painin aut bil kamp long ripot bilong PhD na Pacific Media
Assistance Program (PACMAS) na RMIT University online repository: http://researchbank.rmit.edu.au, na Mobilising Media for Sustainable outcomes in the Pacific
Region ARC Linkage project. Piksa ol bil putim long CD na long internet na plant manmeri
bil lukim.)

3. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form it will be retained by the researcher
and a copy will be provided to me to keep.

(Mi save olsem mi bil ralim nem bilong mi na givm bek. Ol bil wokim fotocopi ne givm long
mi.)

4. I acknowledge that:

Mi wanbel:

a. the details of the project have been explained to my satisfaction,
b. the project is for the purpose of artistic research and that the images/recordings may be altered by the artist in a final editing process for presentation.
(dispela wok em bilong painim aut na ol bai kisim dispela video na wokim stori.)

c. I have been informed that the copyright ownership of the images/recordings resides with the researcher, and that no payment will be made to me other than as agreed in the terms of reference for my time in participating in the project.
(Mi save osem man I wokim painim aut bai stap papa bilong dispela wok na mi bai kisim pe bilong wan de wan de wok tasol. Bihain i nogat sampela moa pe bai kamp.)

d. My personal information such as contact details to be kept securely by RMIT University and will be destroyed after five years, consistent with research documentation requirements,
(nem na namba bilong mi i stap gut long han bilong RMIT university inap long faivpela yia.)

e. I am over 18 years of age □ or I am under 18 years of age □ (please check one).
(Mi winim 18 krismas) □ (mi ananit long 18 krismas) □ (putim x long wanpela tasol)

Description of images: Model for project images.
Tok save: Wok long kisim piksa b’long project.

Name of Model:
(Nam)

Phone: 
Email:

Date:

Signature of model:

Name of Guardian, Parent or Husband (if necessary):

Phone: 
Email:

Date:

Signature:
Appendix 7 – Crew Interview Guide

Name: Position: Contact:

Position
1. What was your role on the Aliko and Ambai Production? What tasks did your work include?
   Yu bin mekim wanem wok long Aliko na Ambai Produciton?
2. Did you like the position that you worked on?
   Yu laikim dispela wok?
3. Have you worked in this position before?
   Yu bin mekim dispela wok bifo?
4. How did you find out about the Aliko & Ambai Production?
   How na yu painim aut long Aliko na Ambai production?
5. Were you hired through a connection with another crew member?
   Yu bin sawe long sampela arapela lain is stap long crew o nogat?

Skills
6. Did you already have the skills to work in this position or did you have to learn on the job?
   Yu bin mekim dispela kain wok bifo o dispela em first taim?
7. What are the skills that you learnt while working on this position?
   Yu bin lanim wanem samting long film production taim yu wok long Aliko na Ambai movie?
8. After the shoot, would you be interested in another position to work in or do you want to continue with the same role in any future productions? Explain why.
   Yu gat interest long mekim dispela wok long future or nogat? Yu stori liklik.

Acting
9. Did you also have an acting role in front of the camera? Describe your character.
   You gat acting role tu or nogat? Nem bilong dispela man o meri long movie wanem? Stori long em liklik.
10. Would you like to act in future productions?
    You like act long movie gen?
11. Which do you like better? Being in front of the camera as an actor or behind the camera as crew.
    Yu laikim acting or wok long crew mobeta?

Mentoring
12. Did you feel you received enough support in your role during production?
    Yu bin kisim inap support o nogat long wok blong yu?
13. How did you find the experience of working with two people from the Love Patrol Crew, Francis and Charley?
    Yu ting wanem long wok wantaim Francis na Charley i kam long Love Patrol?
14. Did you learn from other team members during production? Please give examples.
    Yu bin lanim ol samting taim yu wok wantaim arapela crew members tu? Yu lanim wanem samting?
Organisation
15. Do you feel you were briefed sufficiently on what was expected from you?
Yu bin kisim gutpela tok save long wok blong yu? Yu bai mek wanem em clia o nogat?
16. Comment on the organisation of the production shoot. What worked well, what did not
work well on the production?
Yu toktok long production organization. Wanem samting orait na wanem samting em I no
orait tumas?

Locations and Community
17. What is the name of the community where you live in Goroka?
Nem blong hausline we you sleep long Goroka em wanem?
18. Did you provide a connection to a Goroka community for auditions or locations?
Yu bin helpim Aliko na Ambai painim ples bilong audition na location o nogat?
19. Describe your experience working in Masi and Bena.
Yu bin ting wanem long wok long Masi? Yu ting wanem long wok long Bena?
20. Were there any difficulties with the communities in these locations?
Sampela problem or trouble I kamap long hauslain taim yu stap long Masi o Bena o sampela
arapela ples we yu mekim movie?
21. Did you have to act on location in public spaces (e.g. market or bus stop)? Which ones?
Yu bin act long public ples o nogat? Supos yes, wanem hap stret?
22. If so, were there any challenges involved in shooting in public spaces?
Sampela problem I bin kamap long dispela ples o nogat?
23. Do you have any recommendations for future films being shot in communities?
Yu gat sampela tok save supos mipela laik mekim dispela kain wok gen long komuniti?

Challenges
24. In what areas throughout the production did you face personal challenges?
Taim yu wok yu bin gat sampela hevi blong yu yet?
25. How did you manage to overcome these challenges or were there any potential solutions to
these challenges?
Supos yes, yu bin deal wantaim dispela hevi orait?

Improvement
26. What do you think could be improved?
Wanem samting Aliko na Ambai production ken mekim mobeta?
27. Do you have recommendation for improvement of skills for you and others?
Sampela skills you laik lanim mobeta?

Colleagues
28. Did you like working with your colleagues?
Yu lakim wok wantaim ol wancrew bilong yu?
29. How would you describe the working environment?
Taim yu wok, olgeta tok isi o sampela problem I kamap?
30. Please comment on working with the actors.
Yu ting wanem long wok wataim ol actors?
31. Were there any challenges you faced with some of your colleagues? Please explain.
Supos yu laik stori long sampela problem yu ken stori long hia.

**Script**
32. Please comment on the overall script if you have read it. If not comment on the scenes you were involved in.
Supos yu bin ridim full movie script, yu toksave hia. Supos nogat, yu toksave long stori yu bin lukim taim yu stap long production.
33. What parts do you like and were there parts you don’t like?
Wanem hap long stori yu laikim na wanem hap yu no laikim tumas?
34. Do you think the script captures PNG life and stories? Explain.
Yu ting story em trutru long laip long PNG?

**Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and the Aliko & Ambai Film Production**
35. Did you learn anything about gender-based violence from working in this production?
Yu bin lanim samplea samting long ol pasin blong pait I stap namel long man na meri na pait I stap namel long ol meri tu?
36. Has this changed your perspective about gender-based violence?
Sampela tingting blong yu long dispela pasin I sanis o nogat?
37. Did you learn about any other social issues by working on this production?
Yu lanim sampela arapel pasin nogut or gutpela pasin blong sinaun taim yu wok long dispela project?
38. Do you think this is an important issue that needs discussion in PNG?
Yu ting dispela toktok long pasin blong pait namela long man na meri em important issue long PNG?

**Employment arrangements and future work**
39. Do you feel you were sufficiently compensated for your work?
Pay bilong yu orait long Aliko na Ambai production?
40. Would you like to continue working in film production? In what role?
Yu laik wok long movie gen long future na wanem wok yu laik mekim?

**Do you have any other feedback?**
Yu gat narapela toktok yu ken mekim hia?
Appendix 8 – Actor’s Interview Guide

Name:
Position:
Contact:

Role & Auditions

1. What was your acting role on the Aliko and Ambai Production?
   Acting role bilong yu long Aliko na Ambai em wanem?
2. Were you also part of the crew behind the camera?
   Yu wok long crew tu o nogat?
3. What jobs did you do as crew member?
   Supos yes, yu mekim wanem wok long crew?
4. How did you find out about the Aliko & Ambai Production?
   How na yu painim aut long Aliko na Ambai production?
5. Which audition did you attend initially?
6. Did you need to attend any follow-up auditions?
7. How did you feel when you got the part?
8. Describe your character.
9. Did you enjoy playing that character?
10. Have you ever acted before?
11. Do you think it was a good idea to take actor auditions into the communities instead of just conducting auditions on UOG campus?

Acting Skills

12. Did you already have acting skill and experience or did you have to learn on the job?
13. If you had experience in theatre, how was it different from acting for film?
14. Describe the process of shooting a scene as an actor.
15. What are the acting skills that you learned when playing your role on Aliko & Ambai?
16. After this experience, would you be interested in acting again in future productions?

Crew Skills (for those who said they were also part of the crew)

17. Behind the camera, what skills did you learn?
18. What other skills would you like to learn?
19. Which do you like better? Being in front of the camera as an actor or behind the camera as crew.

Script

20. Did you read the entire script?
21. Please comment on the overall script if you have read it. If not comment on the scenes you were involved in. What parts do you like and were there parts you don’t like?
22. Do you think the script captures PNG life and stories? Explain.
23. Was it easy or difficult to memorize your lines?
24. Was the dialogue from the script ever changed in the acting process? Explain.
25. Did reading the script inspire you to write your own screenplay?

**Mentoring**

26. Did you feel you received enough support in your acting role during production?
27. Who was your main contact person on the production when you were acting?
28. Did you learn from other actors or crew members during production? Please give examples.

**Organization**

29. Do you feel you were briefed sufficiently on what was expected from you?
30. Comment on the organization of the production shoot. What worked well? What did not work well on the production?

**Locations and Community**

31. What is the name of the community where you live in Goroka?
32. Did you provide a connection to a Goroka community for auditions or locations?
33. What locations did you go to when you were acting? Name the communities.
34. Did you enjoy working on these locations?
35. Did you have any interaction with the community members in these locations?
36. Were there any difficulties with the communities in these locations?
37. Did you have to act on location in public spaces (e.g. market or bus stop)? Which ones?
38. If so, were there any challenges involved in shooting in public spaces?
39. Do you have any recommendations for future films being shot in communities?

**Challenges**

40. In what areas throughout the production did you face personal challenges?
41. How did you manage to overcome these challenges or were there any potential solutions to these challenges?

**Improvement**

42. What do you think could be improved?
43. Do you have recommendation for improvement of acting skills for you and others?

**Colleagues**

44. Did you like working with your colleagues?
45. How would you describe the working environment?
46. Please comment on working with the other actors and the crew
47. Were there any challenges you faced with some of your colleagues? Please explain.

**Employment arrangements and future work**

48. Do you feel you were sufficiently compensated for your work?
49. Would you like to continue working in film production? In what role?
Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and the Aliko & Ambai Film Production

50. Did you learn anything about gender-based violence from working in this production?
51. Has this changed your perspective about gender-based violence?
52. Did you learn about any other social issues by acting in the production?
53. Do you think this is an important issue that needs discussion in PNG?

Do you have any other feedback?
Appendix 9 – Production Workshop Instructor Interview Guide

Name:
Position:
Contact:

Professional Experience
1. Describe your current position and role with Wan Smolbag Theatre in Vanuatu.
2. What is your professional experience in the film and television industry?
3. Who did you train with to gain your production skills?
4. What was your role in the Aliko and Ambai Production Workshop and what skills did you teach?
5. Did you enjoy teaching?
6. Have you worked as a workshop instructor before?

Training
7. How did you feel about working and training Papua New Guinea young people?
8. Did you feel your were successful in training the workshop participants?
9. Do you think there should be more partnerships between Melanesian countries for film production training purposes?
10. How do you think Melanesians training Melanesians differs from Australians or other expatriates training Melanesians? Or is there a difference?

Locations and Community
11. What did you think about conducting auditions in the communities surrounding the University of Goroka and was this helpful in the production training process?
12. Describe your experience with training on-set at the production location in Masi.

Organization
13. Do you feel you were briefed sufficiently on what was expected from you?
14. Comment on the organization of the workshop. What worked well? What did not work well?

Challenges
15. In what areas throughout the workshop did you face challenges?
16. How did you manage to overcome these challenges or were there any potential solutions to these challenges?

Script
17. Please comment on the overall script. What parts do you like and are there parts you didn’t like?
18. Do you think the script captures PNG and Melanesian life and stories? Explain.

Employment arrangements and future work
19. Do you feel you were sufficiently compensated for your work?
20. Do you feel you gained any new skills or insights by being a workshop trainer at the Centre for Social and Creative Media?
21. Would you be interest in being a workshop instructor in the future?

Do you have any other feedback?
Love and Violence:
Melanesian Youth produce a film for regional distribution

PACMAS Innovation Grant
Report 31 January 2015

Centre for Social and Creative Media
University of Goroka
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Introduction

The Centre for Social and Creative Media (CSCM) at the University of Goroka (UOG) received funding under the PACMAS Innovation Grant for the project ‘Love and Violence in Melanesia: Melanesian Youth producing a feature film for regional distribution’.

The project seeks to guide Papua New Guinean young people through every phase of the feature film production process and create narratives around the issues of youth and gender-based violence to create awareness and generate discussion among Melanesian audiences of all ages. The project builds on existing production experience, but expands the production capacity to create strategic regional links, ultimately expanding audiences and increasing production output of development-related content. The project contributes to a better understanding of drama production in PNG and hopes to encourage low-budget feature film production in the future.

Young people in PNG face many challenges as they experience the poverty and pressure of urban living conditions. Many aspire to a better life through an education and career but are forced to drop out of high school before graduating by the pressing social constraints in their environment. In PNG there is a normalization and widespread acceptance of gender-based violence. Studies have verified that the prevalence of men’s lifetime perpetration of physical and/or sexual partner violence can be as high as 80 percent (Fulu et al., 2013). The film explores scenarios that lead to this violence by immersing the audience in the real-life experience of three young people as they struggle with the social environment created by the adults around them. Written by two young PNG scriptwriters the film explores the themes of poverty, child abuse, rape, forced marriage and domestic violence in Papua New Guinea and aspires to create discussion and support strategies for social change in PNG communities.

The project was designed to increase production capacity in PNG. Overall, the production engaged 18 participants in a writers’ workshop, trained 28 young people in feature film production, trained 36 actors with speaking roles and engaged with over 150 community members as extras and support staff. The production phase of the feature film and a rough edit have been completed. The film is currently undergoing fine-tuning including the incorporation of music and feedback screenings.

This report presents the key components of this production project. These include the events and processes involved in the production and postproduction, and an analysis of the capacity building component, insights into working with PNG communities and the inclusion of narratives of gender-based violence.
Key Events

• Three members of the CSCM staff traveled to Vanuatu to meet with the Wan Smolbag Theatre Organization to observe the production of Love Patrol, Season 7 at the end of November 2013.

• A screenplay workshop was held at the CSCM 12-14 March 2014, including follow-up sessions with lead writers.

• The first draft of the screenplay titled Aliko & Ambai was produced by 17 April 2014 (with ongoing editing and feedback, the final draft was completed 5 September 2014).

• Pre-Production commenced at the end of May 2014, by hiring a production manager and starting to identify shooting locations.

• A feedback session on the latest draft of the screenplay was held with the writers’ workshop participants on 2 June 2014.

• Two members of the Love Patrol crew came to the CSCM as trainers for a 2-week Production Workshop from 9-20 June 2014.

• Actor auditions were conducted simultaneously with the Production Workshop at the beginning of June. Additional actors were cast as the scenes from the shooting schedule required so auditions continued through October. Many times, extras were cast on the spot or a day or two before the shoot.

• Production commenced in July 2014 and the majority of the film was completed by November with a couple days of additional pick-up shooting thereafter. In total there were 52 days of shooting.

• Post-production preparation of files was completed in December.

• An assemble edit and initial feedback on the rough cut from key project staff was conducted in January, 2015.
Key Outcomes

- 8 participants and 10 expert presenters took part in a screenwriting workshop and increased their understanding around issues of gender, violence and screenwriting.
- 28 people were trained in the areas of casting, directing and assistant directing, production and location managing, script supervision, production accounting, production design, art direction, makeup, hair, costume, props, set decoration, photography, camera, continuity stills, documentary videography, electrical, production sound, set operations, editing, and sound design.
- 36 actors were trained, 15 with substantial speaking roles and 21 with secondary speaking roles.
- 11 communities and over 150 community members were involved in the production as extras and support personnel.
- The exchange program established networks among crew members both in PNG and Vanuatu
Main Project Phases

This section highlights the main phases of the production, which includes the exchange program between CSCM and WSB Vanuatu, preparatory activities for script development and production, the actual production and postproduction activities of the feature film. Each of the phases was undertaken with the goal to build continued capacity in media production and to better understand production processes in PNG and Melanesia.

Exchange Program CSCM & Wan Smolbag Theatre Vanuatu

The CSCM sent a team to observe the production of the soap opera series, Love Patrol, produced by Wan Smolbag Theatre (WSB) in Vanuatu. The team members from CSCM included Mark Eby, Joys Eggins, and Dilen Doiki. The trip included 4 days of travel and a week in Port Villa, Vanuatu from Tuesday, November 25 to Monday, December 2, 2013.

CSCM staff spent three days on the production set of Love Patrol in order to observe production workflow processes, engagement with actors and learn tips and tricks from WSB staff who have many years experience working on drama productions. CSCM staff had the opportunity to shadow different positions on the Love Patrol set. They also interviewed every crew member and established valuable connections with WSB. Some key observations were made that assisted the CSCM crew to later produce the film *Aliko & Ambai*. It was observed that most of the crew on Love Patrol are also actors. Part of this might stem from the fact that WSB is a theatre company and many of them were actors before being trained as film crew. But it was also seen as a way to keep everyone interested and involved and making the most of the WSB human resources. The WSB crew demonstrated a high level of professionalism and had a very good understanding of the daily production operations. It was also observed that crew members maintain good personal relationships. Observing the crew members on set was a valuable experience for CSCM staff allowing them to see the key skills required and the team work necessary for a professional production.

A crucial part of the exchange program was bringing members of the Love Patrol team to the CSCM in Goroka. In consultation with WSB, it was agreed that Francis Wai, the lead Cameraman and Charlie Amos, the Sound Mixer, could be made available. They brought a wealth of experience between them and CSCM staff greatly benefited from working with them. Their contribution and feedback from CSCM staff are described in the Production Workshop section below.
Screenwriting Workshop

A three-day writers’ workshop was held from 12-14 March 2014 at the CSCM. The aim was to begin the process of producing a screenplay written by emerging Papua New Guinean writers. The workshop focused on addressing the issue of gender-based violence through creative writing. Participants included, apart from young writers, experts on gender, domestic violence, community interventions and counseling to discuss strategies to develop these social issues effectively. The workshop concluded with each of the eight participants creating an outline for a prospective screenplay. Some of these were further developed into a screenplay treatment. In a subsequent session the two primary writers, Diane Anton and Jenno Kanagio, were selected and their treatments were combined into a single narrative with lead and support characters. The other participants continued to provide feedback on drafts of the script.

The workshop included student participants, experts in C4D, drama development, gender, human rights, counseling and social welfare. Local and regional drama films were screened at the workshop for discussion (Coleman, 2012; Eggins & Papoutsaki, 2011; Thomas et al., 2012; Walker, 2012). Further they were given a script for one of the films, Painim Aut (Thomas, 2012). It was of interest to the participants to see how the film version differed from the original script and how decisions were made during production that were not originally included in the script. Participants felt strongly about the need for a PNG film to be in Tok Pisin, especially after seeing Love Patrol, which although shot in Vanuatu is in English.

In PNG there is a normalisation and widespread acceptance of violence against women. This has been attributed to traditions including such practices as bride price, shame associated with marital problems that has resulted in an understanding that VAW is a private issue and an acceptable part of everyday life. Because of this there is little awareness that VAW is a crime (Khosla et al., 2013, p. 3). During the screenwriters’ workshop the issue of gender and gender-based violence was discussed, involving a range of professionals giving presentations on their area of expertise. This provided an opportunity for each of the participants to expand their knowledge and understanding around gender issues. This understanding was important to develop relevant narratives for the screenplay.
In addition to the educational components of the workshop around education entertainment within the context of communication for development and gender-based violence, there was a strong component based around plot, developing a method for writing dialogue, and exploring screenplay structure. Although sections of the writers’ workshop did involve screenwriting exercises, it is not possible to teach someone how to write a screenplay in a few hours. The idea was to include at least two participants who had previous experience and could potentially become lead writers on our current project. Other participants were included as an introductory training opportunity, and to have more voices at the table as we discussed the issues relevant to the PACMAS grant.

Writing Exercises included practicing to write “true to life” dialogue and how to develop plot, structure and screenplay design. In order to have a framework for the script the team used Michael Hauge’s “six stage plot structure,” and the turning points that mark them, as a way to enter into the screenwriting process (Hauge, 2010). This is in line with the plot structure of foreign films that are so popular among PNG Highland audiences (Eby & Thomas, 2014). Participants were guided by being asked to focus on character, desire and conflict. They would need to develop a character with a desire that could be communicated to the audience and then create stumbling blocks to the achievement of that desire. They would focus on the six-stage plot structure with five turning points to help guide them in creating a story for a screenplay.

Six of the seven storylines had female primary characters. The desire of the characters, either stated explicitly by the writer or extrapolated from the storyline, primarily revolve around completing their education, getting a good job and having a supportive family. These might be considered universal themes. The specific setting and turning points required by the structure is where the unique Papua New Guinea perspective on these themes becomes clearer. Two of the stories addressed unexplained illness, sorcery and the burning of witches. A couple of the stories involved tribal fights and the burning of houses. Four of the stories addressed child abuse, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, rape or forced marriage. Two stories addressed dating and relationship issues, one specifically about teenage pregnancy and attempted suicide.

There was consensus that this would be a young woman’s journey about completing her education, getting a good job and creating a better life for herself in the process of overcoming numerous obstacles that included exploring the issues of gender-based violence. It was decided that the two strongest storylines would be combined into one with dual protagonists. A “structured treatment” was created that re-imposed the stages and turning points of the screenplay structure. The next step in the process was to expand the treatment into a step outline, which turns the story into scenes, hinting at the dialogue but without writing the dialogue in screenplay form. With feedback from Diane Anton and Mark Eby on the step outline, Jenno Kanagio began writing the full-length screenplay. The first draft was 118 pages with 147 scenes. It was estimated that when a film is shot, one page of screenplay translates to one minute onscreen. Once actors started working with the dialogue, it was clear that much of it was over-written, so there has been an on-going process of simplifying the dialogue so the rhythm of conversation was easier.

Feedback was provided from workshop participants and various reviewers. These included a thorough examination of the script in regards to its credibility and its educational messages in order to achieve maximum results with Pacific audiences. The final draft of the screenplay, with scenes cut and added during production, was 96 pages with 151 scenes. The full script is attached to this report.
Audition Strategy

Instead of attempting to cast the entire film before shooting the first scene, we decided to focus on one location that we could use for the production-training workshop and choose scenes for that location that only involved three characters. We advertised for “girls from the PNG highlands between the ages of 16 and 20” for the first day and “men and women from the PNG highlands in the age range of late 30s to early 40s” for the second day. Those who auditioned filled out their basic contact and demographic information, that included their education level, acting experience, and availability if they had work or school commitments.

Due to a limited turn-out at the University of Goroka, the team decided to undertake casting in the communities. This idea of community casting set the tone of the project as an initiative to involve the wider Goroka community. In the end, we held actor auditions in six different locations and selected actors from all these communities.

Production Workshop

The Aliko & Ambai feature film project includes capacity building, and one of our strategies was bringing skilled crewmembers from the Love Patrol set in Vanuatu to train our crew in Goroka, Papua New Guinea. In June 2014, Francis Wai, the lead cameraman and Charlie Amos, the sound mixer, were brought to Goroka for a training workshop. The idea for this production workshop was that skilled Melanesians might be best placed to work with other Melanesians as a form of peer-to-peer training.

Crew training and casting happened at the same time. While the actors practiced their lines on the theatre stage or in the community audition location, the technical crew were trained how to do basic coverage. The project trained a large number of production staff (see Appendix), including screenwriters, technical personal, production managers and other supporting staff. Mark Eby took a key role in the production and the mentoring of staff. His time was provided in-kind by the CSCM.
It was important to create an initial safe environment for training to take place so the first few weeks the crew shot the scenes in “Uncle Joe's house,” one of the primary locations of the film with multiple scenes. Other locations, such as public spaces, were shot later when the crew was familiar with the process and their tasks.

It was observed that PNG crew do not necessarily understand role specialization the same way people might in industrialized countries. There is a collaborative approach to achieving tasks and assisting each other in PNG. This had an impact on the dynamics on set, and had positive and negative effects. It can be negative if people are not detailed and consistent with their assigned duties and assume they have skills for a task that is not assigned to them. But it can be positive when people are working together and willing to help each other when someone is struggling with their assigned task.
Production

Film production can be challenging and requires teamwork, organization and attention to detail. The production workshop introduced our crew to auditioning actors, finding a location, dressing the set, buying props and costumes, rehearsing the actors and then the process of shooting a scene. These processes were ongoing for over 7 full weeks of shooting stretched over a period of six months. The production also required dedication, consistency and a passion for the work. Our team really rose to the challenge.

At the core of a film team is the cameraperson. This is the key technical position that requires advanced specialized knowledge. Our assistant cameraperson assisted with the tripod and was trained to follow-focus but also asked to acquire the skills of the key cameraperson. The assistant was also required to charge batteries and download files so he began training as assistant editor early in the shoot. We shot audio separately so the sound mixer and boom operator are also a key part of the core team. On the Aliko & Ambai team we had a director who chose the camera positions, lighting, correct lens, framing and angles and another director who worked with the actors. The directors conferred with each other but this was part of the mentoring process for both the director and the cameraperson. Because most of the actors were new to working in front of the camera, making them feel comfortable, helping them find a way to say the dialogue naturally, memorizing their lines and blocking the action took time and energy. The idea that the same scene had to be repeated over and over again was also a novel concept to beginning actors. It would be shot from various positions and framed as wide, medium and close-up shots. In editing the action has to match so actors had to be reminded that action, head angles and expressions needed to be repeated in the same way every take. The assistant director called for quiet on the set when we were ready to shoot, made sure sound and camera were set and rolling and then called “action” and “cut.”

Around the core team was the script supervisor who kept record of every shot, the clapper who marks every shot in front of the camera, and the property manager. The script supervisor records shot numbers but is also responsible for continuity and the props
manager makes sure that the props are on the set and the props are back in the same order for every new take. If an actor takes a bite out of a pancake at the beginning of each scene, then a new pancake must be produced for each take.

Before the scene begins, the make-up, hair and costume person (on our production, the same person) will make sure that wardrobe matches scenes that come before and after since we shot scenes out of consecutive order. She bought the costumes at the second-hand stores in Goroka. Finally, rounding out the team on our production set was the gaffer who set lights if it was a night shoot or became stills photographer, assistant cameraperson or production assistant if it was a day shoot.

The production manager was responsible for locations and logistics. Considering that we had over 15 primary locations where dialogue was recorded and numerous others that required a set-up for walking or other action, the production manager’s role was to stay at least a week ahead in arranging and prepping locations and making sure transport was arranged and the crew got to set. Liaison with actors remained with the director-in-training. A key task of the assistant director, before production even started was to break down the script so it was clear what was needed on set. The schedule is also a crucial part of the preparation but was so complicated that it remained part of the task of the director/producer.

Because of the intense nature of the work, the crew bonded and became like a family. When individual crewmembers had obligations and could not work, others stepped in to perform their tasks so most crewmembers became familiar with at least one other role on set. Some of the crewmembers that attended the production workshop were students who had to return to their academic life but they usually assisted in finding a replacement that could be trained in their stead. Most crewmembers also performed in front of the camera in at least one scene. Diane Anton, our director, also played a primary role as Aliko’s teacher and mentor. Four of our crewmembers were secondary actors with speaking roles and five were extras when needed. Several of our primary actors took up crew positions when they were not in front of the camera. In this way everyone participated and got the maximum benefit from our Aliko & Ambae film production experience.
Postproduction

The post-production process began in earnest with many technical processes to prepare the files for editing. All scenes were checked to ensure files were there and organized correctly. Video files were organized by scene and audio was synced with plural eyes software. In-camera audio was offset from picture from 1 to 3 frames so it was re-synced manually. Scene assemblies were converted to 1920 x 1080 25 fps Apple ProRes 422 files 48kHz files. Files were reimported. All shots were marked at the clapper point and identified.

After cutting a few scenes it was decided that a first draft laying down the wide shot of each scene should be the first step. This resulted in the first cut being 2 hours and 45 minutes. This edit was then divided and given to three assembly editors who undertook a draft edit of each of the scenes.

There are 150 scenes in 35 sections and each section is now being edited and handed to the composer. A detailed plan for the music includes a combination of original score and PNG pop music. A crowd-sourcing approach was instigated for PNG pop song ideas. For example, for a travelling or goodbye song Longpela Rot by Lister Serum was suggested, for a song about an orphan, Megusa by Nokondi Nama, for a searching for father song, Asua Bilong Yu by Ewin Bafe, for a song about a street boy, Pinde Mangi by Zozako, for a song about friendship, Poroman Lewa by George Telek and so on. The composer Richard Mogu will compose an original score. Six people have assisted in various stages of post-production

It is anticipated that the duration of the final product will be between 90 to 120 minutes. In its current stage the editing requires further fine-tuning in order to bring out the emotional storylines in the film. Music composition and fine editing are happening parallel.
Project Themes

Skills development and mentoring

Francis Wai, our trainer from Wan Smolbag Theatre states, “A trainer is first, defined by a passion to teach and a willingness to pass on knowledge to others and second, has vision. What are the goals when doing the training?” Francis demonstrated this philosophy with his perseverance and patience during the training workshop and also showed that peer-to-peer teaching between Melanesians needs to be encouraged and supported.

When I was in Goroka last year doing the workshops, I stopped looking at the crew as participants but as my Wantoks. Wantoks is a powerful word, which links us Melanesians together. Instead of me giving all the talks of do’s and don’t, I gave the crew the freedom to experiment finding shots, setting light positions etc. . . . It gives the participants the motivation and inspiration that anything is possible. (Francis Wai, Workshop Trainer)

Mark Eby also provided ongoing mentoring throughout the production process. Paul Bebes, the actor that played the character Ethan, the young man who befriends Aliko and Ambai said, “I learned acting skills and confidence.” Nickson Warambukia, the production manager said he learned “many skills in the areas of liaising with stake holders both internally and externally. I developed the skills of negotiation and also to bring materials and resources, identifying locations for filming and bringing or transporting the film crew to the chosen places.” Butler Otio, one of our cameramen states,

I had a few skills before but a lot of the things I had to learn on the job as well. I learned how to work and use the Canon SD camera, how to judge light . . . whether its night or day and I had to learn how to use different settings on the camera as well and adjust the settings so that you get the best shot that can be used in the film. I also learned a bit on how to edit in using Final Cut Pro and assist the editor.
In the end the production engaged 18 participants in the writers’ workshop, trained 28 young people in feature film production, trained 36 actors with speaking roles and engaged with over 150 community members as extras and support staff. This training has already generated enthusiasm for additional films. Both Jenno Kanagio, our screenwriter, and Ruth Ketau, our assistant editor are working on new scripts and looking for ways to get their films funded. This reaction demonstrates that the project was able to build an enthusiasm and a foundation for further production, as well as a model process for continuing low-budget feature film production in PNG.

As people develop their skills the CSCM will continue to work in the area of production and provide a space for young people to engage in media production of local stories.
Working with Communities

One of the strategies of this project, as described earlier, was engaging various communities in the Goroka area so that the locations where we filmed and the actors we engaged brought a sense of authenticity to the film’s narrative. Crewmembers were also a vital link to their own communities. In Papua New Guinea, respecting and nurturing these links are vital, otherwise it is not really possible to go out and film on location. Auditioning for actors and shooting in surrounding communities also made this film project visible and integrated community members into the process. As Paul Bebes, one of the actors who auditioned in the Masi community said, “people will feel free and then they come out to the auditions. If it is at the UOG campus then they will hesitate and feel shy.”

Initial screenings have a ready-made enthusiastic audience because they will see their own community members as characters in the story and recognize familiar locations. “I think the film is good as it reflects the community life and people will love it” (Paul Bebes, actor). Although Francis Wai is from Vanuatu, his reading of the script and working in surrounding communities inspired this reaction. “The beauty of the script is that it portrays the actual real life issues occurring in PNG: land disputes, quarrels, poverty, love and culture. These things other Melanesian countries can also relate to.”

Crew members are a vital link to their own communities in Goroka and the surrounding vicinities. In Papua New Guinea, respecting and nurturing these links are vital, otherwise it is not really possible to go out and film on location. Through the links provided by our creative team and film crew we were able to find actors and locations. One of the main locations was in Bena, where most of the rural community scenes were shot. These include a tribal fight, a bride price ceremony and general village life. The community link was provided by screenwriter and co-director Diane Anton, which made for a fruitful collaboration between the community and the crew.

The part of the script that is set in the village was significantly altered based on input from the community members on how various ceremonies would play out based on traditional custom. This primarily affected the negotiations for bride price, the delivering of the bride to the village, and under what circumstances a woman whose bride price has already been paid would be allowed to leave her husband. The tribal fight was a scene that was part of the script but the details of how it would be filmed were developed in the village.
Involving PNG communities through community auditioning and allowing them to participate in some of the decision making processes in the production of the film is important for further development of a PNG industry. The production process itself provides communities with an understanding of how films are made and can contribute to media literacy of participants.
Gender-based violence and film production

Gender-based violence is a serious issue in PNG and this project found several ways to engage with the issue. The first was the writers’ workshop.

"During the workshop, I came to realize the importance of being fair, providing justice to every individual regardless of whether you are male or female" (Nickson Warambukia, Production Manager).

Diane Anton, the Aliko & Ambai co-director states, “I learned more from the other participants who were students and people from different organizations that deal with GBV. The issue of GBV is often heard about but the contents and related aspects were not always clear ... As it became clear, I was also able to reflect on my own life and whether or not I had experienced this.” Diane also said she had learned a lot, especially about “gender-based violence and young girls, their experience and the approaches they learned to take care of themselves ... Usually we think that gender-based violence is beating the wife, but there are other forms, like a daughter in a new family being deprived of food or money when these are her rights.”

Diane was able to take this information and creatively incorporate it into the narrative that became the backbone for the Aliko & Ambai film project that will go on to inform thousands of audience members about this pressing social issue and generate much needed discussion about how social change can take place in Papua New Guinea communities.

In the production process, negotiations had to be made when it came to portraying some of the more sensitive scenes. In the feedback session to the script, the decision was made not to show details of the rape scene or Aliko’s first night with her older husband when she resists. Both of these scenes cut away and we only here the audio of what transpires. This decision was made to protect our young actresses. However, it still required further negotiation in the acting stage. It turns out that if the actors were related it made it easier to work together in the more intimate scenes. Even though the sensitive scenes had been discussed in the audition process, when it came to shooting the rape scene, the two actors were from different communities and both felt uncomfortable about how to approach the scene. Diane led them through the entire process, explaining the educational benefits of the overall script and how it was going to be shot before we were able to move forward.

The scenes after the rape scene hope to provide educational messages about steps a young woman can take after such trauma: finding refuge with a friend and then with an aunt and going to the hospital to talk to a counsellor. At the end of the story, police from the Family and Sexual Violence Office arrest the perpetrator. Our hope is that by involving the audience in the lives of these two girls, accompanying them through the several horrific events that occur in their life and offer solutions of how to deal with these, the film will create an emotional response while providing educational messages to audiences.
Project Challenges

Over the past 20 years there has not been a local PNG feature film production and it was clear to the team from the start that attempting to produce a film would present a number of challenges. In addition, the making of a low budget feature film meant that there were some limitations on the production, many times related to the budget.

The film Aiko & Ambai addresses a sensitive topic, gender-based violence. In the initial writing workshop the complexity of the issue in PNG was explored. It was a challenge for the young scriptwriters to incorporate the newly learnt lessons into a script that would address Melanesian audiences while providing some critical information around different forms of gender-based violence.

Most challenges, however, were encountered during production. The production employed untrained actors which meant that a significant amount of time had to be spent on practicing scenes and mentoring was required. In addition, location releases and community negotiations took time but were important to ensure that there was support for the film.

Many of the crew members were doing their job for the first time and needed to be mentored. Due to the lack of experience of the crew, mistakes happened regularly in the beginning and often needed to be corrected. Professional standards about showing up consistently and on time were an issue. Ironically, working on a storyline that engages with issues about gender-based violence, four of the key crew members missed work at times because of domestic disputes. Carelessness caused some delays: actors were not always informed about the correct wardrobe, crucial props were left at previous locations, actors had not been running their lines so when time came to shoot they still needed their scripts, batteries were not charged, files not downloaded and so on.

These issues were addressed and mostly resolved by calling production meetings in which the level of professionalism required for a film production was discussed. It was important for the crew to understand that people’s individual tasks have an impact on the larger team. As the production progressed, the crew became more experienced and increased their productivity but the initial production phase working with an untrained crew presented many challenges.
Due to these delays, the biggest challenge emerged due to the financial limitation of this low-budget feature film and the complexity and duration of the script. Once into production it was difficult to change the script and schedules due to the non-linear shooting progression. It was decided that production would continue as planned. This however, extended the production budget proposed initially. As a result, the CSCM is now supporting the final stages of postproduction and the extent to which the film can be distributed will depend on further funding opportunities.

Despite all these challenges the experiences gained by crew, actors and community members as part of this project are invaluable and they will continue to have an impact on the PNG media industry.

**Financial Reporting**

Funds were spent according to the budget categories in the original budget. These included screenwriting workshop, WSB collaboration, production and postproduction costs. Due to the duration of the script, additional funds were sought to assist with the production budget. Care international contributed additional funding to the project. Despite this, the budget just covered the production costs of the *Aliko & Ambai* Feature Film, but not the postproduction costs.

The CSCM contributed much in-kind funding to the project by providing an office space, equipment, and staff costs, in particular Mark Eby who has been working full-time on the project most of 2014, and continues to be involved in the editing during postproduction.

It has become obvious that a feature film of that dimension requires further funding. At the same time it has been an achievement of the crew to have the production of *Aliko & Ambai* completed under these budget constraints. Despite budget limitations during production it was not possible to reduce the number of scenes due to a non-linear shooting schedule and a decision was made to continue shooting. As a result the majority of the funds were spent on production costs and further funds need to be invested for final postproduction and distribution. The CSCM is confident that supporters can be found within the next two months. In the meantime the postproduction continues to be funded by the CSCM.

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*Table 1: PNG Kina budgeted and spent amounts*
Next Steps

A rough cut of *Aliko & Ambai* has been edited. Initial feedback screenings are being held as part of the process of refining the film. First feedback screenings with wider audiences are scheduled for the end of February 2015. Depending on this feedback, the edit will go into further review to be finalised. In addition to the editing the music, sound mix and color-correction will need to be completed. A PNG launch event is anticipated in the second half of 2015. After the launch event the film will be distributed locally and internationally and an evaluation of the impact of the film in Melanesia will be conducted.

Conclusion

The project *Love and Violence: Melanesian youth produce a film for regional distribution*, has presented an important opportunity for Papua New Guineans to work on a feature film production. The guidance provided through the exchange program with WSB Vanuatu has been very valuable and has allowed the CSCM team to form ongoing links across Melanesia.

Despite many challenges throughout the project the production has achieved its core goals in skills development and mentoring, working with communities, and engaging in the discussion about gender-based violence through film production. The team that was trained through the *Aliko & Ambai* Film project has great potential to grow the film industry in Papua New Guinea.

The project will need to continue beyond the initial grant phase and the CSCM is committed to continue supporting this project, ensuring maximum impact in PNG and Melanesia.
References


## Appendix 1: Writers’ Workshop Participants

### Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Email Address</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freda Armba</td>
<td><a href="mailto:fredaarmba@yahoo.com">fredaarmba@yahoo.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenno Kanagio</td>
<td><a href="mailto:jkanagio@gmail.com">jkanagio@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Suwang</td>
<td><a href="mailto:suwangrose@gmail.com">suwangrose@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simby Harry</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Simibharry16@gmail.ac.pg">Simibharry16@gmail.ac.pg</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickson Warambukia</td>
<td><a href="mailto:warambukian@uog.ac.pg">warambukian@uog.ac.pg</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rebecca Peter</td>
<td><a href="mailto:ambairebex@yahoo.com.ac">ambairebex@yahoo.com.ac</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cora Moabi</td>
<td><a href="mailto:cora.moabi@gmail.com">cora.moabi@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diane Anton</td>
<td><a href="mailto:danton234@gmail.com">danton234@gmail.com</a></td>
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### Experts

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark Eby</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>C SCM, UOG</td>
<td>Training, Screenwriting, Film Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Verena Thomas</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>C SCM, UOG</td>
<td>Film Producer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeys Eggins</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
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<td>Community Film Production</td>
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<td>Emma Mua</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>Student Welfare, UGO</td>
<td>Counseling</td>
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<td>Bob Noiney</td>
<td>Counselor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janet Munaup</td>
<td>HOD</td>
<td>Communication and Creative Arts</td>
<td>Dance and Drama</td>
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<td>Dr. Jane Awi</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Communication &amp; Creative Arts</td>
<td>Drama and collaborative playwriting</td>
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<td>Dr. Angela Kelly</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>IMR</td>
<td>Research, Anthropology, Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monica Paulus</td>
<td>Community Activist</td>
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<td>John Eriko</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Family Voice</td>
<td>Community Mediation and Conflict Resolution Support</td>
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<td>Jean Jano</td>
<td>Program Manager</td>
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### Appendix 2: Crew List

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Key Production Team</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark Eby</td>
<td>Producer, Director, Director of Photography, Editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diane Antonio</td>
<td>Director, Casting Director, Art Department Supervisor, Writer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jenno Kanagio</td>
<td>Writer, Assistant Director, Assistant Editor</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Production Department</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Verena Thomas</td>
<td>Producer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nickson Warambukaia</td>
<td>Production Manager, Location Manager</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lilly Samuel</td>
<td>Production Accountant, Catering</td>
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<td>Klinit Barry</td>
<td>Production Accountant, Catering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kereta Johnstone</td>
<td>Script Supervisor, Production Accountant, Catering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sylvia Stan</td>
<td>Production Accountant, Catering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zina Ketawo</td>
<td>Catering Supervisor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheena Simelolo</td>
<td>Accountant for Production Workshop</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theresa Meki</td>
<td>Producer’s Assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helen Reckiff</td>
<td>Producer’s Assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moslyn Moses</td>
<td>Clapper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Bebes</td>
<td>Production Assistant, Assistant Editor</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Art Department</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wendy Paulus</td>
<td>Key Set Costumer, Key Hairdresser, Key Makeup Person, Clapper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melissa Walangas</td>
<td>Property Manager, Set Decorator, Clapper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mayphyll Billy</td>
<td>Property Manager</td>
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<td>Venda Kakaso</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dilen Doiki</td>
<td>Lead Camera Operator</td>
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<td>Buttel Otio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abraham Pahun</td>
<td>Assistant Cameraperson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawrence Ikeme</td>
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<td>Laba Kenny</td>
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<td>Samson Deka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ronald Mondo</td>
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<td><strong>Postproduction Staff</strong></td>
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<td>Ruth Ketau</td>
<td>Assistant Editor</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias Alex</td>
<td>Assistant Editor</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Mogu</td>
<td>Composer</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Workshop Trainers</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Wai</td>
<td>Camera Trainer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie Amos</td>
<td>Sound Mixer &amp; Boom Trainer</td>
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<td><strong>Transport</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>McLeen Pikacha</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Koveso (BH)</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin Musau</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freddy Bio</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson Mofaki</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Hane-Nou</td>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community Liaison</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Loule Iappu</td>
<td>Community Liaison</td>
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## Appendix 3: Main Cast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Actor Name</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Moslyn Moses</td>
<td>Aliko</td>
<td>Protagonist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Venda Kakaso</td>
<td>Ambai</td>
<td>Aliko's best friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paul Bebes</td>
<td>Ethan</td>
<td>Aliko and Ambai's friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maggie Kondango</td>
<td>Aunt Mini</td>
<td>Aliko's aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lucy Sari</td>
<td>Smarthie</td>
<td>Aliko's cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Harry Koveso (BH)</td>
<td>Uncle Joe</td>
<td>Aliko's uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Diane Anton</td>
<td>Ms Rizeloh</td>
<td>Aliko’s teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Llane Munau</td>
<td>Rose Tango</td>
<td>Ambai’s step mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Tabitha Albert</td>
<td>Mariona</td>
<td>Aliko’s mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Inapero Susure (Tailman)</td>
<td>Kilen</td>
<td>Aliko’s step father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Koupa Gihiro</td>
<td>Sikon</td>
<td>Aliko’s Uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lilly Bebes</td>
<td>Samapee</td>
<td>Aliko’s Aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Danny David</td>
<td>Marcus</td>
<td>Ambai’s step father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Annie Yombon</td>
<td>Joanne</td>
<td>Ambai’s mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Emma Mua</td>
<td>Aunt Mary</td>
<td>Ambai’s aunt</td>
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### Secondary Actors

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<th>Actor Name</th>
<th>Character</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gisa Lassy</td>
<td>Kole</td>
<td>Aliko’s husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chris Pondrilliki</td>
<td>John Tango</td>
<td>Ambai’s real father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jim Sari</td>
<td>Jay Rizeloh</td>
<td>Ms Rizeloh’s brother</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Helen Philip</td>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Aliko’s best friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Veronica Lasi</td>
<td>Lynette</td>
<td>Aliko’s school mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Offo Kepu</td>
<td>Mr Kepu</td>
<td>Aliko’s class teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Liana Lopi</td>
<td>Aliko’s 2nd Aunt</td>
<td>Sikon’s sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Siane Yaku</td>
<td>Sikon’s tribesman</td>
<td>Clan leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nicko Asapa</td>
<td>Sikon’s tribesman</td>
<td>Clan elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lopi Saliya</td>
<td>Kole’s tribesman</td>
<td>Clan leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jeffina John</td>
<td>Kole’s first wife</td>
<td>Kole’s first wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aulo Samuel</td>
<td>Kole’s second wife</td>
<td>Kole’s second wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lydia George</td>
<td>Kole’s third wife</td>
<td>Kole’s third wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Shannon Pondrilliki</td>
<td>Rudy</td>
<td>Smarthie’s best friend 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Naomi Patrick</td>
<td>Naomi</td>
<td>Smarthie’s best friend 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sr Mary Jonduo</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>Ambai’s counsellor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Dr Gairo Onagi</td>
<td>Degree presenter</td>
<td>Vice Chancellor – graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Associate Prof. Michael Mel</td>
<td>M C</td>
<td>Pro Vice Chancellor - graduation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lilly Samuel</td>
<td>Barbra</td>
<td>Rose Tango’s Maid</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dilen Doldi</td>
<td>Eldest Son</td>
<td>Kole’s eldest son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nicky Tura</td>
<td>Sigi</td>
<td>Rose Tango’s Security Guard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: Locations

Audition Locations
Banana Block, Louie Ipapu’s residence
Bena, Arufa, Tabitha and Albert Lassy’s residence
Massi, Pipae & Alime Pepe’s residence
Okiufoa, Robin Enka’s residence
Saisipik, Samuel Ongonda’s residence
University of Goroka, Mark Solon Auditorium

Production Locations
Bena
- Arufa – Aliko’s village, Sikon’s village, Kole’s village
- Bena Highway
- Sioke Primary School – Aliko’s village school
Goroka Secondary School – Aliko & Ambai’s high school
Goroka Town
- Bena Bus Stop
- Bilum Market
- Bowling Club
- Goroka Hospital
- GK Clothing
- Hospital Road
- KidzPala
- Market next to the Bird of Paradise
- Police Station
- Papindo
- Raun Raun Theatre adjacent
- West Goroka Highlands Highway crosswalk
- West Goroka
Kaufen Community– John Tango supporter fight scene
Massi
- Gore Wahasoka’s & Asibo Imara’s residence – Aunt Mary’s house
- Maloki Pepe’s residence – Ethan’s house interior
- Nokue Peko’s residence – Ambai’s house
- Pipae Pepe’s residence - Uncle Joe’s house

Pacific Garden Estates, Anna Bryan’s residence – John Tango’s house interior
Saisipik Settlement, George Pele residence – Ethan’s house exterior
University of Goroka
- Happy Valley, Dr. Nestar Lunar’s residence - John Tango’s house exterior
- Mark Eby’s residence – Ms Rizeloh’s house
- Music Building
- Newtown Road

Vehicles
- Blue Bus to Bena, Patrick Azona
- Green Toyota Dyna flatbed truck from Bena, Robin Itoe
- White Toyota Dyna flatbed truck, Timothy, Kaufena Driver
Contact

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Papua New Guinea
P: +675 7272-7125
Appendix 11 – Aliko & Ambai Screenplay
ALIKO & AMBAI

Final Draft
5 September, 2014
Story by Diane Anton & Jenno Kanagio
Written by Jenno Kanagio

For PACMAS Innovation Grant, Round 3
Love & Violence: Melanesian youth produce a film for regional distribution

Contact:
Mark Eby
Centre for Social and Creative Media
School of Humanities
University of Goroka
PO BOX 1078 | Goroka EHP 441
Papua New Guinea
FADE IN:

1

EXT: VILLAGE – MORNING.

We see the village in the early morning mist. Smoke rise from the roofs indicating morning activities as mothers prepare breakfast for their families. On the small path we see a young girl, walking towards one of the small thatched roof huts. She carries a bucket of water on her head, her body covered by a thin worn towel. Her name is Aliko. She nears the hut and we can see the smoke rising from her house. Beside the house, Aliko’s father is busy digging a drain. Aliko places the bucket of water on the ground and enters the house.

2

INT: KILLEN’S HOUSE – MORNING.

Mariona, Killen’s wife is in the kitchen cooking sweet potato in a large pot over the fire.

MARIONA
Aliko, kirap nau taim blo go lo skul.

Aliko, Mariona’s daughter appears at the kitchen door with a thin towel wrap around her body.

ALIKO
Mi kirap longtaim yet, mi go waswas na kam bek.

Mariona looks up at her daughter and smiles.

MARIONA
Okay, mi harim nois blo yu na mi ting papa ya, yu go senis na kam kaikai. Na yu lukim papa igo lo we?

ALIKO
Em diggim baret sait lo haus stap.

MARIONA
Okay, yu go senis na kam kaikai na go lo skul.

ALIKO
Wanpla baket wara mi pulapim kam putim ausait stap. Nogut, yutupla hatwok lo go lo wara.

MARIONA
Ayo, naispla pikinini blo mi, tenkyu. Bai mi waswas lo disla wara na kisim liklik kumu blo yu go salim lo maket.

ALIKO
Okay.

Aliko goes into her room to change.

3 EXT: KILLEN’S HUT – MORNING.

Aliko emerges at the door and wears her slippers. Killen is still busy digging.

ALIKO
Papa bye, mi go lo skul nau.

Killen looks up at his daughter.

KILLEN
Okay bye.

Aliko walks down the path leading out to the highway towards the school.

3a EXT: PATH TO SCHOOL – MORNING.

Aliko meets her friends along the way and they walk towards the school.

4 INT: CLASSROOM – MID MORNING.

Aliko sits at her desk as the teacher gives out marked tests and assignment papers to the students. The teacher calls Aliko’s name and she walks to the front to pick up her assignment. She gets her papers from her teacher and returns to her desk.

TEACHER
This class did very well with the last two tests and assignments. I’m really proud of your performances. You
have really improved over the last two terms.

A hush falls across the classroom as students look at each other wondering who is the top scorer of the last test. Aliko looks through her papers and finds her test paper. We see the score at the top of the test in red ink. 30/30. Aliko puts her test down and tries her best to hide her excitement.

**EXT: SCHOOL – AFTERNOON.**

Aliko and her classmates file out of the classroom as the afternoon bell rings. Aliko hurries through the gate still clutching her test papers in her hands and smiling and chattering excitedly with her friends. Lynette, one of Aliko’s cousins meets her at the gate and the two of them walk towards the village.

**LYNETTE**

Em wanem ol pepa ya yu holim osem? Kam mi lukim.

She grabs the test paper from Aliko and looks at it. She sees Aliko’s marks.

**LYNETTE**

Aya Aliko! Honest, yu brainbox ya. Man, ogeta test na asignmnet yu kilim ya.

Aliko blushes and looks away as Lynette continues scanning her papers. They arrive at the junction. Aliko looks around at the market place. But there are no sellers in sight.

**ALIKO**

Mama blo mi tok long kam maket tasol nogut em go ogeta long taun.

**LYNETTE**

Eh tru ya nogat man maket long hia nogut ol fait nabaut na ol man ronowe na ol no maket.

**ALIKO**

Husat save, disla hap ya ogeta taim bai ol sa fait
osem tasol. Ol meri fait long man, ol man yet fait. Maski, mitupla go long haus.

They walk onto the path towards their village.

EXT: KILLEN’S HOUSE – AFTERNOON.

Aliko arrives at the house and sees her mother sitting outside spinning cotton on her thigh to make a bilum.

ALIKO
Mama, mi ting yu stap yet long maket.

MARIONA
Nogat ya, ol birua lain lo hapsait kam fait lo mipla lo maket na mipla ronowe.

ALIKO
Ah? Em no gutpla ya.

MARIONA
Mm, ol mekim na mipla no maket tu. Yu tu mas was gut taim yu go kam lo skul. Disla hevi blong ol long graun ya istap yet.

ALIKO
Hey mama, lukim! Mi kisim ol test pepa blong mi bek.

She hands the tests and assignments to her mother. Mariona looks at each of the grades her face beaming in excitement and satisfaction.

MARIONA
Gutpla meri! Yu kisim ol gutpla mak stret. Mi amamas long yu.

ALIKO
Tenkyu mama. Mi laik go wokim londry long wara ya.

MARIONA

ALIKO
Okay. Na Papa ino kam yet ah?

MARIONA
Papa em go bungim ol man lo ples na ol toktok lo dispela pait nau tasol kamap ya.

ALIKO
Okay. Mi bai soim em pepa blo mi taim em i kam bek.

MARIONA
Orait. Luv yu.

Mariona affectionately kisses the top of Aliko’s head and gives Aliko her papers and Aliko goes into the house.

7

INT: KILLEN AND MARIONA’S ROOM – NIGHT.

A small kerosine lamp illuminates the room from a small table beside the bed. Killen sits on the floor facing Mariona as she busies herself with her bilum making. Aliko sits nearby watching her mother.

KILLEN
Ol birua kam fait long san ya. Ol sutim tok long mipla stilim displa ol hap graun long hapsait maunten ya.

MARIONA
Plis ol bikman blo dsla ples ol mas traim toktok na stretim disla hevi na yumi sindaun gut liklik ya.

KILLEN
Mi go na totok tasol ol ino laik harim. Ol sutim tok kam long mi olsem mi paulim stori na pulim graun blong ol nating.
MARIONA
Mi pret ya. Em bai bagarapim skul blong Aliko.
(She turns to Aliko)
Aliko, yu mas skul gut na go wok moni na stap long narapla hap. Stap long hia displa kain hevi blong birua na fait ba bagarapim yumi ya.

KILLEN
(To Aliko)
Yu harim? Em bikpla samting. Test pepa yu karim i kam soim mipela yu save skul gut na kisim save. Future blong yu i no stap long hia long ples.

ALIKO
Yes Papa.

Aliko leans against her father with affection. He pats her gently on the head. They sit in silence with their own thoughts.

FADE OUT:

EXT: RIVER – MORNING.

Aliko does her laundry in the river scrubbing and brushing as Lynette appears with her own load of laundry.

LYNETTE
Hey Aliko moning. Yu wan kam long wara ah?

ALIKO
Ye mi wan kam. Na yu wantem husat?

LYNETTE
Mi wantem mama blo mi kam na em go olsem long gaden.

ALIKO
Ah. Okay.

LYNETTE

ALIKO
Seh, yu noken fret. Nau bai papa blong mi na ol arapla bikman go toktok na stretim.

LYNETTE
Aya, mi lus tingting long klos blong Papa blong mi. Mi run i go kisim na kam bek hariap.

ALIKO
Orait. Mi bai stap yet.

Lynette leaves Aliko and disappears up the path to the village. Aliko continues with her laundry. A moment passes and then suddenly a loud bang and war chants can be heard from the village. Aliko stands upright scared and shaking with fear. She listens as the chants and gunshots continue. A woman wails from afar. Aliko runs to the riverbank and follows the path towards the village in panic.

EXT: VILLAGE - DAY.

We see the village from above. Huge clouds of smoke make it difficult to see. We see figures running in every direction through the smoke, men shouting war cries, women and children screaming and wailing. The village is being attacked.

EXT: VILLAGE - DAY.

We enter the village, in the haze of smoke and dust we see a man stabbing one of Aliko’s tribesman. At the far end, a young woman is dragged by a group of men into the bushes screaming and struggling.

10a EXT: VILLAGE - DAY.
Aliko hides behind the bushes at the trunk of a tree and watches the commotion. She stares at her house right in front of her. She stares at the house helplessly. Men from the enemy clan peer out from behind trees and take shots at whoever moves.

She sees Lynette lying on the ground and she hears Lynette moaning in pain. It appears she has been shot not far from the door of Aliko’s house. One of the men throws a torch at the haus kuk. If no one helps Lynette she will be burned alive.

Kilen quickly steps out of the house to pull Lynette out of harm’s way. One of the men fires his gun and Kilen falls. Mariona comes out at the same instant. She sees her husband on the ground. She screams and runs towards him. A stray bullet hits her and she also falls.

Aliko screams. The group of men turns in her direction. Aliko gets up from her hiding place and runs into the bushes. She stumbles and falls, then gets up and runs again. The men search the area where she was hiding earlier but they do not see her. Aliko keeps running. We see her cross the river in full gallop. She arrives at the main track leading to the highway and she runs down the track.

FADE TO CARD:

BEGIN OPENING CREDITS: TITLE

EXT: SIKON’S VILLAGE – MID MORNING

Sikon’s village is far enough away from Aliko’s that they are not yet aware of what has happened. Samapee is sitting outside making a bilum. She sees Aliko running and panting up the road. She drops her bilum and gets up as Aliko arrives and falls in front of her. Aliko starts crying and Samapee goes down and tries to comfort her and find out what has happened. Sikon comes out of the door looking anxious. Aliko continues crying.

SAMAPEE
Aliko, yu tokim mipla
pastaim. Mekim wanem na yu
krai olsem. Wanem samting ah?

ALIKO
(Sobbing)
Ayo . . . traipela pait, mama papa blong mi ya. Ol kilim tupla pinis oh. Ayyee.

Aliko continues crying as Samapee looks at Sikon in surprise. Then Samapee joins Aliko and starts to cry. Stunned, Sikon looks over the mountains trying to make sense of what he just heard and then he sinks slowly to the ground, bows his head, yanks at his hair and starts to mourn as his wife wails and Aliko sobs.

12 INT: SIKON’S HOUSE – AFTERNOON

Aliko sits in the room as Samapee gives her a plate of food. Sikon sits on the other side of the fireplace and watches Aliko but she refuses to eat.

SAMAPEE

(Gently)
Aliko, yu mas kaikai na kisim bek strong blong yu pastem na yu tokim mipla long wanem samting tru kamap lo ples.

SIKON
Yu kaikai pastem.

Aliko looks at the plate of food and sobs. Tears stream down her face. Samapee hugs her and rubs her back gently.

13 EXT: VILLAGE – AFTERNOON

Community members are covered in mud and sit in the middle of the village, mourning the clan members who were killed in the attack. Sikon and Samapee yank at their hair as they wail. Aliko is surrounded by grieving adults, looking lost and bewildered.

14 EXT: VILLAGE GRAVE YARD – DAY

Aliko walks slowly towards her parents’ graves. She stops and stares at the grave for a while. She kneels slowly as she place some flowers on the grave. She stands up again and wipes tears from her eyes. Then, she turns and slowly walks away from the graveyard.

FADE

15 INT: SIKON AND SAMAPEE’S ROOM – NIGHT
It is several months later. Sikon and Samapee are discussing about Aliko.

SAMAPEE
Nau krismas pinis yumi mas tingim skul blong Aliko. Trangu. Em tingting planti long mamapapa blong em.

SIKON

SAMAPEE
Em gutpla tingting. Sapos ol kirapim skul gen long hia, pait i stap yet, na em no safe lo Aliko long go kam lo skul ya.

SIKON
Yes, mobeta yumi salim em go stap wantaim Joe lo taun.

SAMAPEE
Okay bai mi salim “please call me” long Joe na askim em pastem.

Samapee picks up her mobile phone and walks out of the room.

16
INT: SIKON’S HOUSE – MORNING

Samapee is cooking as Aliko walks out of her room and sits next to Samapee. Sikon enters the house with a bundle of firewood and places the bundle next to the fireplace. Samapee blows the fire, then wipes the sweat off her brows and looks at Aliko.

SAMAPEE
Aliko, yumi mas tingting long skul blong yu nau. Aste mi toktok wantaim Ankol Joe long town na em tok orait lo yu
bai go stap wantem em lo hap na pinisim skul blo yu pastem. Yu ting wanem?

ALIKO
(Looking worried)
Aunti. Mi les long lusim yupela.

SAMAPEE
No ken wari long mitupla. Yu mas tinging mamapapa blong yu.

SIKON
Bikpla samting, ol laikim yu pinisim skul.

ALIKO
(still worried)
Tasol mi no kisim transfer na nogat mani blo baim skul fi long hap tu ya.

SIKON

ALIKO
Tenkyu Ankol. Tasol mi no save gut long Ankol Joe na femili blong em.

SAMAPEE

ALIKO
(Agrees reluctantly)
Okay Anty . . .
(Looks at the floor and says softly)
Em orait bai mi go.
17 EXT: HIGHWAY – MORNING

We see Samapee and Sikon leaving Aliko at the bustop. Aliko, looking anxious, gets on the PMV and waves to Sikon and Samapee as the vehicle moves away.

18 EXT: HIGHWAY – MID MORNING.

We see the passenger truck travelling on the highway. It is overloaded with people.

19 INT: TRUCK TRAILER – MORNING.

The trailer is packed with people. Aliko is crammed between a huge fat woman and an older man who sleeps soundly as he rests his head on Aliko’s shoulder. She is very uncomfortable. The woman is chewing betel nut and chattering loudly with the other passengers. Aliko tries to shrug the man’s head off her shoulder but he continues his sleep. The other passengers are talking and laughing. Aliko looks at the head on the shoulder, takes a deep breath and stares at the floor.

20 EXT: HIGHWAY – MID MORNING

POV OF DRIVER – the PMV truck enters the town area, large buildings and stores lined the sides of the road.

21 EXT: MARKET BUSTOP – MIDDAY

The market is busy as usual with people doing their business. Cars and buses try to weave their way through the crowds of people and traffic. Mini (late thirties) stands right at the centre of the bustop. Her daughter Smarthie stands behind her, wincing at the sun. Joe, Mini’s husband, dressed in mining uniform arrives with a shopping bag of drinks. He gives it to Smarthie.

JOE
Smarthie, em ya drink blong yutupla mummy na Aliko. Mi bai go nau. Yutupla wetim Aliko kam na yupla go long haus.

MINI
Ya yu go, taim blong wok ya.
Balus blong yupla klostu kam nau.

Joe gives some money to Smarthie hug her goodbye and he leaves.

SMARTHIE
Eh ol lain ya wanem taim ba ol kam ya, san tu hot na mi les pinis ya.

AUNT MINI
Wait pastem, em kam kamap ba em harim. Moning yet mipla wait go na avinun nating.

SMARTHIE
Mi laik go baim egg ya.

Smarthie walks to the foodbar to buy eggs. Mini watches her, and then returns her attention back to the vehicles on the road. She wipes sweat off her face in frustration and looks above the row of umbrellas.

The PMV truck approaches the bustop and the driver navigates it to a stop. Mini moves closer to the back of the truck and waits.

22 INT: TRAILER - MIDDAY

People are starting to descend from the vehicle. Aliko stands up and stretches, then she picks up her bags and walks towards the end of the trailer. She steps out of the vehicle.

23 EXT: BUSTOP - MIDDAY

Aliko looks around the bustop. She sees Aunt Mini and smiles. Mini walks towards her with a stern face.

AUNT MINI
(Angrily)
Yu no laik kalap long kar long moning yet na kam ah? Man, mekim mipla wait lo moning yet go avinun nau. Uncle b’long yu kisim balus igo pinis.
ALIKO
(Smile fades)
Nogat Anty, kar ya ova load stret na.........

AUNT MINI
(Interrupts)
Inap! Kisim ol bag blong yu na mipla go.

She turns around and scans the bustop with her eyes. She sees her daughter and calls out to her.

AUNT MINI
Smathie! Smarthie!

Smathie turns from the food bar and walk towards her mother, still eating an egg.

AUNT MINI
Aliko kam pinis, yumi go long haus nau.

Smathie glances at Aliko with resentment.

EXT: MARKET BUSTOP

Mini and Smarthie walk away from the bustop. Aliko carries her bags and follow them down the road.

SMARHTIE
(To Aliko)
Em nau, sikirap long karim kago, mas laik go long mosbi ating.

MINI

Mini looks back at Aliko and Smarthie and continues walking. Smarthie sneers at Aliko and hurries her pace to catch up with her mum.

Aliko drags along behind Mini and Smarthie.
Mini and Smarthie sit and rest on the verandah. They watch Aliko with her bag trudging slowly into the pathway.

AUNT MINI

Weeeeee Aliko, osem tru yu bai kalap long balus na go long Mosbi o? Karim planti bag tru long go long we ya?

Smarthie giggles. Aliko arrives on the verandah and put her bags down. She is exhausted. Mini and Smarthie watch her as she sits on the floor.

AUNT MINI

(Asks Aliko)
Em wanem ol samting stap insait lo ol displa bag ya?

Aliko points to the bags and explains to her Aunt.

ALIKO

Displa tupla bag ya em ol kumu na kaikai blo ples. Ankol Sikon wantem Anty Samapee salim kam.

She points to the third bag, which is big and heavier than the others.

(CONT/D)

Na displa bag em ol clothes blo mi.

Aunt Mini picks up the clothes bag and opens it. She removes some of the contents and inspects them closely. She wrinkles her nose in disgust.

AUNT MINI

(Snorts)
Hmph, yu bai need lo go painim nupla clothes. Displa klos em ino nap yu werim na go kam lo skul.

Smarthie stifles a giggle.

AUNT MINI
Ol lain lo ples givim yu sampla moni tu?
Aliko nods.

(CONT/D)
Ok, tumoro yu go long town na baim sampla gutla clothes blo werim. Mipla nogat moni. Joe em wok yet long mine na mi no save wanem taim em bai salim moni long mipla.

Aliko averts her eyes from Aunt Mini and stares at the floor. Aunt Mini walks to the door and goes into the house. She pokes her head out the door.

AUNT MINI
Eh yutupla kirap na karim ol bag kaikai ya kam putim long kitchen.

Aliko and Smarthie pick up the food bags and carry them into the house.

26
INT: DINING AREA – NIGHT

Mini and Smarthie are at the table serving food onto their plates. There are only two chairs at the table. Aliko sits on the veranda. Smarthie loads a large chunk of pork meat onto her plate.

SMARTHIE
(Softly to her mother)
Why tru na ol salim em kam long stap wantem yumi, ol no laik larim em stap long ples ah?

AUNT MINI
Larim, gutla em kam stap bai em wokim ogeta wok blong haus na yumi rilex.

SMARTHIE
Wssss mi tait long sharim rum wantem em ya.

AUNT MINI
Noken bisi lo em. Em no inap stap longpla taim. Wanpla year tasol, pinis skul na em bai go bek long ples.
They notice Aliko who has just turned to watch them. They pretend to smile at her. Aunt Mini quickly picks up a small plate and serves a small portion of rice onto it. She picks a smaller chunk of meat and places it on the rice. She walks to the veranda and hands the plate to Aliko, not inviting her to join the table.

AUNT MINI
Aliko, em skel blong yu.

Some of the food falls from the plate. Aliko picks it up.

ALIKO
Thankyu Anty

SMARTHIE
(Teasing)
Your’re welcome

Aunt Mini walks back into the room and sits at the table with Smarthie.

27 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM – NIGHT

Aliko opens the door slowly and enters. She looks around. The room is a mess, clothes, books, papers fashion magazines are lying everywhere. Smarthie lies on her bed with a headphone on her head listening to music on her smart phone. Smarthie ignores Aliko. Aliko looks around the room to the corner behind Smarthie’s table. Her clothes bag lies in the corner. Smarthie turns on her bed and Aliko quickly takes her eyes from the corner and looks at Smarthie.

SMARTHIE
Eh, stupid, yu sanap lukluk lo wanem? Stretim bed blo yu tamblo lo floor na slip.

Aliko looks around but there are no beddings in sight. She finds a small laplap and an old pillow and makes her bed. Smarthie watches as Aliko tries to make herself comfortable in her new bed. Aliko looks at her and smiles, but Smarthie turns away from Aliko and returns her attention to her phone.

28 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM – LATE NIGHT
Aliko is dreaming. She tosses and turns in her bed and beads of sweat form on her forehead.

(CUT TO)

29 EXT: VILLAGE – DAY

Aliko’s dream- She sees herself standing in the middle of the village. Her parents are running towards her, away from the group of men chasing behind.

MOTHER
(Voice echoing)
Aliko……………!!!

Close on Aliko’s parents, as they get closer to her bullets hit them from behind and they fall.

MOTHER
(Scream Echoing)
Aaaaaaaaaaarrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrhhhhhh!!!!

(CUT BACK TO)

30 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM – LATE NIGHT

Aliko sits up on her bed. Sweats dripping down her face and her breath coming in gasps. The scream from the dream continues but this time it is real. She listens. The scream is coming from the neighbor’s house. Aliko gets up slowly and walks to the window. She opens the curtain and peers out.

31 EXT: AMBAI’s HOUSE – LATE NIGHT

POV OF ALIKO – it is very dark. Close on the neighbors’ window. A light is switched on from inside. The window is now illuminated but the curtains are closed. We cannot see inside. We hear voices arguing inside, audible but in comprehensible. Objects crash to the floor. A girl screams.

(CUT TO)

32 INT: AMBAI’S HOUSE (KITCHEN) – LATE NIGHT

A plate of food lies on the floor, its contents scattered all over the kitchen. Ambai sits with her back to the wall covering her face with her hands crying and sobbing convulsively. Ambai’s stepfather Marcus is standing in front of her. He is drunk. Her mother Joanne sits at the table staring helplessly at her.
MARCUS
(Slur)
Yu wanem kain pikini ya,
mipla totok hamas time yu no
harim.

He lifts his hand and slaps her. She blocks her face
with her hands.

AMBAI
Aya daddy inap ya...

JOANNE
Marcus inap ya. Yu save
paitim em tumas.

Marcus turns to Joanne.

MARCUS
Yu pasim maus blong yu.

AMBAI
Mi skul na nogat taim lo .

MARCUS
(to Ambai)
Sarap!
(to Joanne)
Yu no save skulim pikini
blong yu na em no save harim
tok.
(to Ambai)
Yu laik riex na stap olsem
queen okay yu go stap wantem
papa trutru blong yu.

Ambai looks at him in surprise.

(to Joanne)
Yu tu no laik go na baim
samting blong maket na kam
salim ah?

JOANNE
(Angrily)
Mi wasim klos blong yu stap
yah! Hau bai mi go? Mi givim
moni long Ambai long go tasol
em no go. Em tasol mekim na
nau nogat moni na yumi kros stap ya.

AMBAI
(in protest)
Mummy!

Marcus points at Joanne’s face.

MARCUS

Joanne looks at Marcus in fear. She slowly moves from the table towards Ambai.

JOANNE
Ambai, yu tu traim na harim toktok ya.

She kneels beside Ambai.

(Whispering)
Yu harim toktok bai em no inap paitim yu . . .

Marcus watches them, his anger growing.

MARCUS
Eh, displa kain isi isi toktok ya yu ting em bai harim na senis ah?

JOANNE
Marcus yu isi pastaim.

MARCUS
(Shouting)
Isi nogat!! Displa pipia pikini blong yu ino save harim tok.

He hurls an empty tray at Ambai.

AMBAI
(Screaming)
Ayyaaaaa! Daddy inap ya!

JOANNE
Marcus plis......!!!
MARCUS
(To Joanne)
Pasim maus! Yu pasim maus blong yu!!

(CUT BACK TO):

33 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM

Aliko tries to get a better look at the neighbor’s house. She hangs on to the curtain but the curtain slips off the hook and she crashes onto Smarthie’s table. The table overturns and Aliko lands on the floor. Books, papers and other objects scatter all over the place.

The noise wakes Smarthie. She sits up in her bed, sleepy but alarmed. She sees Aliko on the floor with the curtain still in her hand. She sees the bare window.

SMARTHIE
(Angrily)
Stupid! Yu mekim wanem ya?
Traipla nait ya yu nonap long
slip na sta longlong nabat
ah? Putim keten ya gobek na
stretim table blong mi
hariap. Nogat bai yu go slip
outside. Blary kina!

She falls back on her bed.

(CONT/D)
(Muttering)
Trapla nait ya yupla wok lo
disteb nabaut nabaut stap.

She turns her back to Aliko and rolls the covers up to her face and returns to sleep. Aliko looks at the curtain in her hands. She gets up and tries to fit the curtain back into the hook on the window.

34 EXT: STREET ROAD – MORNING

Close on a group of drunken men on the street. Marcus is among the group. They are singing and laughing. One of them smashes his bottle on the road.

35 EXT: UNCLE JOE’S VERANDAH – MORNING
Close on Aliko, sitting on the steps. Her eyes are tired. She rests her head on her hands and gazes at the drunken men on the street.

AUNT MINI (OS)
(Shouting)
Aliko! Aliko!

Aliko jumps.

ALIKO
Yes Anty

Aunt Mini opens the door and steps onto the verandah with Smarthie behind her.

AUNT MINI
Aliko. Yu go long town na baim skul fee na clothes blong yu ah?

ALIKO
Yeah, tasol Uncle Sikon givim moni blong baim skul fee tasol.

SMARTHIE
Eh haf sense. Nogat clothes ba yu go as nating long skul ah?
(She laughs at her own statement)

AUNT MINI
Yu go baim skul fee na hap stap ya yu go lo second hand na baim clothes blong yu.
(Bellows angrily at Aliko)
Yu ting mipla wanem? BSP Bank blong yu?
(pauses)
Noken sanap osem longlong lo hia. Go nau.

She goes back into the house. Aliko looks at Smarthie but she also turns and closes the door. Aliko walks down the steps dejectedly.
We see Aliko doing her shopping in the second hand shops and she becomes more relaxed and cheerful. She tries out skirts and shirts and tops etc. We see her exit the last second hand shop with a plastic bag full of clothes.

TIME CUT TO:

36  EXT: ROAD – AFTERNOON

See from front - Aliko walks down the road with a shopping bag full of new clothes. Ambai struggles to carry five shopping bags of food in front of Aliko. Aliko catches up with Ambai.

    ALIKO
    Hi, kam bai mi helpim yu long karim sampla.

    AMBAI
    (Smiles at Aliko)
    Thanks.

Aliko helps Ambai with her plastic bags and they walk down the road. – See from the back.

TIME CUT TO:

37  EXT: UNCLE JOE’S BACKYARD – LATE AFTERNOON

Aliko weeds at the back of the house. She stands up and wipes the sweat off her face. She looks at Ambai’s house.

POV OF ALIKO - Ambai comes out of the backdoor with a big dish full of dirty clothes. She walks to the tap and starts soaking the clothes.

Aliko walks over to the fence that separates the yards. Ambai is busy with her laundry. Aliko speaks across the fence.

    ALIKO
    Hi.

Ambai looks up at Aliko.

    AMBAI
    Hey, Hello.

    ALIKO
    (Pauses, thinks)
Ambai finishes brushing a pair of pants. She puts the clothes back into the basin to rinse them. The basin is full and some of the clothes remain.

ALIKO
Kam bai mi helpim yu lo rinsim ol displa lo hia, yu rinsim ol narpla lo hap.

AMBAI
Se larim ya bai mi rinsim...

ALIKO
Shh noken bisi, bai mi helpim yu.

AMBAI
Orait. Yu raunim banis long hap nam kam.

She points to the place in the fence where Aliko can cross into her yard. Aliko walks around and they start rinsing the clothes together. The girls rinse and wring the clothes and put them into the big dish beside the basin.

ALIKO
Name blo mi Aliko

AMBAI
(Smiles)
Mi Ambai

They rinse in silence for a while, and then Ambai holds up one of Marcus’ long pants.

AMBAI
(Frustrated)
Aye, mi tait pinis long wasim klos blong displa man ya.
ALIKO
Husat? Daddy blo yu?

AMBAI
Mmm. Em save spak tumas na ol trasis blong em ya graun save pas na dirty nogut tru olsem skin blong pik ya.

ALIKO
(Laughs)
Em orait em daddy blong yu ya olsem na bai had lo complain. Wasim tasol.

They finish rinsing and Ambai places all the clothes in the big dish. She places the dish close to the backdoor and sits down on the concrete. She beckons to Aliko.

AMBAI
(Smiling)
Kam sindaun.

Aliko joins her.

AMBAI
Mipla long hia every weekend spakman save fulap lo street ya. Bai ol singsing, singaut longlong igo tulait.

ALIKO
Yupla stap long hia longtaim yet ah?

AMBAI
Ye, em haus blong mipla ya. (pause)
Na yu wanem taim yu kam stap wantem Smarthie ol?

ALIKO
Aste mi kam. Mi stap lo ples na mi kam. Ba mi sta wantem long hia na go long skul.

AMBAI
Aaaah? Okay em nais na bai yu wokim wanem grade?

ALIKO
Grade 10.

AMBAI
Aya mi tu bai grade ten this year. Yumi bai go long same skul.

JOANNE (OS)
Ambai! Ambai yo!

Ambai rolls her eyes and sighs.

AMBAI
Ye.

JOANNE (OS)
Kam oh.

AMBAI
(To Aliko)
Sori, mi go lukim mams pastem. Bihain yumi kets.

ALIKO
Okay.

Ambai picks up the laundry dish and opens the door.

ALIKO
Eh na ol clothes ya bai yu nonap hangamapim ah?

AMBAI
Stilman fulap.

Aunt Mini (OS)
Aliko! Aliko yo!

Aliko rolls her eyes and sighs.

Aliko
Ye.

Aunt Mini (OS)
Kam oh.

Ambai disappears into the house. Aliko turns and walks towards her Uncle Joe’s house.
Aliko lies on her bed still sleeping. Smarthie rolls over, yawns and continues sleeping. Aunt Mini knocks on the door. Aliko opens her eyes and gets up.

AUNT MINI
Aliko, kirap nau, moning pinis. Taim blong go long skul, kirap long moning yet na redim breakfast blong yutupla Smarhtie.

She pauses and listens. No response. She bangs harder on the door.

AUNT MINI
Aliko yu harim mi ah?

ALIKO (OS)
Yes Anty, mi kam.

AUNT MINI
Yu hariap na kam go kuk.

She walks away from the room.

39  INT: KITCHEN – MORNING

Aliko prepares breakfast. A kettle of water is boiling on the stove. Aliko places a frying pan on the stove. She mixes flour and places it on the pan.

40  INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM – MORNING

Smarthie gets up from her bed. She grabs her towel and goes to the bathroom. She studies herself in the bathroom mirror for a while, and then she goes into the shower block and closes the curtain. She starts washing, singing to herself.

41  INT: KITCHEN – MORNING

Aliko places the breakfast on a tray and brings it to the dining area.

ALIKO
(Calls out)
Breakfast redi!

She goes back into the kitchen to fetch tea. Aunt Mini enters and sees the food on the tray disapprovingly.
42  **INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM**

Smarthie stands in front of the mirror at the table. She brushes her hair, angling her head and inspecting herself in the mirror. She puts down the brush and picks up a shirt top. She holds it front of her and looks at the mirror. Unsatisfied, she tosses the shirt to the floor. She does the same with the next two tops. She goes to Aliko’s bag and takes Aliko’s new clothes out. She smiles slyly to herself and returns to her table with the clothes.

43  **INT: DINING AREA**

Aliko enters the dining room with another tray of pancakes, as Smarthie appears, fully dressed and ready for school. Aliko places the tray on the table and Smarthie reaches in and grabs a pancake. Aliko looks at the clock on the wall.

**ALIKO**

Aya taim pinis ya, mi go waswas pastaim.

She exits. Aunt Mini and Smarthie watch her leave, and then they look at each other. Smarthie laughs sarcastically. Aunt Mini smiles and reaches into her purse. She hands a K10 note to Smarthie.

**AUNT MINI**

Em ya basfare blo yu.

Smarthie grabs the note from her mother, picks up her bag and rushes out of the house.

**AUNT MINI**
Bye.

SMARTHIE
Bye mummy.

44 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM

Aliko searches the room looking for her clothes bag she cannot find it. She sighs and pulls her old clothes bag from the corner. She pulls out some of her old clothes and dresses in a hurry. She looks out the window and sees Ambai hanging wet clothes on the line in her backyard. Aliko stops and stares at Ambai through the window, wondering. Ambai hangs the last cloth on the line and returns to the house. Aliko returns to her dressing. She grabs her school bag, stuffs her receipts into the bag and rushes out of the house.

45 EXT: STREET ROAD – MORNING

Aliko walks down the road as Ambai comes out of her house and meets her on the road.

AMBAI
Ayo plis mitupla mas late pinis ya.

ALIKO
Ya.

AMBAI
Okay mitupla go. Bai mitla traim catchim bas na go hariap.

ALIKO
Em orait. Mi bai wokabout.

AMBAI
Yu gat bas fare?

AMBAI
(Shakes her head)
Nogat.

AMBAI
Em orait bai mi baim bas blong yu. Avinun mitupla wokabout kambek.
ALIKO
Okay, thanks.

They walk down the road to the bustop.

46 EXT: SECONDARY SCHOOL – MORNING

Close on school gate as Aliko and Ambai enters. They walk along the footpath to the administration office.

AMBAI
Yu bai go long office blong principal na regista pastem. Yu karim skul fee risit tu?

ALIKO
Ya.

AMBAI
Okay, yu go givim long principal na em bai tokim yu long klasrum blong yu. Mi ba go long klas. Yumi kets.

They part ways and Aliko goes to the principal’s office. Ambai walks to her classroom.

47 INT: CLASROOM – MID MORNING

Ms. Rizeloh, a medium height woman in her early 30s is teaching in the classroom. She paces the front as she speaks.

MS RIZELOH
...I’d like you to take note of this. Your internal assessment tasks for this term will include two assignments, two tests, one project and a field trip. I expect all of you....

She is interrupted by a knock on the door. She walks to the door as her students crane their heads to see who is at the door. Ms Rizeloh sees Aliko.

MS RIZELOH
(Warmly)
Hello. You are the new student?

Aliko nods and gives Ms. Rizeloh the note from the principal. Ms. Rizeloh reads the note. She nods her approval.

**MS RIZELOH**
Okay, come in.

Aliko follows her into the classroom.

**MS RIZELOH**
Class, we have a new friend, joining us this year... um...

She looks at the note.

**(CONT’D)**
Aliko. Please find yourself a desk and get seated.

She motions to Aliko to sit down. Aliko looks around the classroom and sees Ambai. Ambai smiles at her and eagerly beckons her to sit at the desk next to her. Aliko walks towards the desk. She sees Smarthie and her friends sitting at the back. Smarthie whispers into her friend’s ear and the girls smile and giggle. Aliko reaches the desk and lowers herself to sit.

Close on Aliko as she tries to sit. Smarthie pulls her chair back and Aliko lands on the floor. Smarthie and her friends howl with laughter as everyone looks at Aliko. Ms Rizeloh lifts her head from the note she is reading and looks at Aliko as she tries to get up. Her face flushed with embarrassment.

**MS RIZELOH**
Are you ok, my dear?

Aliko is too embarrassed to speak. The girls at the back continue laughing.

**MS RIZELOH**
I’m sorry these desks are old. I should tell the workmen to replace them. You girls at the back, what are you laughing at? Don’t be rude.
She stares at Smarthie and her friends at the back. The girls stop laughing and drop their heads.

MS RIZELOH
Okay, 10 A, for the sake of our new friend, I will reintroduce myself once again. I am Miss Rizeloh and I will be your class teacher this year.

48 EXT: SCHOOL YARD - NOON

The school is alive with students everywhere, walking around, playing, eating, telling stories and catching up with friends. Close on Aliko as she sits under a small tree. She looks to the school market.

POV OF ALIKO- Smarthie, Rudy and Jellel are eating lunch, joking and laughing. Ambai appears and sits beside Aliko. Aliko notices a swelling on her arm.

ALIKO
Hey yu mekim wanem long han blong yu?

AMBAI
Ah? Nogat, mi pund auna ya.

ALIKO
Em solap stret ya.

AMBAI
Aliko mi no klia gut lo how blong wokim displa assignment blong Ms Rizeloh ya. Displa project ya.

ALIKO
Yu wait nau avinun bai mi go lukim em na askim em lo explain gut pastem. Bai mi helpim yu long wokim.

AMBAI
Okay thankyu yu go lukim em kam okay, mitupla wantem wokim project ya.
A burst of laughter comes from Smarthie and her group. Aliko and Ambai turn and look at them.

ALIKO
Ayo, meri ya werim clothes blong mi ya. Em kisim na mi wok long painim, painim long moning stap ya.

AMBAI
Eeeee rabis pasin tru ya.

ALIKO
Nau em showoff nating long ai blong ol frens blong em osem em werim ol clothes blong em yet.

AMBAI
Blary useless, stil meri.

Ambai bursts out laughing. Aliko joins her.

ALIKO
Honest ya, em mekim mi belhat ya.

Smarthie and her friends notice Aliko and Ambai laughing. She walks towards them. Her friends follow. Smarthie approaches Ambai and Aliko. They look up at her.

SMARTHIE
(Sarcastic)
Eh Aliko, em ya wanpla K1 ya yutupla go baim lunch. Sore lo yutupla ya.

She throws a flat stone to Aliko and Aliko catches it. Aliko sees the stone and realizes that it’s a trick. She looks up at Smarthie. Smarthie and her friends burst into laughter and walk away. Aliko and Ambai stares at them angrily.

AMBAI
Mmmmm rabis meri tru ya

Aliko throws the stone to the ground, gets up and walks to the classroom. Ambai follows her.

49   INT: CLASSROOM – DAY
Ms Rizeloh gives the class an exercise and she goes around supervising and marking those who are finished. She comes around Aliko and Ambai’s desk.

**MS RIZELOH**

(To the class)
You only have five minutes to finish.

(To Aliko and Ambai)
Have you girls finished?

The girls nod.

**CONT/**
Let me see.

She inspects the exercise and gives ticks on their books.

**MS RIZELOH**

10 out of 10. Aliko, you are a welcome addition to the class. Very good! Okay, continue with the rest of the questions.

She smiles at both girls and moves on to the next desk. Aliko and Ambai smile at each other and continue their work. Over-hearing, Smarthie rolls her eyes and her friends laugh.

**FADE:**

50 **EXT: ROAD – AFTERNOON**

Aliko and Ambai walk along the road. Vehicles speed to and fro. A bus passes by and Smarthie puts her head out the window and waves to them. They ignore her.

A convoy of vehicles approach, overloaded with people carrying banners, shouting and chanting.

**CROWD ON VEHICLES**

TANGO! TANGO! TANGO!

The convoy passes a roadside market. The crowds at the market hurl sticks, stones and other objects at the
convoy. The convoy stops and the people on the vehicles jump down. A fight breaks out.

51 EXT: ROAD – AFTERNOON

Aliko and Ambai are caught up in the melee. They try to find their way out. Objects are flying and people are running everywhere. A man’s hand is cut and he runs towards the girls, blood dripping from his injured hand.

INJURED MAN
(In pain and helpless)

ALIKO
(In terror)
Ayo Jesus, Lord.

Ambai grabs Aliko’s arm in panic and the two of them run away from the fight. A young man, Ethan, runs towards them and grabs Ambai’s arm. Ambai wrenches her arm away from him.

AMBAI
Se yu lusim mi ya.

ETHAN
Yu pikini blong Marcus ah?

AMBAI
Ya.

ETHAN
Okay yutupla kam wantem mi na bai mi kisim yutupla go long haus. Em ya sotkat rot stap long hap ya. Yutupla kam olsem.

51a EXT: SMALL TRACK – AFTERNOON

Ethan leads Ambai and Aliko onto a track and they run until they reach the other end of the track and arrive on the main road.

52 EXT: ROADSIDE – LATE AFTERNOON
Ethan, Ambai and Aliko stand beside the road catching their breath.

ETHAN
Yutupla orait ah?

AMBAI
Ya.

They look at Aliko. She smiles. Ambai turns to Ethan.

AMBAI
Ol mekim wanem long hap na fight nambaut ya?

ETHAN
John Tango win lo bi-election na ol sapota blong em amamas raunraun stap ya. Ol rong tru lo kamdaun olsem long maket ya. Em kona blong ol sapota blong Paul Waram.

ALIKO
Honest, mi fret strett ya.

ETHAN
Yutupla laki olsem mi luksave long yutupla na savim yutupla ya.

AMBAI
Ayo tru ya bata honest. Thankyu strett.

ETHAN
Nem blo mi Ethan. Yutupla mas kolim mi Ethan.

ALIKO
Okay Ethan. Mi Aliko. Em Ambai. Yu save lo em?

ETHAN
Ya em yet bosmeri ya.

Ethan slaps Ambai on the back and they laugh.

(CONT’D)
Ethan smiles at Ambai and Aliko and they smile back, relieved. They walk until they reach their street.

Ethan points down the road.

Ethan
Tamblo long hap ya.

Ambai
Okay kets tumoro moning long hia.

ALIKO/AMBAI

Bye.

Ethan watches the girls leave and crosses the road to the other side into the market.

53 EXT: UNCLE JOE’S VERANDAH – LATE AFTERNOON

Close on Aunt Mini sitting on the steps. Aliko walks towards the house. Aunt Mini stares at her.

AUNT MINI
Yu mekim wanem go na kam late tru ya. Olgeta skull pikini kam pinis na yu stap long we go na nau tasol yu kam? Ah?

ALIKO
Nogat, Anti mi nogat basfare na...

AUNT MINI
(interrupts angrily)
Mi no laik long harim giaman blong yu. Yu kam go senis na go painim kumu long maket.

Aliko obeys her Aunt and walks into the house.

54 EXT: UNCLE JOE’S BACKYARD – NIGHT

Aliko is doing laundry. Aunt Mini appears at the door with another basket full of dirty clothes. She places the basket next to Aliko.

AUNT MINI
Yu pinis lo displa ok wasim ol narpla lo basket ya.

Aunt Mini goes into the house.

TIME CUT TO:

55 INT: AMBAI’S HOUSE – Kitchen – NIGHT

Ambai is doing the dishes.

JOANNE (O.S.)

(CUT BACK TO)

56 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM – LATER

Smarthie is sleeping on her bed. Aliko sits at the table with her books open in front of her. She tries to write but her eyes are sleepy. She rubs her eyes frantically. Smarthie rolls over in her bed.

SMARTHIE
(Mumbles sleepily)
Eh biknait pinis taim blong slip ya yu onim light long wanem? Disteb tumas ya yu kirap na go painim narapla hap na slip.

Aliko puts off the lights. She sits down on the floor and looks at her books. She weeps quietly.

57 INT: AMBAI’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Marcus bangs on the front door.

MARCUS (OS)
(Drunk)
Joanne! Joanne!
Kam opim dua ya!

Joanne opens the door.

JOANNE
(Angry)
Yu osem wanem ya? Ogeta taim bai kam lo biknait na singaut singaut olsem ol aminal.

MARCUS
Ah pasim maus. Kaikai blo mi we? Go kisim kam, mi hangere ya.

JOANNE
Kam go na painim.

MARCUS

JOANNE
Eh yu osem wanem ya? Lusim mi.

He throws a punch at her but she blocks it. She pushes him and he crashes onto the table. He gets angrier. He goes into the kitchen and comes out with a bushknife.

MARCUS
Yu laik smart long mi ah? Yu kan, bai mi katim yu long naip.

He swings the knife at her. She ducks and runs to the door. She opens the door and escapes. He follows her to the door stumbling in drunken stupor.

MARCUS
Yu go na noken kambek. Yu kambek bai yu dai.

He closes the door and throws the knife on the table.

INT: AMBAI’S ROOM – NIGHT

Close on Ambai as she sleeps. She opens her eyes wide as a hand touches her shoulder and rubs her arm gently.

MARCUS
(Whispers)
Sssshhhh. Ambai.

He puts his hand under the covers. Ambai, gets up quickly and resists him. He wrestles with her.

AMBAI
Hey, daddy yu osem wanem ya.
Daddy plis yu lusim mi ya.
Daddy...

MARCUS
Pasim maus!
He pushes her roughly onto the bed. 
[Camera switches to living room and we hear but do not see the following muffled sounds coming through the wall] He slaps her. He throws himself upon her.

AMBAI
(Screams)
Daddy nooooooo!
HEEEEEEEEEEEELLLLP!!

He punches her head really hard and knocks her out.

(CUT TO)

59 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM

Aliko sits up in her bed. She listens. She gets up and walks to the window. She peers out to Ambai’s house. Everything is quiet. She goes back to her bed. Aliko is about to dose off when she hears someone calling her name from the window. She gets up and goes to the window and peers out. She sees Ambai’s figure outside.

AMBAI
(Voice quivering.
Desperate.)
Aliko plis yu kam pastaim.

Aliko sense that something is wrong so she rushes out of the room.

60 Cut

61 (Combined with 59)

61a EXT: JOE’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Aliko opens the door and sees Ambai wrapped in a blanket looking ragged and unwell. Aliko gasps as she rushes down to Ambai.

ALIKO
Ambai, mekim wanem ya, wanem
samting kamap lo yu?

Ambai starts to cry and Aliko leads her away from the house and leads her into the haus kuk so they don’t wake up Aunt Mini and Smarthie.

61b INT: JOE’S HAUS KUK – NIGHT
Aliko lights the lamp and Ambai, who seems to be in shock, starts to tremble. When the fire is lit she puts an arm around Ambai and begins to speak to her gently.

**ALIKO**
Ambai plis yu tokim mi.
Sampla samting kamap lo yu ah?

Ambai continues crying. Seeing that she’s not ready to talk yet, Aliko puts water on the fire to heat.

**ALIKO (cont’)**
Em orait. Supos yu les lo totkok yu ken tok tumoro.

**AMBAI**
(Sobbing)
Dsla pipia man mi sa kolim daddy ya... em go insait lo rum blo mi na...

She stops and continues weeping. Aliko stares open mouth at Ambai in disbelief. Aliko grabs a small towel and with concern wipes the tears from Ambai’s cheeks.

**ALIKO**
(shocked)
Em Dadi blo yu. How na em bai wokim olsem?

**AMBAI**
(Shakes her head with no answer)
Mi nonap stap lo hia clostu lo displa man.

**ALIKO**
Tsol yu bai go we?

**AMBAI**
Mi ba go lukim anti blo mi .. sori lo distebim yu.

**ALIKO**
Maski, em biknait pinis. Yu stap na mitla slip lo hia. Moning ok yu go.

**AMBAI**
(After pausing to consider through her tears)

Ok.

Aliko lays down on the mat next to the fire showing some pain in the movement and Ambai lies down next to her. Aliko throws her blanket over both of them but we only see Ambai’s face staring into the fire waiting for the water to boil, not ready to sleep.

FADE:

61c INT: JOE’S HAUS KUK – MORNING

Aliko wakes up. She turns over and realizes that Ambai is not sleeping beside her. She walks out of the haus kuk and stands at the door. She looks around and realizes that Ambai has gone.

62 EXT: AUNT MARY’S HOUSE – MORNING

Aunt Mary is sweeping outside her small thatched roof house as Ambai arrives. Aunt Mary sees her.

AUNT MARY
(Excited)
Hi! Ambai, yu kam ah? Ayo longpla taim yu no kam lukim mi na mi wari ya.

She hugs Ambai.

(CONT’D)
Yu orait ah? Na mama wantem daddy stap ah?

AMBAI
Ya tupla stap. Mi wan kam.

AUNT MARY
Yu kam long sampla samting o yu raun tasol?

Ambai looks at the ground awkwardly and doesn’t answer. Mary’s notices Ambai’s slightly swollen face.

AUNT MARY
Yu no luk orait, mekim wanem long pes blong yu?
AMBAY
Em gat sampla kros pait long haus ya.

Aunt Mary looks concerned.

AUNT MARY
Dispela spakman maritim sista blong mi paitim yu?

Ambai nods her head and looks away on the verge of tears. Aunt Mary puts her arm around her.

(CONT’D)
Aiyo! Kain osem yu kam slip long haus blong mi liklik taim. Mi wan save stap na mi feel lonely tu ya.

She starts to sweep again.

(CONT’D)
Meh, teapot mi putim lo faia stap ya. Yu go chekim na wokim tea blo yu. Bans mi putim wantem bata antap long tray ya yu wokim na kaikai.

Ambai goes into the house and Aunt Mary continues her sweeping.

62a INT: MARY’S HOUSE –Kitchen –MORNING

Ambai sits in the kitchen looking at the kettle boiling. Her phone rings and she picks up.

AMBAY
Aliko?

ALIKO
Ambai? Yu stap we?

AMBAY
Mi stap lo haus blong Aunty blong mi.

ALIKO
Sori susa. Yu orait?

AMBAY
Mi no orait tumas . . .

ALIKO
Na yu bai tokim aun ti blong yu?

AMBAI
Mi pret long tokim em.

ALIKO

AMBAI
Aliko mi fret ya.

ALIKO
Yu noken fret bai mi go wantem yu. Sapos em orait mi bai askim Ethan na em ken escortim mitupla go. Skul clostu pinis nau.

Ambai considers for a moment. Then she nods her head in agreement.

AMBAI
Ok. Mi bai wetim yu long bastop.

ALIKO
Okay, mi kam.

62b EXT: TOWN – DAY – Afternoon

Ethan is selling cigarettes when Aliko and Ambai walk up to him. He smiles at them. We see them in discussion and then Ethan abruptly stands up and puts his arms around Ambai. He stuffs everything into a bag and they walk down the road.

62c EXT: HOSPITAL – DAY – Afternoon

We see Ethan, Aliko and Ambai arrive at the hospital. They enter the emergency area and find the sign that reads “FAMILY SEXUAL VIOLENCE.” They look in the door and a counsellor comes out and escorts them inside.

63 INT: CLASSROOM – MORNING
Ms. Rizeloh is going around the room handing back marked test papers. Aliko stares out the window. Ambai’s seat is empty. Ms Rizeloh holds out a paper.

**MS RIZELOH**
Ambai?

She looks around the room and notices Ambai’s empty desk.

**MS RIZELOH**
Ambai hasn’t been in class; does any one have any idea what happened to her?

Everyone looks at Aliko. Aliko stares at her test paper. Ms Rizeloh returns to the front.

**MS RIZELOH**
Okay, is everyone finished with the assignment I gave last week? Raise your hands.

Everyone raise his or her hands except Aliko. Ms Rizeloh notices.

**MS RIZELOH**
Ok, some of us are finished, others not yet. I’ll extend the due date to tomorrow.

She looks directly at Aliko.

**(CONT’D)**
Remember, your exams are coming up, and your remedial classes starts today at 3pm. You have to complete all internal assessment tasks so that you will be free to concentrate on your studies for your exams.

She pauses and looks at her watch.

OK its recess you may go. Aliko I want to see you in my office.

The students leave the classroom noisily. Aliko remain sitting at her desk.
INT: MS RIZELOH’S OFFICE – DAY

Aliko knocks on the door. Ms Rizeloh motions her in.

MS RIZELOH
Hi Ali, how are you? You don’t look happy. Are you all right?

Aliko hesitates to speak.

(CONT’D)

(Gently)
Are you having some problems?
(Pauses)
Do you want to share that with me?

ALIKO
(Hesitant)
. . . yes.

MS RIZELOH
(Gently)
It’s good to let someone know if you’re having problems.

ALIKO
(Softly)
I miss my parents.

MS RIZELOH
You are not living with your parents?

ALIKO
No, my parents died in a tribal fight in the village.

MS RIZELOH
Oh I’m very sorry my dear.

She pauses and looks at Aliko.

MS RIZELOH
I understand now why it might be difficult to focus on your studies but you were doing so well when you first arrived. Is there anything else?
ALIKO
Yes, but . . . I can’t talk about it.

MS RIZELOH
That’s okay. I’m just concerned that your marks have dropped and it will affect your internal assessment grades. Think of your parents. They wanted you to complete school successfully. Yes?

ALIKO
(Softly)
Yes.

MS RIZELOH
Use your memories of them to motivate you. Okay? Em ken strongim yu.
(Pause for effect)
Aliko nods.
Orait. Yu ken go nau . . and you can hand in your assignment when it’s completed. If you need anything at all, don’t hesitate to come and see me, Okay?

She writes her number on a piece of paper and gives it to Aliko.

MS RIZELOH (cont’)
Here is my number. Do you have a phone?

ALIKO
Yes. Thankyou Ms Rizeloh.

MS RIZELOH
I’m happy to help.

Ms Rizeloh comes around and hugs Aliko and leads her to the door. Aliko goes out the door. Ms Rizeloh closes the door and leans against it, thinking. She sighs and walks back to her table.
EXT: SCHOOL GATE – AFTERNOON

Ethan is chewing betel nut at a stall on the other side of the road. He looks at the gate.

POV OF ETHAN – Smarthie and her friends Jellel and Rudy are standing at the bustop waiting for a bus. Aliko walks out the school gate and goes up the road.

Ethan crosses the road and runs to Aliko.

ETHAN
Hey, Aliko.

Aliko turns and sees Ethan.

ALIKO
Hey Ethan.

ETHAN
Yu go we?

ALIKO
Mi go painim Ambai.

ETHAN
TranguAmbai ino kam lo skul ya.

ALIKO
Mi salim text tsol nogat bekim. Mi wari liklik long em.

ETHAN
Na kain wokabaut osem ya, yu mas nidim escort kampani gen ya yu tok?

ALIKO
Ye, kain osem. Na yu stap lo we na kam?

ETHAN
Mi salim sumuk raun go na mi kam.

Ethan holds her hand and they walk up the road.

(CUT TO)

EXT: SCHOOL BUSTOP – AFTERNOON
Smarthie and her friends are still at the bustop. Rudy sees Aliko and Ethan walking up the road.

**RUDY**
Eh Smarthie, kasen blo yu ya
mas gat nupla boifren pinis ya.

Smarthie looks up the road. She sees Ethan and Aliko.

**SMARTHIE**
Aya, no wonder em save giaman
lo wokabat lo avinun na go
late lo haus. Wait pastem bai
mi repotim em lo mummy.

A bus pulls over and they get in.

66a **EXT: AUNT MARY’S YARD**

Ambai is brooming the yard when Aliko & Ethan walk up. Ethan offers Ambai buai and they sit down together to tell stories and see how she’s doing.

**TIME CUT TO:**

67 **INT: CLASSROOM – NOON**

Ms Rizeloh is giving out the students’ report cards. She hands out Aliko’s card to her. Aliko get it and stares at it in disbelief. We see three Ds on her card. The last report card, not handed out, has Ambai’s name on it.

(SELECTED)
Okay class you may go. Have a safe weekend and good luck in your exams.

The students leave the classroom.

68 **EXT: ROAD – AFTERNOON**

Close on Aliko walking on the road. She reads her report card, and then stuffs it into her bag. She drops her head sadly and walks slowly up the road.

68a **EXT: UNCLE JOE’S YARD – AFTERNOON**

Joe walks into the yard. Smarthie is sitting under a tree, looks up, sees him and runs over to hug him.
SMARTHIE
Daddy!

JOE
Hello baby, yu orait ah?

SMARTHIE
Ye mi orait.

They approach the veranda.

SMARTHIE (cont’)
Mummy! Daddy kam!

68b EXTN: UNCLE JOE’S VERANDAH – AFTERNOON

Mini comes out on the Verandah.

MINI

Smarthie grabs Joe’s bag, he embraces Mini, and they walk into the house.

69 EXTN: UNCLE JOE’S VERANDAH – AFTERNOON

Aliko walks towards the house. She sees Aunt Samapee on the verandah. She is surprised. She walks onto the verandah.

ALIKO
(Greets her Aunt)
Hello.

SAMAPEE
Hello Aliko. Yu pinis skul ah?

ALIKO
Ya.

She walks over to her Aunt and shakes her hand. Uncle Joe walks out with a newspaper. Aunt Mini is busy scanning Smarthie’s report card. She looks up at Aliko. Aliko sees the card in her hands.

UNCLE JOE
Hey Aliko, yu kam pinis.

ALIKO
(Quickly to Samapee)
Uh, Anti mi go lusim bag na senis pastem.

SAMAPEE
Ya yu go senis pastem.

ALIKO
Hello Ankol.

UNCLE JOE
Orait yu go malolo pastem.

Aliko quickly shakes hands with Joe and dashes into the house quickly. Mini and Smarthie look at each other. Mini waves the report card. Smarthie follows Aliko into the house.

70 INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM

Aliko puts her bag on the floor. She changes out of her school clothes. Smarthie enters and pretends to look for something on her table. Aliko finishes changing and leaves the room. Smarthie watches as Aliko close the door. She waits, and then she dashes over to Aliko’s bag and opens it. She searches frantically and finds Aliko’s report card. The door opens and Aliko walks in. Smarthie quickly pretends to search for something.

Aliko eyes Smarthie suspiciously.

SMARTHIE
Aliko, yu lukim earpiece blo mi tu?

ALIKO
No.

SMARTHIE
Mi no save aste mi mas dropim nabaut lo hia.

She pretends to search the corner. Aliko picks up the broom and leaves.

71 EXT: VERANDAH — AFTERNOON
Smarthie comes out and gives Aliko’s report card to her mother. Mini scans it with her eyes and shakes her head in disappointment. Joe listens to the sound of the broom on the kitchen.

**UNCLE JOE**

Em husat? Aliko brum long kitchen ah?

No one replies.

**UNCLE JOE**

(Calls out to Aliko)

Eh Aliko, yu lusim ya nau tasol yu kambek long skul ya. Malolo pastem.

**Aunt Mini pretends to praise Aliko**

**AUNT MINI**

Ah Aliko em meri blong wok ya, ogeta wok blong haus em yet em yet laik wokim. Kuk, wasim plate, laundry, sweep...

**UNCLE JOE**

(Interrupts)

Nau tasol em kam. Em mas malolo tu na bai gat time long wokim ol home work blong em tu.

(To Aliko)

Aliko!

**ALIKO (OS)**

Yes.

**UNCLE JOE**

Yu kam pastem.

Aliko comes out of the house with the broom still in her hand.

**UNCLE JOE**

Putim broom ya na yu go malolo, nau tasol yu kam. Larim bihain Anty bai sweep.

Aliko obeys and puts the broom on the floor. She goes over and sits on the steps. Mini eyes Joe angrily but he does not notice. She taps him on the shoulder and shows
him Aliko’s report card. He looks at it but says nothing.

72 \textbf{INT: DINING AREA - NIGHT}

Aunt Mini, Smarthie, Joe and Samapee are sitting at the table. Aliko sits on the floor. Uncle Joe notices. Aunt Mini sees him looking at Aliko.

\begin{verbatim}
UNCLE JOE
Aliko blong wanem yu stap ..
.
AUNT MINI
(Cuts in)
Aliko, husait kros long yu.
Yu kam.
\end{verbatim}

She smiles sweetly at Aliko.

\begin{verbatim}
UNCLE JOE
Yu kam. Yu wanem. Nupla meri
ah?
\end{verbatim}

Smarthie smiles at her. Aliko looks at them in surprise. She gets up and joins them at the table. Mini serves the food on plates and they start eating.

\begin{verbatim}
AUNT MINI
Samapee. Ples olsem wanem?
Yupla stap orait oh?

SAMAPEE
Yes. Ol lain long hapsait ol
kam long stremim tok. Ol laik
wanbel na pinisim kros pait.

UNCLE JOE
Ya em gutpla. Stap wanbel na
yupla sindaun gut na stap
isi.

AUNT MINI
Eh na mi harim ol tok long
wokim senis marit nabaut. Em
tru ah?

SAMAPEE
Yes, mipla stap na ol lain
blong Kole kam askim long
senis marit go long ol. Na ol askim long Aliko. . .

Aliko drops her spoon and gasps. She looks at Samapee. Her mouth open in bewilderment and surprise.

(CONT’D)
. . . na mipla tok em yangpla tumas. Em stap yet long skul so inap ol wait na em pinisim skul pastem.

Mini looks at Aliko.

AUNT MINI
(To Samapee)
Mi no ting Aliko bai continue long skul. Report blong em i no gutpela.
(To Aliko)
Maski. Yu bihainim Samapee na yutupla go long ples.

Aliko looks at Mini in surprise, then at Smarthie.

ALIKO
 Anti...

She stops and looks at Smarthie but Smarthie busies herself with her food. Aunt Mini watches her.

ALIKO
 Anti mi no pinisim exam blong mi yet.

AUNT MINI
Yu kisim 3pla D long ripot na how bai yu continue long skul?

ALIKO
 Anti mi gat sans yet. Sapos mi mekim gut long exam . . .

AUNT MINI
Harim! Report ya soim olsem yu no save skul.

SMARTHIE
Mi save lukim em raun raun
wantem wanpla mangi lo street ya.

AUNT MINI
(Angry)
Ah? Wanem disla drug body ya?
Yu tok nau.

ALIKO
Nogat, Anti, em ....

AUNT MINI
(Bellows)
SARAP!! Tumoro tasol yu bai
go lo ples.

JOE
Hey, Mini yu pasim maus
pastem. Yu totok isi lo
pikini ya.

Mini mumbles to herself as Joe looks at her with a
mixture of anger and sadness. Joe turns to Aliko, Tears
fall from Aliko’s eyes. Aliko looks at Joe with tearful
eyes.

ALIKO
(Pleads)
Uncle plis, sapos yu tingim
mama blong mi, larim mi stap
na mi pinisim exam pastaim.

He looks at his wife and then at Aliko.

UNCLE JOE
(frustrated)
Okay. Aliko bai stap na
pinisim exam pastaim. Yumi
bai wet inap ol results blong
exam kamaut. Sapos em pass,
em bai stap na skul. Sapos em
fail, em bai gobek long ples.
Samapee, yu toksave long ol
lain long ples.

SAMAPEE
Orait, bai mi toksave long ol.
ALIKO

(Relieved)
Thankyu Uncle. Mi promis ba
mi mekim gut long exam blong
mi.

Mini, defeated, looks angrily at the wall in front of
her. Smarthie sneers at Aliko and stomps away. Joe looks
at his wife and daughter in surprise.

73   INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM – LATER – NIGHT

Aliko weeps in her bed. She sighs and wipes the tears
from her eyes.

(CUT TO)

74   EXT: TOWN BUSTOP – MORNING

Aliko leaves Samapee at the bustop.

SAMAPEE
Sori tru pikinini. Mi kisim
toksave kam tasol. Mi no gat
tingting long bagarapim skul
blong yu na yu yangpela tumas
long marit.

ALIKO
Em orati, Anti. Tenkyu long
kam. Halo blong mi go long
ankol Sikon taim yu kamap
long ples. Mi go long skul
nau.

SAMAPEE
Okay. Bye.

Aunt Samapee embraces Aliko and then Aliko leaves for
school and Aunt Samapee waits for the PMV truck.

TIME CUT TO:

74b(80) INT: CLASSROOM – MORNING

Smarthie and her friends at the back whisper to each
other and giggle and laugh as Aliko enters. Aliko
ignores them and walks to her seat and sits down. Rudy,
one of Smarthie’s friends taps her back. She turns
around.

RUDY
The girls laugh. Aliko looks around to see if anyone else has heard. The other students stare at her. Tears fill her eyes as she gets up and hurries out of the classroom and out of the school. We see her from the classroom window as she goes out of the school gate.

INT: SUPERMARKET – AFTERNOON

Ambai and Aunt Mary walk along the aisle, looking at the trays of groceries. Aunt Mary picks a pack of noodles and puts it into the basket. They turn the corner and run into Rose.

ROSE
(Excited)
Ayo Mary. Hello.

She hugs Rose. Aunt Mary hesitates to hug her.

(CONT’D)
Yu orait ah? Man... longpla taim mi no lukim yupla.
(She sees Ambai and points)
Oh na em husait?

AUNT MARY
(Quickly)

She grabs Ambai’s arm and they walk away from Rose.

ROSE
(Bothered)
Okay, bye.

She watches Mary and Ambai walking away from her. Ambai takes a quick glance at her before turning the corner.

AMBAI
(whispers)
Anti! Em meri ya husat?
Mary pretends not to hear and pulls a few more groceries off the shelf and puts them in the basket.

AUNT MARY
Sssss. No ken bisi long displa meri.

They continue down the aisle.

CUT

EXT: UNCLE JOE’S VERANDAH - AFTERNOON

Aliko returns from the market with greens. Aunt Mini and Smarthie are on the verandah. Smarthie is braiding her mother’s hair. Mini looks up at Aliko.

AUNT MINI
Karim ol kumu go insait na go kuk.

ALIKO
Anti plis mi gat planti remedial exercise blong wokim ya. Wanpla exam booklet bai mi mas ansarim na go givim tumoro.

AUNT MINI

Smathie laughs. Aliko stomps into the house angrily.

INT: AUNT MARY’S HOUSE - NIGHT

Aunt Mary and Ambai are cooking in the kitchen.

AUNT MARY
Ambai, yu laik go bek na stap wantaim mummy na daddy blong yu?

AMBAI
(Shakes her head.)
Mi laik stap hia wantaim yu.

AUNT MARY
(Gently)
Ambai, wanem samtin tru kamap lo hap?

Ambai pauses for a moment of consideration. She looks at Mary.

AMBAI
Daddy save kros na paitim mi na mummy.

AUNT MARY
Yupla mekim sampla samting na em save pait long yutupla?

AMBAI
Nogat. Yu save pasin blong em. Em save spak olgeta taim na kam kros pait long kaikai na mani.

AUNT MARY
(Shakes her head with concern)
Mmmm . . .

AMBAI
(begging)
Anty mi les long gobek long haus ya. Mi gobek em bai still paitim mi yet. Longtaim em kros na tokim mi long go stap wantem trutru papa blong mi. Anti, yu save long sampla samting na yu haitim long mi ah?

Mary narrows her eyes and looks at Ambai. Ambai watches her.

AUNT MARY
Ambai looks at her, waiting.

AUNT MARY
Yu kam, kam sindaun.

Ambai sits next to Mary. Mary holds her hand gently.

AUNT MARY
Ambai. Yu tingim displa meri mitupla bungim long supermarket long town? Mi bai stori nau.

FADE:

79 EXT: TOWN – MORNING

Ambai stands at the bus stop. She searches the bus stop looking for Rose to appear. She sees a woman from the back dressed in a very similar style to Rose but when the woman turns to face her she sees that it is not Rose. She sees Aliko.

ALIKO
Ambai, yu raun olsem wanem?

Ambai is clearly pleased to see Aliko

AMBAI
Aliko! Aunti stori long mi long nait. Mi painim wanpela meri. Bihain mi tok klia long yu.

ALIKO
Sapos yu laik raun okay mitupla raun.

AMBAI
Okay. Yu kam.

80 (renamed 74a)

81 EXT: TOWN – MID MORNING

Ambai and Aliko wander through the crowded street. Ethan is selling cigarettes on the sidewalk and he spots them.
ETHAN
Hoi tupla, yu tupla laik go we ya?

AMBAI

ETHAN
Hoi, mi ting yu no save sumuk ya.

Ethan takes a cigarette from the packet and gives it to her. Aliko looks at Ambai in surprise.

(CONT’D)

Em ya.

She takes the cigarrete and lights it. She puffs on the cigarette.

AMBAI
Mi kam painim wanpla meri ya, tasol mi no bungim em.

ETHAN/ALIKO
Husat?

AMBAI

ETHAN
Ye mi save long em. Yu painim em long wanem?

AMBAI
(Shrugs)
Sampla wok nabaut.

ETHAN
Ah, yu tok long wok okay, mi save lo haus blong ol. Bai mi kisim yu go long hap.

AMBAI
Wsss maski lusim ya.

ETHAN
(Insists)
Meh, yutla sanap raun nating painim em long hia bai yupla

AMBAI
Okay, kam yumi go.

Ethan starts walking and Ambai and Aliko follow him. SEE ONLY FROM THE BACK.

AMBAI
Haus blong ol sta long we?

ETHAN
Kam osem.

82  EXT: JOHN TANGO’S STREET – MID DAY

Ethan, Aliko and Ambai walk along the street.

ETHAN
Bikman ya em gat ol traipla bisnis long Mosbi, Lae na long hia tu. Em gat 5pla kar na meri blong em save draivim wanpla Toyota RAV 4. Meri save was long ol bisnis blong tupela long Goroka. Em baim kofi na tu em skulim ol mama long ples long lukautim gut moni blong ol. Boy yet em save raun sekim ol bisnis blong em long ol narpla hap.

They arrive at the gate. Ethan points to the gate of a huge and luxurious house.

(CONT’D)
Em ya haus blong ol ya.

They walk up to the gate and a security guard meets them

GUARD
Yes. Yupla?

ETHAN
Ah mipla laik lukim bos meri ya.

GUARD
Okay, yupla wet liklik.

They wait as the guard speaks with one of the housemaids. He returns and opens the gate.

GUARD
Okay yupla kam. Meri ya ba kisim yupla go lo bosmeri.

ETHAN
(To Ambai)
Yu go. Mi bai wait long hia.

ALIKO
Ye mitupla bai weitim yu long hia.

The guard opens the gate and Ambai goes in. The maid takes her into the house.

83 INT: JOHN TANGO’S HOUSE – NOON

Ambai stands just inside the main door.

MAID
Yu wet long hia. Bos meri em meeting yet wantaim ol meri insait. Bai mi toksave long em.

The maid opens the door to a larger room. We see a group of women sitting at a round table. Deep in discussion as the maid enters. Rose sits at the far end, with papers and pictures of coffee and marketing strategies all laid out in front of her. The maid walks straight to Rose and whispers in her ear. She nods and the maid walks back, shuts the door and speaks to Ambai.

MAID
Okay. Yu wet liklik. Em bisi stret. Em pinis okay yu go lukim em.

The maid leaves and Ambai waits. She looks around the house. She looks at the ceiling, the floor and the walls. Everything is neat and very modern. She suddenly looks at her feet and her clothes and suddenly feels out of place. She looks at the door of the office and then she turns and dashes out of the house.

84 EXT: GATE – DAY
Ethan sits smoking outside, Aliko stands with her back to the gate as Ambai opens the gate and runs out to the road. Ethan throws his cigarrete away and tries to catch up with her. Aliko stands there not knowing what to do.

ETHAN
Hoi Ambai, mekim wanem ya?
Hoi sanap pastem. Ambai.

Ambai keeps running. She turns the corner and Ethan gives up chasing her.

ETHAN
(To Aliko)
Wanpela faul meri ogeta ya.

CUT TO:

85 INT: SMARTHE’S ROOM – MORNING

Aliko and Smarthie are getting dressed for school. Smarthie is standing in front of the mirror brushing her hair. Aliko is checking her bag to get her biros.

SMARTHIE
Whew. At last exam kam nau.
Pinis exam bai mi go wan spin lo Lae pastem. Aliko na yu ba go lo ples ah? Sore ya?

She looks at Aliko. Aliko ignores Smarthie. She picks her bag and leaves the room. She slams the door shut and Smarthie jumps.

SMARTHIE
(Yells at Aliko)
Hey, isi lo dua ya. Yu orait o?

86 INT: LIVING ROOM – MORNING

Aunt Mini sits at the table. Aliko and Smarthie stand in front of her. She looks into her purse and takes out a K5 note. She gives it to Smarthie.

AUNT MINI
Em bas fare blong yutupla.
Okay all the best lo yutupla.
Bye.

SMARTHIE
Bye mummy.
The girls leave.

87 CUT

88 INT: MARY’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Mary jumps awake in her bed as a loud knock bangs on her door.

MARY
(In fear)
Hoi! Yu husat ya?

MARCUS (OS)
(Instantly)
Ambai we? Ambai we?

Mary walks to the door and opens it. Marcus barges into the house knocking Mary out of the way.

MARY
Marcus yu osem wanem? Yu no laik kam isi ah? Em wanem? haus blong yu?

MARCUS
(In rage)
PASIM MAUS BLO YU!! Bai mi katim yu lo naip.

He aims his bushknife at Mary and she backs into the wall in fear. We see Ambai as she jumps out the window from the other room.

Marcus hears the noise and goes into the room quickly. He sees no one. He returns to Mary’s room.

MARCUS
Yu tokim mi. Disla pipia meri we? Nogat ba mi katim nek blo yu.

MARY
Yu inap! Olgeta taim yu save wokim displa kain pasin na em les na ranawe kam long hia.

MARCUS
Pasim maus. Yu kirap na go painim em.
MARY
(Angry)
Eh Marcus! Yu nogat right
long kam long haus blong mi
na fosim mi. Yu harim?

MARCUS
Yu pasim maus! Bus naip bai
pas lo het blong yu ya!

He raises the knife and pushes Mary out of the house.

89   EXT: MARY’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Ambai watches from the bush beside the house.
POV OF AMBAI – Marcus drags Aunt Mary out of the house.

MARCUS
Yu painim em hariap.

MARY
(Cries)
Mi no save em go long we ya.

MARCUS
Aaaaaai. Yu laik giamanim mi
ah?

He leaves Mary outside and goes back into the house.
Ambai looks on. Marcus starts destroying everything in
the house. Marcus comes out slashing at everything in
his way. He points the knife at Mary.

MARCUS
Yu painim Ambai hariap tasol
na bringim em kam long mi.
Nogat, mi kambek bai haus
blong yu faia na nek blong yu
bai pundaun.

Mary trembles with rage but says nothing out of fear.
Marcus leaves her and disappears down the road.

FADE TO:

90   EXT: TOWN – MID MORNING

Ambai sits at a concrete footwalk and stares at Ethan
selling cigarettes on the other side of the street. She
gets up and walks over to him. He sees her.

ETHAN
Eh Ambai, orait oh?
Em ya wanla sumuk ya.

He throws a cigarette to her and she catches it.

(CONT’D)
Yu osem wanem? Yu no luk
orait? Sampla marit problem
nabaut ah?

He laughs at his own joke. Ambai lights the smoke and
remains silent. Ethan checks his bilum.

ETHAN
Oh shit.
(To Ambai)
Meh, yu bai sanap long hia a?
Sumuk blong mi pinis ya mi go
kisim sampla mo stock pastem.

AMBAI
Mitla go.

Ethan looks at Ambai for a while.

ETHAN
Okay.

Ambai follows Ethan and they walk down the footpath.

91 EXT: SETTLEMENT – NOON

Close on Ethan and Ambai as they walk down the path
towards the house. Some of Ethan’s friends are playing
cards and hanging out under the shade of a tree. One of
them look up and see Ethan and Ambai.

FRIEND
Eh Ethan, yu kisim misis
blong yu kam ah?

ETHAN
Wsss no ya. Maski psyche up
nating.

Ambai blushes and looks at the ground. Ethan leads her
past the group to his house. He opens his house and goes
in.

AMBAI
Ah... Ethan?
Ethan stops and pokes his head out. He gives an inquiring look at Ambai. Ambai hesitates.

AMBAI
Umm...Ethan...

ETHAN
Yu tok?

AMBAI
Mi nogat hap blong stap osem na mi laik askim sapos em inap mi ken stap wantem yu pastem, em orait o?

ETHAN
Mekim wanem? Anti rausim yu lo haus ah?

AMBAI
Ye...ah Marcus brukim haus b’long Anti na mi pret na runwe i kam. Mi no save . . .

ETHAN
(Cuts in)
Yu ken stap, tasol kain haus ya... yu lukim...

AMBAI
(Desperate)

ETHAN
(Shrugs)
Okay. Kain osem okay em ya bai mi kisim table na putim long side long rot ya na bai yumi maket lo hap.

AMBAI
Long taim yet yu sopos lo putim table.

ETHAN
Nogat man blong was long table osem na mi no putim.
AMBAM
Noken wari nau bai mi was.
Ethan goes into the house. Ambai fetches the table. Ethan comes out of the house with the cigarettes. He sees Ambai with the table and smiles.
ETHAN
Okay yumi go.

91a EXT: Roadside Stall/Market

(Montage) He gives her the cigarette packets and carries the table. They walk up to the roadside. Ambai sits at the stall as Ethan goes to market and returns with a bag of betel nut. They line the betel nuts along with the cigarettes on the table, as customers pass by and buy what they have to sell.

TIME CUT TO:

92 EXT: ROADSIDE - Afternoon

Ambai is sitting at the stall when Ethan arrives with a bag of betelnut. He drops the bag to the ground.

ETHAN
(Panting)
Eh mi lukim kar blong bikman ya long town.

AMBAM
Wanem bikman?

ETHAN
John Tango.
(Beat)
Why na yu laik lukim em?

Ambai busies himself with the betelnut bag and does not reply.

TIME CUT TO:

93 EXT: JOE’S HOUSE - MORNING

Mini sits in the living room reading a fashion magazine. Smarthie bursts through the main door.

SMARTHIE
(Excited)
Mummy! Mummy!

Mini looks up from the magazine.

MINI
Wanem ya?

SMARTHIE
Ol certificate blo mipla kam pinis lo skul na ol lain wok lo go kisim blo ol.

MINI
(Thinking)
Mmmm... na yupla no graduate yet na hau bai yupla go kisim certificate nating?

SMARTHIE
(Impatient)
Ssshh mi no save ya. Ba mi go lo skul na chekim.

MINI
Okay, yu chekim Aliko na yutla go kisim certificate na kam.
(Calls out)
Aliko.

Aliko appears.

MINI
Aliko, yu bihainim Smarthie na yutupla go lo skul na kisim certificate blong yutupla.

ALIKO
Okay anty.

Smarthie walks to the door and Aliko follows her. Mini watches them from her chair. The door closes.

EXT: SCHOOL GATE – DAY

Aliko and Smarthie come out of the gate with their certificates stuffing them into their bilums and they walk to the bustop.
EXT: UNCLE JOE’S HOUSE – NOON

Aunt Mini sits on the verandah. Aliko and Smarthie arrive.

MINI
(Eagerly)
Oh yutupla kambek ah? Aliko kisim blong yu kam na mi lukim.

Aliko reluctantly hands her certificate to Mini. Mini scans the certificate and shakes her head in disapproval.

MINI
Ooooh Aliko. Mipla westim moni long baim skul fi, givim yu lunch moni, baim klos na kaikai long yu na nau yu kamap wantem displa kain ol results.

She points to the certificate in front of Aliko.

(CONT’D)
Yu no inap mo stap lo hia. Yu bai go marit na stap long ples. Mipla westim taim nating long yu.

She pauses for a breath of air and stares angrily at Aliko. We see Smarthie sneaking into the house in the background.

MINI
Nau yet yu go packim ol kago blong yu lo bag. Ankol blong yu Joe kam long avinun bai mi tokim em na yu mas go long ples.

She drops Aliko’s certificate on the floor. Aliko picks it up and walks into the house with tears streaming down her face.

INT: DINING AREA – NIGHT

Aliko, Smarthie, Mini and Joe are sitting at the table. Close on Joe reading Aliko’s certificate.

MINI
(To Aliko)
Man, mipla westim taim nating long yu. Yu sapos long go wantem Samapee longtaim yet. Mi tok pinis ya, tumoro tasol bai yu pack up na go long ples.

Aliko hangs her head and stares at the floor. Joe finishes looking at Aliko’s certificate and looks up at Smarthie.

MINI
Yu harim ah? Yu...

JOE
(Interupts Mini)
Inap pastem.

Mini looks at him and takes a deep breath in frustration. Joe turns to Smarthie.

(CONT’D)
Yupla wok long totok long Aliko tasol. Na Smarthie pepa blo yu we?

SMARTHIE
Mi lusim lo rum.

JOE
Kirap go kisim kam na mi lukim.

Smarthie reluctantly goes to the room to get her certificate. Joe looks at Mini.

JOE
Yu lukim pepa blo Smarthie tu?

MINI
Nogat.

Joe shakes his head in anger and Mini sighs. Smarthie walks back in with her certificate.

SMARTHIE
Em ya.

She gives her certificate to her father. Joe stares at the certificate. Everyone is quiet. Then, Joe bangs his fist on the table and everyone jumps.
JOE
(Angrily)
Em wanem kain ol result ya Smarthie?

Smarthiewhimpers and reels back in her chair.

(CONT’D)
Mi westim moni na kaikai na ogeta samting long yu na nau yu soim olsem yu no save skul. Ol narapla pikini go long skul na kisim save. Yu go long showoff na raun nating tasol.

He leans over and attempts to hit Smarthie. Smarthie reels further down on her chair. Mini stops him.

MINI
Seeeh Joe yu inap ya. Yu noken paitim em osem.

Joe sits back on his chair, still staring at Smarthie.

MINI
Em ino rong blo Smarthie na em fail.

JOE
Na rong blo husat?

MINI
Mipla wan stap, em Smarthie save skul gut. Taim Aliko kamap tupla wantaim fail.

Aliko looks at Mini in surprise.

ALIKO
Anty mi no save raun . . . Smarthie . . .

MINI
(Bellows)
PASIM MAUS!!!!

JOE
(To Mini)

He turns to Smarthie and Aliko.

(CONT’D)
Yutupla wantem bai go long ples. Aliko yu go maritim Kole na Smarthie yu tu go painim wanla man long ples na yu marit.

MINI
Joe em wanem kain...

JOE
(Continues despite his wife)
Mi tok yutupla wantem bai go. Em tasol nogat mo tok!

He slams Smarthie’s certificate on the table and storms out of the dinig area. Mini watches him go as Smarthie cries helplessly in her chair. Aliko looks at Smarthie, then Mini, and then she drops her head and stares at the floor. Mini gets up from her seat and points at Aliko.

MINI
Tumoro tasol yu lusim haus blong mi na yu go long ples. Noken mo stap lo hia. Yu harim?

She leaves the table. We see her walk out the dinning area and follows Joe into their room.

INT: JOE AND MINI’S ROOM – NIGHT

Joe lies on the bed as Mini enters. He looks at her as she sits on the edge of the bed.

MINI
(Softly)
Joe, sori. Mi save osem yu belhat lo mi. Wanpela samting long taim yumi haitim. Papamama blong Aliko ol i no
wanbel long mi maritim yu. Yu tingim ah?

Joe nods.

(CONT’D)
Ol ino helpim yu long baim bride price blo mi tu.

JOE
Em trupla tok. Tsol ol dai pinis na dispela bel hevi yumi mas lusim nau. Yu tingim ol lain blong yu tasol na yu no tingim future blong pikinini?

He gets up and looks for cigarettes in pockets. He sighs and looks at his wife.

CONT/
Mi laik bai tupla pikinini wantaim stap na yumi painim skul blong ol . . .

MINI

JOE
Em tru.
(He sighs again.)
Orait, bai mi salim Aliko go bek long ples.

MINI
Yu noken wari. Mi harim olsem Kole tok em bai lukluk long skul blong Aliko so em bai orait.

JOE
(with resignation)
Em inap yumi salim em go long ples.

Mini turns away from Joe and smiles triumphantly.
FADE TO:

98  INT: SMARTHIE’S ROOM - MORNING

Aliko weeps as she packs her bags in Smarthie’s room.

99  INT: LIVING ROOM - MORNING

Mini waits impatiently as Aliko carries her bag out of Smarthie’s room. Joe meets her and hugs her. He gives her a small envelope.

    JOE
    Em yu holim blong lukautim yu long ples.

Aliko quietly takes the envelope and picks up her bags and leaves.

99a EXT: MARKET BUSTOP - MORNING

As Aliko near the market, Ambai and Ethan come up and help her with her bags. They walk to the bustop together and when the bus is ready they say their goodbyes and Aliko waves as the bus pulls away.

99b EXT: DRIVING BACK TO BENA - MORNING

Aliko sits in the bus looking out the window as Goroka recedes in the background and the scenery of Bena flashes by.

100 EXT: VILLAGE BUSTOP - AFTERNOON

Close on Samapee standing near the road. The PMV rolls to a stop and Aliko jumps down. Samapee meets her. She helps Aliko with her bags and they walk along the path to the village.

CUT TO:

101 EXT: VILLAGE - DAY - MONTAGE

Aliko is now a village girl. She goes to the garden, she does the laundry in the river, she cleans the house she cooks and she feeds the pigs.

102 INT: SIKON’S HOUSE - NIGHT

Aliko lies on her bed and she hears low murmuring coming from Skion and Samapee’s room. She hears her name being mentioned and she strains her neck to hear what they are
talking about. She gets up and crawls to the wall and puts her ears against the wall to listen.

SAMAPEE (OS)
Tsol Kole em gat haumas meri?
Aliko em yangpela tumas.

SIKON (OS)
Em gat tripla meri tsol em orait, ol bai was gut long em. Mi harim Kole tok em bai lukiuk long em long sait blong skul na kain olsem so mi amamas.

SAMAPEE (OS)
Mi tok pinis. Em yangpla tumas.

SIKON (OS)
Lusim. Mipla pasim tok pinis.

Aliko leans against the wall in despair. She stares blankly at the wall for a while and then she crawls back to her bed.

103 INT: ALIKO’S ROOM - EARLY MORNING

Close on the corner of the room as a lizard passes by on the wall. Aliko sits on her bed staring at the lizard on the wall. Her bag is packed. She hears voices outside and she listens. She gets up and walks to the door just as the door bursts open as Samapee rushes in.

SAMAPEE
Aliko, ol lain blo Kole kam pinis lo kisim yu.

Aliko remains silent.

SAMAPEE
Yu kisim ol samting blo yu.
Bai yu go wantem ol.

ALIKO
(Scared)
Anty mi fret ya.

SAMAPEE
Aliko, yu noken wari o fret.
Olgeta samting bai orait,
Kole em gutpla man. Em bai
Aliko hugs Aliko and pats her back in assurance.

(CONT’D)
Kisim bag blong yu na bai mi
kisim yu go autsait.

Aliko picks up her bag and they leave the room.

104  EXT: SIKON’S HOUSE – MORNING
A crowd of people gathers outside Sikon’s house. Kole’s tribesmen and Sikon are waiting as Samapee and Aliko appear at the door. Sikon walks to Aliko and takes her hand. He leads her to Kole’s tribesman. The group leader shakes Aliko’s hand as Samapee wails in the background. Sikon hugs Aliko and shakes hands with the men and they leave the village.

105  EXT: ROAD SIDE MARKET – MORNING
Ethan and Ambai are setting their stall for the day’s business. Ambai is quiet and withdrawn. She is sad. Ethan studies her face for a moment.

ETHAN
Ambai, yu orait o?

Ambai does not answer, she keeps arranging the cigarette packets on the table.

ETHAN
Hoi yu toktok ya, sampela
samting rong o?

AMBAI
(Softly)
Nogat.

ETHAN
Wssss, yu totok ya wanem
samting mekim yu pes drai
osem?

AMBAI
(Irritated)
Se! Mi tok nogat ya. Yu olsem
wanem?
ETHAN
Oh, mas sampla private
tingting nabat olsem na les
lo mipla bai save. Nogut yu
wari long ol lain long aus
blo yu.

Ambai remains silent.

(CONT’D)

(Jokes)
Oh trangu. Papa mas wari long
pikini meri blong em osem na
pikini meri blong em tu wari
long papa stap. Hehe.

Ambai gets up suddenly. She picks up a cigarette packet
and throws it at him in anger. He ducks, surprised by
her sudden anger. Before he can react she stomps off
leaving him staring at her with cigarettes all over the
place.

106 EXT: KOLE’S VILLAGE – MID MORNING

Kole’s tribesmen arrive at the village with Aliko. They
chant a song of victory as they enter the village. Kole
sits on a chair at his house as his tribesmen bring
Aliko in front of him. His other three wives sneak
around the house to take a peek at their new young
rival. The chanting stops as Kole stands up. He walks
slowly to Aliko and takes her hand. He studies her face
as Aliko blinks rapidly, nervous and scared. He returns
to his chair. The group leader of his tribesmen comes
out. He calls all of Kole’s other wives and they present
themselves in front of him. He turns to Aliko.
Kole’s wives shake hands with Aliko and introduce
themselves.

106a EXT: KOLE’S VILLAGE – MID MORNING

The leader then takes Aliko to a small house.

GROUP LEADER
(To Aliko)
Em haus blong yu. Yu bai stap
long hia.

Two of Kole’s tribesmen carry Aliko’s bags into the
house. The group leader takes Aliko back to Kole’s
house.
107 EXT: ROADSIDE MARKET – AFTERNOON

Ethan is sitting at the stall when Ambai arrives drunk and stumbling. Ethan watches her in disbelief. She walks up to Ethan.

AMBAI
Hoi, mi laik baim sumuk ya.

Ethan shakes is head.

ETHAN
Trupla meri ya, yu go spak
long we na kam?

AMBAI
Yu pasim na givim sumuk kam.
Honest ya yu no givim sumuk
ya bai mi krai ya. Ethan ohh.

She stumbles and lands on the table scattering betelnut and cigarettes to the ground. Ethan holds her and steadies her. He gives her a cigarette. The other vendors look at them curiously.

ETHAN
Inap, yu mekim ogeta man
lukluk long mitupla ya.
Distebim maket ya. Kam mitla
go long haus.

He takes her hand and leads her away from the stall to the house. He calls to one of the vendors.

ETHAN
Hoi, yu was lo maket stap mi
kisim em go lusim long haus
pastem.

He drags Ambai down the road.

108 INT: ETHAN’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Ambai is dancing and singing as she drinks from a bottle of coffee punch. Ethan tries his best to control her. She holds the half full bottle to his mouth and forces him to drink. He turns his face away.

AMBAI
Aaaaaah, wara wara man nabat
ya. Yu no fit long drink ya.
ETHAN
Wsssss. Yu sindaun isi pastem.

AMBAI
Yu tok yu bai drink wantem mi nau, bai mi sidaun.

ETHAN
(Hesistates)
Okay.

She gives him the bottle.

AMBAI
Apim full maus pastem. Nogat em yu wara wara ya yu no fit lo dring.

Ethan lifts the bottle to his mouth and takes a long draught.

109 EXT: VILLAGE – NIGHT

We see people eating and drinking. They are singing and dancing in celebration. Aliko sits on a chair beside Kole. They watch the celebration in silence.

(CUT TO)

110 INT: ETHAN’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Ethan and Ambai are having their own celebration. They drink, sing, laugh and dance around the room.

(CUT BACK TO)

111 EXT: KOLE’S VILLAGE – NIGHT

The party continues. Men and women are singing and dancing. Aliko is tired. She speaks to Kole (we do not hear what she says) He nods and she gets up and leaves.

112 ETHAN’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Ambai lights a roll of marijuana. Ethan tries to stop her but she dances away from him and continues smoking. Ethan watches her as he drinks from the bottle.

113 INT: ALIKO’S ROOM – LATE NIGHT
Aliko is fast asleep in her bed. We see Kole enter the room and close the door. We only hear the conversation behind the closed door.

ALIKO
Hey, yu lusim mi ya. Mi les ya. Kole plis.

KOLE

FADE:

114 INT: ETHAN’S HOUSE – LATE NIGHT

Ethan and Ambai, exhausted and stoned, sit on the bed together. We see the mariwana cigarette still burning on a poster of John Tango on the floor. Ambai looks down and picks the cigarette. She holds the cigarette and stares at the poster on the floor. She covers her face with her hands and sobs loudly. Ethan moves closer to her.

ETHAN
Ambai, yu olsem wanem?

AMBAI

Ethan studies the poster on the floor as Ambai continues sobbing. He looks at her.

ETHAN
Na longtaim mitupla go long haus blong John Tango na yu ronowe kambek.

AMBAI
(Sobs)
Mi fret ya. Nogut em bai krosim mi.

ETHAN
Ah, hau bai em krosim yu nating? Em orait bai mitla gobek gen na yu go lukim em.

Ambai dries her eyes and looks up. She sniffs and blinks.

AMBAI

Ya.

115 Ext: Kole’s Hamlet - Morning

Aliko is getting ready to go to the garden. She prepares her baskets and bilums and then she starts looking for her spade. Some of Kole’s children from his other wives are playing outside the house. Aliko walks to the back of one of the houses and picks up a spade. One of the children sees her and runs off to his mother, Kole’s third wife.

CHILD

Mama, mama, disla nupla meri blong papa ya kam kisim spade blong yumi baksait lo haus ya.

THIRD WIFE

Ah? Em wanem spade blong em na em kam go kisim ah?

The child takes his mother to Aliko who is about to go to the garden.

THIRD WIFE

Hoi, yu askim husat na yu kisim spade ya?

ALIKO

Sori, mi ting yupla nonap yusim nau. Osem na mi laik kisim go lo gaden.

THIRD WIFE

Em wanem samting blo yu ah? Blary pipia meri ya sikirap long marit na yu nonap painim samting blong yu yet long wokim gaden ah?

ALIKO

Eh, yu totok isi. Mi save em samting blo yu. Gaden mi
wokim blong lukautim yumi ogeta wantem ol pikinini ya.

THIRD WIFE
Ah, passim maus blo yu na karim spade blo mi kam. Pipia meri nabaut ya sikirap tru lo marit na nogat samting lo skin blo yu ya.

Kole’s other wives arrive on the scene.

FIRST WIFE
Em mekim wanem ya?

THIRD WIFE
Stil meri ya, em no save askim na kisim samting.

FIRST WIFE
Em tasol ya. Tupla sospen blong mi lus na mi wok lo painim ya em tasol kism.

ALIKO
Eh mi no kisim...

KOLE’S WIVES

THIRD WIFE
Pipia pamuk blo rot ya painim man na kam giaman long marit na stap. Nogat use blong yu ya.

ALIKO
(Angry)
Mi no pamuk meri blo yupla.

She rushes towards Kole’s third wife and puches her. They start fighting and the other wives join in. Kole’s elder sons intervene and stop the fight. They pull their mothers away from Aliko and drag her out of the fight.

THIRD WIFE
Yu fit lo we ya? Bai mi brukim yu ya ya harim.

FIRST WIFE
Slek ya, yu no fit ya.

Aliko walks quickly away from the group.

115a EXT: TOP OF THE RIDGE

She walks to the top of the ridge. From here she can see across the valley and her anger starts to subside. She suddenly remembers a moment with her father standing in a very similar place in her childhood. She remembers that moment

(Flashback)

KILEN
Aliko, you no ken stap long hia. Yu mas lusim displa hap na go pinisim skul b’long yu. Yu mas skul gut na bihain bai yu sindaun gut.

A WOMAN
(Shouts from the valley)
Aliko!

Aliko turns towards the direction of the shout. When she turns back the memory of her father is gone and only the valley lies below her. She makes a decision and walks back down the mountain with determination.

116 INT: KOLE’S HOUSE – MORNING

Aliko barges into Kole’s room. Kole looks up, surprised by the sudden entry. Aliko puts her hands on her hips and speaks with a new found maturity.

ALIKO
Mi les pinis long yu wantem ol meri blong yu. Ol save kros lo liklik liklik samting oooogeta taim.

KOLE
Hey yu isi pastem. Mekim wanem na yupla kros nabant.

ALIKO
Mekim wanem nogat. Yu wantem ol meri blong yu pasin blo yupla nogut. Mi bai gobek gen lo ples blo mi.

KOLE
Hehe sore. Yu go ya bai ol rausim yu lo hap na karim yu kambek hia. Mipla baim skin blong yu pinis. Yu save tu o nogat?

ALIKO

KOLE
Hey, yu totok lo wanem kain skul? Skul ya em yu kam marit na lainim long kamap meri nau... wokim wok blong haus, was long pikini, wokim gaden na givim kaikai lo man blo yu. Kaikai blo antap na tamblo wantem.

He roars with laughter at his own joke and starts to walk towards her with a leer. Aliko with cool intent pulls a knife from her bilum and stands her ground. Kole stops, suddenly unsure of what to do.

KOLE
(Surprised)
Aiyo! Longlong meri. Yu olsem wanem?

He takes a step back.

ALIKO
(Shaking with rage)

Aliko turns quickly and walks out the door with a new-found confidence.
117 EXT: KOLE’S VILLAGE – MORNING

Aliko carries her bag and walks down the road. She reaches into her pocket and pulls out the envelope given to her by her uncle Joe. She opens the envelope and checks it. Then she reaches into her bag and pulls out another piece of paper. We see Ms Rizeloh and Joe’s number written on the paper. She folds the envelope and puts it back in the bag. She looks around and sees no one. She hurries her pace and walks quickly down the road.

118 EXT: VILLAGE BUSTOP – MID MORNING

Aliko arrives at the bustop and looks around. Vehicles speed to and fro. A car passes and we see a vendor on the other side of the road. Aliko crosses the road to the vendor’s side. She buys two flex cards from the vendor.

ALIKO
Ah, bata inap mi yusim phone blong yu long ring pastem?
The vendor hands her his phone. She dials and calls.

ALIKO
(Into the phone)
Hello, Ms Rizeloh...mi ya
Aliko...yes.
Um, mi ring tasol long
toksav olsem mi gat sampla
hevi na mi bai kam long town.
Inap mi kam lukim yu?...
Okay, yes...orait...ye.... bye.

(CUT TO)

119 EXT: JOHN TANGO’S RESIDENCE – NOON

We see Ethan and Ambai approaching the gate. The guard at the gate meets them.

GUARD
(Impolite)
Yes, yutupla?

ETHAN
Mitla laik lukim bikman ya.

GUARD
(Bossy)
Oh sori, bosman blong mipla
em bisi stretna em nogat
taim blong lukim ol man
nabaut.

The guard points to a group of workmen carrying
furniture out of the house and loading it onto a truck.

ETHAN
Na nogat sampla wokman o
disla kain nabat stap we
mipla ken lukim ol?

GUARD
(Shakes his head)
Nogat.

Ethan looks at Ambai and shrugs. Ambai walks away from
the gate. Ethan looks into the front yard. He sees the
car belonging to Rose Tango still parked in the
driveway.

ETHAN
(To the guard)
Eh, na bos meri stap? Inap
mipla lukim em?

GUARD
(Irritated)
Eh, mi tokim yu pinis. Wanem
kain bisnis blong yu wantem
ol, em bihain bai yu lukim
ol. Nau ol bisi na ol nogat
taim blong lukim yupla.

Rose appears on the balcony and sees Ethan arguing with
the guard at the gate. They do not see her. She watches
quietly. Ambai walks back to the gate and pulls Ethan
away from the guard. Rose frowns. Ethan says something
to the guard and he opens the gate and tries to hit
Ethan. Ethan and Ambai back away from the gate. The
guard whistles and two large dogs come running and
barking to the gate. The dogs chase Ethan and Ambai down
the road. Rose gasps then she quickly rushes back into
the house.

120 INT: ETHAN’S HOUSE – AFTERNOON

Ethan is holding his bleeding hand and wincing in pain.
Ambai rushes around the room looking for something to
stem the bleeding.

AMBAI
Nogat sampela first aid nabaut long hia oh?

ETHAN
Wsss yu kisim tasol hap laplap long hap ya kam na mi pasim tasol pastem.
(Looks at his hand)
Karrpla pipia security nabaut ya. Asshole ya showoff nating olsem tru haus blong papa blo em.

Ambai finds a piece of cloth and start wrapping Ethan’s arm.

AMBAI
Yu tok wanem long em na em lusim ol dok ya.

ETHAN
Mi no tok wanpla tok tu ya. Mi askim em gut long lukim ol lain insait lo haus ya. Em laik showoff tasol na em wokim. Bai mi putim was long em ya, em faul raun long taun bai mi brukim skull blo em.

AMBAI
Mi pasim blo stopim blut tasol, bai mi boilim wara wasim pastem okay yumi pasim em gut.

They sit in silence as Ambai finishes wrapping the wound.

(CUT TO)

121 EXT: PARK NEAR HIGH SCHOOL – AFTERNOON

Aliko waits at the edge of the park very close to the busy highway. The sun is hot and she has had nothing to drink. Her vision gets blurry. The world starts to spin around her. She shakes her head to clear her vision. She sees her parents standing in the distance. They are smiling at her. Her mother beckons her to join them. She starts to move towards her parents. Her parents are closer now. She can see them clearly. Her mother is waving and beckoning her to join them. A truck horn honks and someone screams loudly. Aliko feels someone pulling her away. She is brought back to the present.
She is lying on the ground and looking up. Ms Rizeloh’s face appears in front of her.

**MS RIZELOH**
Aliko, are you all right?

She blinks and Ms Rizeloh helps her to a sitting position. She looks at her teacher in surprise.

**MS RIZELOH**
My, dear you are not okay. You almost got run over by a truck. You are lucky I saw you just in time. Yu orait o mi kisim yu go lo hausik.

**ALIKO**
Mi orait.

**MS RIZELOH**
Yu no luk orait. Sampla samting kamap long yu ah?

Aliko shakes her head.

**ALIKO**
Mi mas driman o? mi no save.

**MS RIZELOH**
Hia. Yu dring wara pastaim.

She pulls a bottle of water out of her bag and Aliko drinks showing great thirst. She splashes water on her face and then looks at her teacher with gratitude and a smile.

**MS RIZELOH**
Okay, kam mitupla go long haus blong mi pastem.

She helps Aliko stand and they walk away from the park.

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**INT: ETHAN’S HOUSE – AFTERNOON**

Ambai is sweeping the house as Ethan sleeps. Someone knocks on the door. Ethan sits up on the bed. Ambai looks at him and he looks at her. The knock comes again.

**ROSE (OS)**
Hello.

Ambai walks to the door and opens it. Rose is standing there.
ROSE
(Smiles)
Hi, yu wantaim wanpla mangi
bin kam lo haus blong mi long
san?

Ambai nods.

AMBAI
Ye mitupla go tasol ol
security lusim dog na ol
ronim mitupla.

Ethan appears at the door. Rose sees the bandage on his
hand.

ROSE
Oh sori. Mi no stap na ol
security mekim olsem long
yutupla. Sori stret.

ETHAN
Noken bisi mams. Mi orait.

ROSE
Na yutupla kam long lukim mi
long sampla samting?

AMBAI
Um ... ye...

She stops. Her expression changes to recognition.

ROSE
Oh wait. Yu tasol mi bin
lukim yu wantaim Mary long
stua long town ya?
Yu pikinini blong Joanne ah?

AMBAI
Yes.

Rose walks over and puts her arms around Ambai. Ambai is
overwhelmed and starts to cry.

ROSE
(Comforting)
Ayo no ken wari. Tumoro long
avinun yu mas kam bek long
haus blong mi. Em orait?
Recovering her composure, Ambai straightens up, looks directly at Rose and says with a smile.

AMBAI
Yes em orait.

ROSE
(To Ethan)
Em ya yu kism displa na baim marasin na putim long han blong yu.

She gives some money to Ethan.

ETHAN
Thanks

ROSE
Orait bai mi lusim yutupla.

Rose turns and steps back out of the house. Ethan quickly jumps into action.

ETHAN
Bosmeri. Bai mi escortim yu go bek long kar.

Ambai laughs and watches the two of them walk up the path. Suddenly she has something to look forward to.

123 INT: JOHN TANGO’S HOUSE – NIGHT

Ambai sits on the couch as Rose brings her a cup of tea. Rose sits down beside her.

ROSE
Ok Ambai, yu harim bai mi stori long yu...
(Pauses)
Papa blong yu John Tango ya, bifo em bin raun wantem mama blong yu. Taim yu baby yet mi save tokim Joanne olsem em mas kisim yu kam lukim papa blong yu na larim yu stap long hia. Mi yet mi nogat pikinini. Tasol mama blong yu no laik na em go maritim
Marcus na em kisim yu go
olgeta long hap.

Ambai is weeping quietly. She wipes tears from her eyes.

AMBAI
Ol no save mekim gut long mi
... (sobs)

Rose hugs her gently.

ROSE
Yu noken wari. Nau bai yu
stap wantem mi. Yu stori gut
long mi pastem. Tupla mekim
wanem tru long yu na yu go
hait long settlement osem?

Ambai hesitates for a moment, and then she starts her story.

(FADE TO)

INT: MS RIZELOH’S HOUSE

Aliko and Ms Rizeloh sit in silence. Ms Rizeloh shakes
her head slowly and sighs.

MS RIZELOH
Sori my dear, yumi no save
why na ol family blong yu
wokim olsem long yu. Tasol em
orait nau. Yu bai stap wantem
mi. Mi wanpela save stap long
hia so gutpla yu kam na
mitupla stap.

ALIKO
Yes, em orait. Bikpla samting
mi laik pinisim skul blong
mi.

MS RIZELOH
(Smiles)
Noken wari. Yu stap wantem mi
bai mi putim yu lo skul na mi
bai lukautim yu.

She pats Aliko on the shoulder.

MS RIZELOH

ALIKO
Thankyu Ms Rizeloh.

MS RIZELOH
No worries, my dear you’re welcome. Let me show you your room.

Ms Rizeloh gets up and walks Aliko to her bedroom.

125 INT: JOHN TANGO’S HOME – NIGHT

Rose stares at Ambai and shakes her head. Rage boiling inside her.

ROSE
Man, rabis kain pasin tru ol mekim long yu ya. Disla em bikpla samting. Bai mipla kisim go long polis.
(She shakes her head)
Papa blo yu bai kam klostu now. Yumi bai tokim em.

Tears stream down Ambai’s face. She wipes the tears.
Rose pats her head gently.

ROSE
Noken wari. Em mekim nogut lo yu ya polis bai mekim save long en. Bai mi yet go lukim ol polis na putim report.

126 INT: JOHN TANGO’S HOUSE

John Tango arrives and sees Rose with Ambai. He pauses for a moment, surprised to see Ambai, then he smiles and walks towards his wife and daughter. He hugs them both. Ambai sheds tears of joy as she hugs her father. Still hugging, he leads them into the dining area.

127 INT: DINNING ROOM – NIGHT

We see Ambai, John and Rose having dinner together. They are talking and laughing and having a good family reunion. (Conversation dim, laughter audible).
128  EXT: MARCUS’ HOUSE – MID MORNING

Joanne is sitting at her stall as a police vehicle and another approach. The vehicles stop in front of her stall and a police officer jumps out. He walks to the stall and buys a cigarette from Joanne.

The other cops rush out of the car and hurry towards Marcus’ house. Joanne looks at them in surprise and fear. The other cops drag Marcus out of the house and shoves him into the car. She opens her mouth in surprise as a crowd gathers and the police car drives away.

FADE:

129  EXT: JOHN TANGO’S HOUSE – NOON

Rose and Ambai are sitting on the balcony facing Ms Rizeloh’s house. Ambai sees Aliko coming out on the verandah to hang her towel. She stares at Aliko in surprise.

AMBAI
Aya em mas Aliko ya.

Rose looks at her.

ROSE
Husait?

AMBAI
Wanclass blo mi ya. Em ya.

She points at Aliko at the other house.

AMBAI
Mi ba tra'im ringim em.

ROSE
Okay.

Ambai picks up her phone and dials.

130  INT: MS RIZELOH’S HOUSE – NOON

Aliko is sitting at the table doing her homework when her phone rings. She sees Ambai’s name and picks it up.

ALIKO
Ambai,

AMBAI
Aliko, yu stap wantem Ms Rizeloh lo hapsait ah?

ALIKO
Ye, how yu save?

AMBAI
Mi stap long hapsait na lukim yu long verandah nau tsol ya. Na mi laik kam lukim yu.

ALIKO
Okay yu kam.

Aliko walks out onto the verandah and waves. Ambai waves back and runs across the street. Aliko hugs her and they sit on the verandah.

AMBAI
Ai Sista. Mi ting yu go olgeta na mi nonap lukim yu gen.

ALIKO
Bihain yumi bai stori ya! Na yu? Yu wok long haus blong bikman?

AMBAI
(She says shyly)
Nogat, bikman ya em real daddy blo mi . . . Mi kam stap wantem em nau. Sori, longtaim mi bin kam na mi no stori gut long yu.

Aliko looks at her in surprise.

CONT/
Bihain bai mi stori lo yu. Hey weekend ya kam mitupla go raun lo town na painim Ethan. Yumi go kaikai ice cream nabaut.

ALIKO
Okay.
We see Ethan, Ambai and Aliko enjoying ice cream and having fun together. They chew betel nut together at the market. They joke, laugh and play together. We see Aliko doing her work in class. Then, at home with Ms Rizeloh helping her. We see John Tango teaching Ambai how to drive as Ethan and Aliko looks on. Ambai also helps Rose with training women on coffee production. We see Aliko, Ethan and Ambai sitting outside Ms Rizeloh’s house as she arrives and gives Aliko her University acceptance letter. They open the envelope and see the contents, Aliko cannot hide her joy, she hugs Ambai, and Ethan.

**FADE:**

**CARD: 6 YEARS LATER**

132 **EXT: UOG - MIDMORNING**

People crowd at the graduation ceremony. Camera lights flashes as they take pictures of the students. The final speech is over and they are handing the students’ degree.

**MASTER OF CEREMONY**

Our student of the year award goes to Miss Aliko Killen.

The crowd cheer as Aliko walks onto the stage to receive her award. She shakes hands with the Chancellor. She hears someone calling her name and she turn around. She sees Ms Rizeloh and Ambai with a camera. She smiles and Ambai takes her photo. Aliko rushes down the stage and jumps onto Ambai and Ms Rizeloh. She turns around and sees Ethan standing behind her smiling. She jumps onto Ethan and hugs him too. Ms Rizeloh wipes tears of joy from her eyes. They hug, laugh and cry tears of joy. They walk away from the crowd, still hugging and laughing.

**FADE OUT**

***** THE END *****