

Philosophy & Praxis of Non-Violent Direct Action

From (past) Indigenous Resistance

To (present) Environmental Campaigning

In Aotearoa – New Zealand

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UAB – Ciències Ambientals

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INTRODUCTION

“Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.”

- *Martin Luther King Jr.* (Letter From Birmingham Jail. April 16, 1963)

Personal motivation

Human rights, environmental, social, Indigenous and other struggles often converge in a common denominator scenario. The minority that seeks justice confronts a powerful adversary. This power can be defined by several factors, whether it's political, financial, military, or any other... the common denominator is that those that seek justice don't stand a chance if they use the same tactics as the power-holder uses over them. This is where nonviolent direct action, civil disobedience and passive resistance have brought victories where failure seemed assured.

As an environmental activist, a climate activist too, I've often seen nonviolent struggle as the most inspiring of all strategies to confront “the enemy”, and this project is my first approximation to the nature of NVDA (i.e. nonviolent direct action) and the

blueprint that can be applied to any struggle for justice. A lot has been written in academia around this subject, and because of this I've decided to focus this project on a case I came in close contact with, that of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui in the New Zealand East Coast who's struggle for sovereignty had to cross borders in 2011. This was due to the imminent arrival of Petrobras, a Brazilian oil giant with intention to survey the Raukumara Basin, their ancestral waters, in search for oil at depths that classify the exploration as a deep-sea one.

At first my reaction was one of anger towards a Government that has blindly set a comfortable short-term benefit fossil fuel agenda, and obviously deep sea drilling was the only thing that could follow the lignite coal mines, the hydraulic fracturing and offshore Taranaki platforms... But then I realised that this story had more depth to it, the story is bigger than a national fossil fuel driven agenda or a NIMBY case in the East Cape. This story is about a local *iwi*¹ defending their ancestral waters, which are central to their way of life, not only their source of food but also an integral part of who they are, from ancestral time. They are not only fighting for sovereignty in a colonised land, but now they were also fighting for their sovereignty in a neo-colonised land.

Globalisation of markets and neoliberal policies are a key element of this story, yet there's more... Perhaps it's no coincidence that Indigenous struggles around the world are networking and not fighting in silos as some would like to define it, but finding alliance within social movements which are crossing borders. From Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's struggle to the Idle No More movement² or Occupy Wall Street³... there is a clear convergence of the movements and the common denominator, subject of this project, is nonviolent struggle in all its forms – including NVDA and civil disobedience.

Another inspiring historic event I learnt while living in Aotearoa – New Zealand was the story of Parihaka. A story of Indigenous struggle to colonialism that used nonviolent

struggle against one of the most powerful armies of the time, a story that crossed borders and was written of in newspapers in England and even inspired future leaders like Gandhi himself.

This project intends to address the parallels between the Parihaka resistance to colonialism and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's resistance to neo-colonialism. With a focus on nonviolent direct action, that is its praxis and philosophy.

This project is only a first approximation to this subject and with that I mean there are many possible vectors of study within these cases and I've done a special effort to focus on the issues within both cases, the national and international context and the purely tactical nature of NVDA. I initially intended to dig deep in the correlation and connection between Māori cosmovision and modern environmental activism. Where the second is engraved as part of the first by definition.

The reason I decided not to research further in this line and include, as initially intended, a section around this, was a realisation that the mere fact I intended to use a western research method to understand *kaupapa Māori*⁴ I'd be imposing a foreign process and structural context and thus being part of the very colonisation of Māori tradition and culture. This is obviously a simplified explanation of the thinking behind this. *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) made me realise that this last mentioned study should be a thesis in its own right, and thus won't be addressed in this project.

Lastly but not least important, this project has travelled with me from New Zealand to Great Britain and it's been an intermittent and lengthy process to bring it together. Despite the external factors, I like to think this is also due to the emotional journey it's

taken me on. While reading *Ask that mountain* (Dick Scott, 1954), *In the Absence of the Sacred* (Jerry Mander, 1991), *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) and *Rules for Radicals* (Saul Alinsky, 1971), I decided to take (nonviolent) direct action and block an Arctic-bound drill-ship contracted by Shell during 4 days, with 6 colleagues. This experience was personally transformational in many ways; and most relevantly to this project, it effectively disrupted the company's plans to the point of shortening their window to drill in the Alaskan Arctic's icy waters by one day. But, perhaps, most importantly this action hit international media and hundreds of thousands of people learned for the first time in their life that oil corporations were planning to drill in the Arctic.

About the structure

This project, divided in three main blocks, starts with a journalistic approach to the **Focus**, which is Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's campaign at sea to disrupt Petrobras' seabed mapping survey. There's a small introduction about Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, a deep dive into the actual activity of deep sea oil drilling and its risks in both an international and national context. The last part is a thorough description of the events throughout the flotilla campaign out at sea and a detailed explanation and analysis of the tactics and storytelling involved, all in the context of NVDAs in environmental campaigning.

The second block is the **Background**. This section has a first part which describes the story of Parihaka, and a second part where we dig into the most important characteristics of the passive resistance tactics or NVDAs

The last part of the project is the **Interpretation**. This final block creates the space to contrast the use of NVDA in both cases and intends to identify the common characteristics within these. The points within the interpretation focus on strategy and outcomes, the globalised case of indigenous resistance to neo-colonisation and especially that related to mineral resource extraction. Lastly there's a section on NVDA in the realm of digital communications, which tails into the last part, the final conclusions.

FOCUS

Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and the use of Nonviolent Direct Action to disrupt Petrobras from exploring for deep-sea oil in the Raukumara Basin. When environmental campaigning and Indigenous resistance movements work together to achieve common strategic goals

On the 27th of March 2011, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui launched a campaign, a flotilla at sea, to protest the exploration for deep-sea oil on the Raukumara Basin. The protest arose as a response to the presence of an oil exploration vessel and the lease of permits, to Petrobras, for deep-sea oil exploration in New Zealand's East Coast during meetings between government and industry, with no Iwi representation.

The flotilla was actively supported by several environmental organizations: Nuclear Free Pacific Flotilla⁵, Forest and Bird⁶, anti-mining group Coromandel Watchdog⁷, the Coal Action Network⁸ (CAN), Board Riders against Drilling⁹, and climate action group 350 Aotearoa¹⁰.

The common strategy was to peacefully protest the presence of the survey ship and shed light on the injustice the community felt was taking place. This is also the “battle

ground” in which non-violent direct action (NVDA) was planned and executed by Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and environmental groups.

In this section I intend to address the following points and/or topics in order to layout the context in which NVDA was used to raise national awareness of the issue pressing the community while attracting media attention and undermining the companies social license to operate in Te Whānau-ā-Apanui’s ancestral land and waters – *Mana whenua*¹¹. These sections are: Te Whānau-ā-Apanui’s history, International and National context of the study and, finally, the story of the flotilla through the campaign narrative, tactical thinking and NVDA identification.

TE WHĀNAU-Ā-APANUI

Early history

Apanui Ringamutu is the founding ancestor of the Iwi. It is through his Horouta¹², Te Arawa, Mataatua, Tainui and Taurira links that they share common ancestry with some of the Iwi of Aotearoa from Waikato in the west through to Ngāti Porou to the East.

During the 17th century, Apanui acquired vast amounts of land along the East Coast of the North Island. Through familial connection, he acquired land from Ngāti Porou and Ngāriki.

He was given land extending from Pō tikirua to Puketapu, and from Taumata-ō-Apanui to the Mōtū River; the land in between was later won through conquest.



Fig.1 – Map of New Zealand with Te Whānau-ā-Apanui domain market in red



Fig.2 – Map of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui ancestral land (Physical - detailed)

European contact

Relations with Europeans were not generally hostile. Early European settlers showed little interest in the isolated region, which lacked deep-water harbours for shipping. However, visiting Europeans taught Te Whānau-ā-Apanui the skills of whaling and commercial agriculture. Both areas become major economic industries for the iwi in the early 20th century, and profits were directed into community development projects.

Modern history

Coastal cultivations

When Captain James Cook visited the shores of the East Coast in 1769, he noted numerous coastal settlements with intensive cultivations and heavily populated pā¹³ and settlements. However, early European settlers showed no desire for the land of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. The region lacked deep-water harbours and was seen as too isolated to be economically viable.

Whaling

Among the first Europeans to visit New Zealand's shores were whalers and traders. Some of the American, Norwegian and French whalers taught the local people how to hunt whales. They also had large families with Māori women, and their descendants continue to live as members of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui.

By the early 1900s whaling had become a major economic activity and cooperative enterprise for Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. Proceeds from the whale-oil harvest were devoted to community projects such as building meeting houses and churches.

The last whale was killed at Te Kaha in 1924.

Agriculture

The other main economic activity of the early 1900s was agriculture. Bush felling cleared the way for cattle and sheep stations, and small dairy farms. Dairying became well established when the Native Land Development Scheme was introduced. In 1925, Te Kaha opened its own dairy factory.

During the 1980s, the iwi experienced economic decline with the loss of major transport services, privatisation of state assets and the eventual economic unfeasibility of its small-scale farming operations. This resulted in some emigration of iwi members from traditional tribal homelands.

Te Whānau-ā-Apanui today

Presently, the iwi is represented by Te Rūnanga¹⁴ o Te Whānau, which is involved in social services and local economic development. The Rūnanga manages a fisheries operation and invests in the development of local forestry and other industries. In particular, the Mauri Tu Youth Academy project provides an environment for youth to gain life skills.

Social change

Many men left to fight in the Second World War, and some never returned; women also migrated during the war. Others moved to the city for better education and employment opportunities. By 1961, the East Coast road was improved and there was an upsurge of holiday visitors. During the 1980s dairying and other small-scale farming operations became uneconomic. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui were negatively affected by the privatisation of state assets. The loss of coach services when the railways were sold, and the closing of the Te Kaha post office had a significant impact on the community. As with other tribes, some people remained in the region to keep the home fires burning, while others moved away, or lived overseas.

Since the early 1990s the tribal authority (Te Rūnanga o te Whānau) has successfully managed a fisheries operation. It has also become increasingly involved in social services and other economic developments. Many of the large, incorporated land blocks

are planted with pine to be harvested before 2025, and there is investment in other industries. In 2001 the Cyberwaka rural community project began training students in information technology.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT / NATIONAL CONTEXT

This section addresses a broader National/International context definition for both deep-sea oil drilling and climate change policies (or the lack of them).

The potential dangers of deep-sea drilling, and the exploration of oil below water depths of 200 meters, have been understood for years. But until recently such dangers were only ever academic as the extraction of deep-sea oil was regarded as prohibitively expensive. In the last few years, however, a combination of declining global oil reserves from traditional sources and rising oil prices worldwide has driven companies to seek out ever deeper sources of oil in order to maintain their revenue streams. Successive New Zealand governments of different political stripes have shown interest in this type of exploration and proactively engaged the first corporations to develop the necessary technology.

The rising prices and declining reserves of oil have been a global game changer when speaking of the geopolitics of oil. This has given rise to the market of the denominated unconventional fossil fuels – especially tar sands and shale, ventures to deeper offshore operations – deep-sea oil drilling, and even prospect to explore the now more accessible Arctic Oceans vast estimated resources, thanks to the year-by-year increasingly receding Arctic sea ice due to global warming.

In New Zealand there's been decades of coal mining throughout the country and (shallow) offshore drilling in the Taranaki region, but it's a recent state-enabled corporate interest that's put industry's eyes on hydraulic fracturing and deep-sea oil exploration. The change of the global oil demand/extraction scene has opened the eyes of those interested in further extending the fossil fuel agenda and opening up for big oil business.

This project focuses on the resistance movement to deep sea oil in the East Cape thus will not go into detail of the several environmental/indigenous resistance campaigns which are currently activate throughout New Zealand. Yet it's important to note these do exist and range from opposing lignite coal mining to hydraulic fracturing and seabed mining for minerals. It is a beneficial factor to these campaigns that New Zealand is a small country – with just over 4.5 million inhabitants – and there's not only solidarity but also ease for these campaigns to support each other in tactics and number of activists/campaigners when necessary.

How did this “new frontiers of oil” agenda seek foreign corporate interest to invest in New Zealand? The fruits of a Government & industry partnership.

Spurred on by the oil crisis of the 1970s, eight exploratory offshore wells were drilled by the Hunt Petroleum Company in the Great South Basin between 1976-84¹⁵. Although indications of oil were found, a combination of factors, including technological limitations and high extraction costs, persuaded the company not to proceed.

The National Government has, as mentioned, strongly embraced the cause of mineral exploitation and deep-sea oil exploration. In a speech to the New Zealand Petroleum Conference in 2010¹⁶, energy minister Gerry Brownlee bemoaned the fact that only one of New Zealand's offshore basins, Taranaki, currently had active oil producing fields, and hailed the previous year as having seen "the largest exploration program ever undertaken in New Zealand".

"For far too long," he said, "New Zealand has not taken advantage of the wealth hidden in our hills, in our oceans, and in the ground."

In its eagerness to attract international participation in the rush for oil, the Government has been keen to offer inducements to industry operators.

Bob Gaudin, president of the Texan company Grande Energy, which has a deep-sea oil exploration permit off the east coast of the South Island, admits: "It is difficult to find a place as industry friendly as New Zealand with as favorable an economic and political climate¹⁷."

The Government had recently extended until the end of 2014 an exemption from tax on the profits of non-resident operators of offshore rigs and seismic vessels¹⁸.

Since 2004, the government had also been acquiring and making available scientific data about New Zealand's oil reserves for free, including a recent \$25m program¹⁹ paid for by taxpayers to complete seismic surveys over new frontier basins and to rework old seismic data.

Another incentive was the introduction of tax changes. Issues the industry considered were hindering exploration – including amortisation rates and GST treatments on the costs of site restoration – were fixed²⁰. The Government also sweetened royalty rates for a five-year window, lowering payments on any discoveries made before the end of 2009²¹. The gas production rate, for instance, decreased from five per cent to one per cent, while oil rates have also fallen — for the first 150pj of petroleum produced from an offshore discovery, the royalty rate fell from 20 per cent to 15 per cent²².

Initial safety concerns around offshore drilling operations

While the New Zealand Government has been doing everything in its power to assist the oil companies' efforts to locate New Zealand's deep-sea oil reserves, they have shown a noticeable lack of interest in environmental protection efforts to match the potential arrival and growth of this market. In a country whose clean green reputation is a key component of its lucrative tourism and food export industries, and in which according to Statistics NZ, 65 per cent of the population live within five kilometres of the coast²³, it might be assumed that environmental considerations would be paramount.

New Zealand now has just one inspector to oversee safety in its oil exploration industry²⁴. This single Department of Labour oil well inspector monitors health and safety on at least seven installations, as well as all onshore petroleum and geothermal activities, to guard against accident. This compares with Australia, which has one inspector for every three installations; Britain, which has one inspector for every two; and Norway, which has one per installation.

A Government-ordered review from the Ministry of Economic Development has condemned the situation, stating: “This represents a serious risk to the adequacy of the existing regulatory regime to anticipate or prevent a major pollution incident from offshore petroleum operations²⁵.”

The risks of deep-sea oil. Deeper than the Deepwater Horizon

On 20 April 2010, the world was forced to wake up to the inherent dangers of deep-sea oil drilling and the unique difficulties of containing a deep-water spill when BP’s Deepwater Horizon rig suffered a catastrophic blowout that killed 11 members of the crew. Over the next three months the spill ran unchecked, releasing 660,000 tones of oil into the Gulf of Mexico, which had devastating effects on both wildlife and local economy - local fishing and tourism.

The danger of offshore drilling, even when including work in shallow waters, is no secret. From 2001 to 2010, for example, the US Minerals Management Service reported 858 fires and explosions, 1,349 injuries, and 69 deaths on offshore rigs in the Gulf of Mexico alone. But even though the risks of deep-water drilling are many times greater, in New Zealand, drilling has been licensed in water depths of up to 3,100 meters — more than twice that in which Deepwater Horizon was exploring when the disaster occurred.

The final report to the President of the USA by the National Commission on the Deepwater Horizon disaster (*Deep Water: The Gulf Oil Disaster and the Future of Offshore Drilling*) stated: “But drilling in deepwater brings new risks, not yet completely addressed by the reviews of where it is safe to drill, what could go wrong, and how to respond if something does go awry. The drilling rigs themselves bristle with

potentially dangerous machinery. The deepwater environment is cold, dark, distant, and under high pressures—and the oil and gas reservoirs, when found, exist at even higher pressures (thousands of pounds per square inch), compounding the risks if a well gets out of control. The Deepwater Horizon and Macondo well vividly illustrated all of those very real risks. When a failure happens at such depths, regaining control is a formidable engineering challenge—and the costs of failure, we now know, can be catastrophically high²⁶.”

The report went on to conclude that: “The risk-management challenges presented by nuclear power are in some respects analogous to those presented by deepwater drilling: the dependence on highly sophisticated and complex technologies, the low probability/catastrophic consequences, nature of the risks generated, and the related tendency for a culture of complacency to develop over time in the absence of major accidents²⁷.”

In New Zealand, the Government has, for years, compared future deep water oil drilling to current petroleum production off Taranaki where the deepest production well is at a depth of 120 meters. This is misleading given that deep water drilling is comparable to the risks associated with nuclear power given the complexity of the technology and the catastrophic and long lasting impacts once something goes wrong.

The media context in which the Raukumara Basin permits were sold is, interestingly enough, the time at which there was wide global reporting of the Gulf of Mexico spill. At this exact period of time there was no debate about the NZ leases as these were done behind closed doors and with no public announcement.

The 5 main pillars to describe the limitations and risks of deep-sea oil drilling both generally and in the specific case of New Zealand / Aotearoa offshore operations are:

1) *Technical limitations and inexperience* A major reason it took so long to stop the Deepwater Horizon leak was the extreme depths of water the oil companies were drilling in. The rig was operating in 1,544m (5,067 ft) of water, with the well reaching down another 4,051m (13,293 ft) below the sea floor.

"The technical demands of drilling are magnified enormously with depth," says Tim Robertson at the Alaska-based consulting firm Nuka Research and Planning Group²⁸. At depths of below 200m, for example, it is no longer possible to use divers, and operators are therefore dependent on robotic instruments, which are prone to technical failure and which make it harder to assess and fix any problems that might occur.

The inexperience of oil companies at operating at these depths is a major problem. BP's boss Tony Hayward has admitted: "The energy industry is clearly working at the frontiers of geology, geography and technology²⁹." BP chief operating officer Doug Suttles acknowledged a month after the Deepwater Horizon blowout that while techniques were theoretically available for plugging the leak, "the challenge is... that they haven't been done in 5,000 feet of water³⁰".

As a result the company was unprepared for the conditions that scuppered their early efforts to stem the flow of oil — including ice formation inside the original containment dome due to freezing deep-water temperatures. The fact that BP used ten different techniques to try to stem the oil flow in the weeks after the disaster does reveal a scarce know-how.

2) Human error A ‘blowout’ on an oilrig occurs when some combination of pressurised natural gas, oil, mud and water escapes from a well, shoots up the drill pipe to the surface, expands and ignites. Wells are equipped with structures called blowout preventers that sit on the wellhead and are supposed to shut off that flow and tamp the well. Deepwater Horizon’s blowout preventer failed. Two switches — one manual and an automatic backup — failed to start it.

When such mechanical failures happen, they can almost always be traced to flaws in the broader system: the workers on the platform, the corporate hierarchies they work for, and the government bureaucracies that oversee what they do. A study of 600 major equipment failures in offshore drilling structures done by Robert Bea, an engineering professor at the University of California, Berkeley, found that 80 per cent were due to “human and organisational factors”, and 50 per cent of those due to flaws in the engineering design of equipment or processes³¹.

3) Treacherous conditions And here we have a domestic – New Zealand case – when Exxon and its partner Todd pulled out of their exploration bid in the Great South Basin they did so having decided the area was too risky to proceed in. Todd Energy Managing Director Richard Tweedie was quoted saying that "The joint venture's interpretation of the data indicates the acreage has a high technical risk, and this is further amplified by the remote location and the harsh operating environment³²."

These harsh operating environments, in the form of vast swells, ice and storms, pose a major challenge to deep-sea drilling. Oil companies long ago stopped using platforms firmly anchored to the ocean floor. Now semi-submersible drilling rigs float on top of the ocean, with risers made of special steel or extremely strong composites leading down into the depths - as normal piping would burst there under its own weight.

At a depth of 1,500 meters, the water is about 5 degrees Centigrade, while the oil that comes out of the ground is almost at boiling temperatures. The result is extreme stress on the materials. Strong deep-water currents often put stress on the risers. In addition, the oil must be kept as hot as possible, to prevent the natural gas it contains from freezing together with seawater into compounds called gas hydrates, which can plug the pipes.

The National Commission's report to the President focused on these technical limits and concluded that: "Drilling in extreme water depths poses special challenges. Risers connecting a drilling vessel to the blowout preventer on the seafloor have to be greatly lengthened, and they are exposed to strong ocean currents encountered in the central Gulf. Managing higher volumes of mud and drilling fluid in these long risers makes drillers' jobs more demanding. Connecting and maintaining blowout preventers thousands of feet beneath the surface can only be performed by remote-operating vehicles³³."

Above all, it is the enormous pressure in the underground reservoirs that makes the work so dangerous. Oil companies are drilling into rock layers where every square centimetre is subject to a pressure equivalent to the weight of a medium-sized car. Drilling into such an oil or gas reservoir presents a risk of the fuels shooting upward in an explosive and uncontrolled way.

4) *The isolation of deep-sea rigs* As well as the technical and climatic challenges of deep-sea drilling, the location of the rigs in terms of their distance from land make it harder for additional rescue personnel to promptly reach the areas in emergency situations. The Deepwater Horizon was able to call upon all the resources of the Gulf of

Mexico's oil industry to assist with the cleanup attempts, and some 6,000 boats assisted in that effort.

In New Zealand, the rigs, by contrast, are located in far more isolated locations a long way from any comparable center of industry assistance, and the country would never be able to muster support on the same level.

For example there are only three drilling rigs currently in South East Asia or Australasia that can technically drill relief wells to the depths of water within the Raukumara permit granted to Petrobras in 2010. These rigs are between 8,000 and 9,000 km distance from New Zealand. This means that any blowout could release up to 75,000 barrels of oil each day for the four to six weeks that these rigs would take to arrive on site, before they could even begin drilling relief wells.

The drilling of such relief wells to a depth of three-four km under the seabed would take an additional month or two in the best case. The release of oil from a New Zealand blowout could significantly surpass the 4.9 million barrels of oil released by the Deepwater Horizon disaster in the Gulf of Mexico. New Zealand is one of the most isolated regions in the world from the established petroleum infrastructure around the world and therefore is uniquely at risk from a blowout.

5) *Overview of blowout accident statistics* Offshore drilling blowouts has occurred on a regular basis around the world as drill depths have increased. According to risk assessment data from the International Association of Oil & Gas Producers, between 1970 and 2007 there were 498 blowouts worldwide, of which 128 led to significant oil pollution.

According to the US National Commission report to the President, between 1996 and 2009, in the U.S. Gulf of Mexico, there were 79 reported loss-of-well-control accidents - when hydrocarbons flowed uncontrolled either underground or at the surface. In 2009 alone, according to the US Bureau of Safety and Environmental Enforcement (BSEE), there were 834 incidents on rigs in the Gulf of Mexico, including six loss-of-well-control accidents, 145 fires and explosions and 11 significant oil pollution incidents.

Even in Norway, regarded as one of the most regulated offshore drilling environments, there have been 80 to 100 precursor events each year that could have led to a blowout, corresponding to slightly less than one precursor event per installation per year.

The Norwegian offshore drilling industry in 2010 reported 29 acute discharges of crude oil of which 28 were below 10 tons each and one fell into the 10–100 ton category. The total volume discharged was 86.5 tons.

Where is deep-sea oil exploration taking place in New Zealand?

The New Zealand Government has issued, up to date, permits for deep-sea oil exploration at six major offshore sites, covering a total area of 130,831 sq km, an area which is larger than whole of the North Island (111,583 sq km). These zones are located off the coasts of some of New Zealand's most pristine environments, including the East Cape and Bay of Plenty, Stewart Island and Raglan.

Three deep-sea sites have been designated around the North Island: the Northland Basin and the Taranaki Basin off the west coast, and the Raukumara Basin, situated north of

the East Cape – This last one being the scenario in which this project finds it's Focus and Context.

A further three are located around the South Island: the West Coast Basin off the central west coast, the Great South Basin off the southern tip of the South Island, and the Canterbury Basin, which runs parallel to Canterbury, south of Christchurch.

The larger sites have been subdivided into separate permit areas. A permit grants oil companies permission to undertake seismic surveys and exploratory drilling in their hunt for oil. Seismic surveys use energy waves directed at the ocean floor to assess the composition of the different layers of rock beneath the surface. There are two main types of survey — 2D and 3D. In simplistic terms, 2D provides a general understanding of a region's geographical structure, while the far more expensive 3D survey covers a specific area, usually with known geological targets generated by previous 2D exploration.

While individual companies have won exclusive rights to some permits, in other cases they have been secured as joint ventures by a coalition of partners, often with one company taking a majority share as overall operator. All the information about individual permits can be accessed by entering the oil permit number on the New Zealand Petroleum and Minerals website.

Numerous international oil companies are currently involved in deep-sea exploratory work in New Zealand, including Shell, Anadarko, Petrobras and OMV, and the Government is likely to open up further areas of New Zealand's deep sea waters soon, and is keen to entice further bidders. A recent oil meeting in Wellington organised by New Zealand Petroleum and Minerals, for example, received delegates from oil giant

Chevron, ENI from Italy, Conoco-Philips, China's National Offshore Oil Corp, Korea's KoGas and the Norwegian state oil company Statoil.

Additional geological features that are likely to be divided up and auctioned off by the Government over the next few years include the Pegasus Basin (to the east of Cook Strait, adjacent to the Wairarapa and Kaikoura coastlines); the Challenger Plateau (to the west of New Zealand, and south of the Taranaki Basin), and the Northland Slope (to the east of the northeast coast of the North Island).

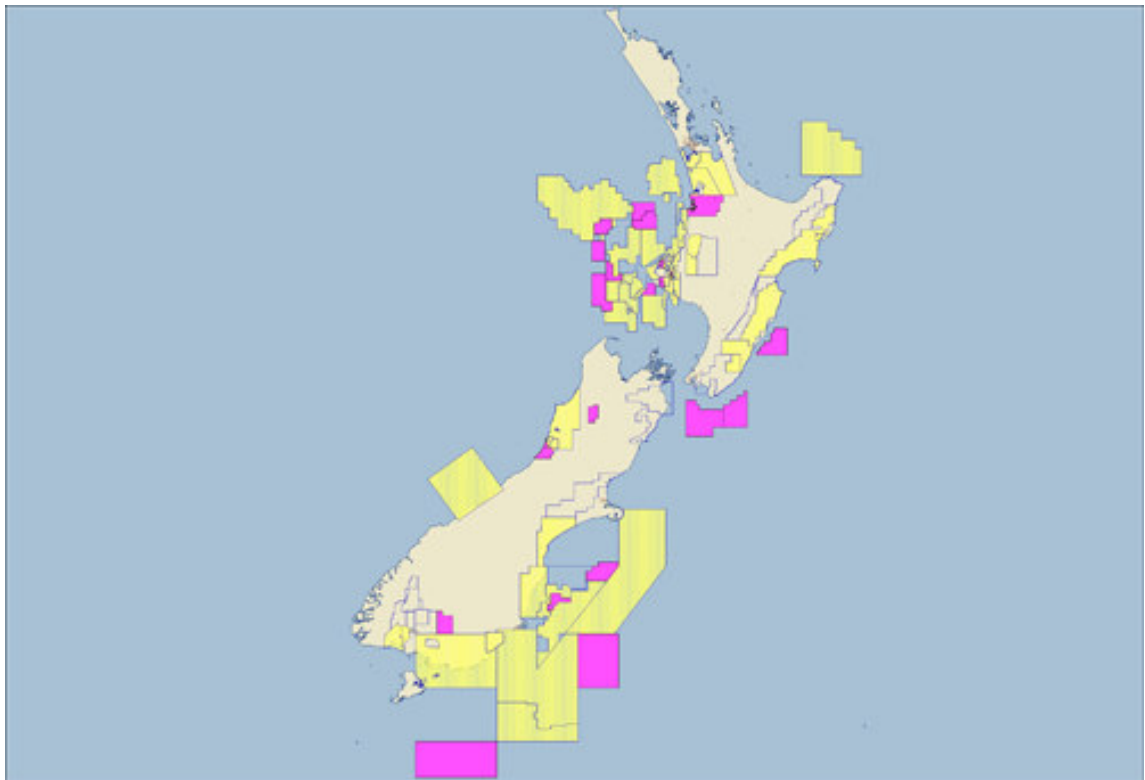


Fig3: Proposed blocks offered under the New Zealand Licensing Round 2012. Source: PetroView

The permit areas are the following:

1) *The Northland Basin* This single permit area (PEP 3861948) to the east of the deep-sea Taranaki oil exploration sites, is operated by Origin Energy Resources NZ, which

has recently extended its license for the permit until April 2016. Following preliminary 2D and 3D testing in the basin, two exploratory wells have been drilled, although Origin claims neither was assessed to have encountered commercial hydrocarbons. While these first two wells were only in water depths of 120 meters, the basin itself reaches depths of up to 1,400 meters.

2) *The Taranaki Basin* Three permits have been granted for deep-sea oil exploration in the Taranaki Basin in depths between 230m and 1,800m. The three permits are operated separately by Texan independent Anadarko (PEP 3845155), Austrian giant OMV (PEP 38120056) and New Zealand Oil and Gas (PEP 5198857).

The Anadarko permit, which was renewed for a second period of five years at the end of October 2011, saw a 5,690km 2D survey completed during the September 2009 quarter. Two key sites, the Romney prospect and Coopworth prospect were recently surveyed by the 3D Polarcus Alima seismic survey ship. Anadarko is expected to start exploratory operations in December 2013. NZOG's permit was granted in January 2010 and its terms require it to acquire technical information in the first two years of the permit's life and then either commit to drilling an exploration well or surrender the permit. OMV's Taranaki permit, which began in September 2007⁶⁴, requires it to acquire 2D seismic information in the first two years of the lease.

3) *The Raukumara Basin* This single permit area (PEP 5270766) was granted in June 2010 for five years to the Brazilian oil company Petrobras. Covering water depths up to 3,100 metres, it was the focus of the flotilla protests by Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and its environmental activism allies – subject of this project.

4) *The West Coast Basin* This single permit area (PEP 3852771) operated by the New Zealand arm of Texan company Grande Energy ran for five years until September 2012 and lies in water depths of up to 1,300m.

5) *The Great South Basin* "Below 40 degrees south there is no law; below 50 degrees south there is no God," according to an old whalers' saying. The Great South Basin lies within these latitudes, known as the 'furious fifties' and 'screaming sixties,' which are subject to incessant storms, waves the size of six-story buildings and the ever-present danger of icebergs. There are currently three deep-sea oil permits located in the Basin, which lie in water depths ranging up to 1,700m. They lie offshore from Stewart Island, 85 per cent of which has been designated as Rakiura National Park.

6) *The Canterbury Basin*

There are four deep-sea oil exploration permits in the Canterbury Basin, covering depths of up to 2,000m. Two permits (PEPs 38262 and 3826480) were held by Origin Energy, but the company announced in February 2010 that it was farming out the operation and a 50 per cent share in both to Anadarko. Anadarko completed its seismic acquisition data between February 23 and March 28, 2011. In August 2011, it announced it had postponed its planned two-well deep-water exploration program off Taranaki and Canterbury by about a year until the 2012/13 southern hemisphere summer.

THE PROTEST FLOTILLA

Now that we've addressed the nature of deep-sea oil exploration in an international context and more specifically in the national case of New Zealand – Aotearoa, we will follow this section with a chronological description of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's protest flotilla to stop Petrobras from on going seismic survey to explore for deep-sea oil in the Raukumara Basin. Even though it lasted 7 weeks - from the 27th of March to the 8th of May 2011 – this chronological description will only make mention of the more relevant dates and events to the focus of this project – the use of Non Violent Direct Action as a means to advance goals in the campaign.

As a means to identify and analyse the nature of NVDA tactics used throughout the period of the flotilla, I've compiled all the Press Releases emitted by the coalition during the period between the 27th March and the 8th of May 2011.

The purpose of this exercise is not only to have a coherent set of documents to refer to, but also to grasp the importance that story telling and especially telling “your story” or “your version of the story”, this will both justify and give deeper meaning to the specific direct actions which will be identified.

I will not go in depth to how this process of press releases and media output works, only a note to say there is a direct relation between a press release and the articles and op-eds that the media will write once these are contrasted with governmental/state, corporate or police forces sourced information – whether declarations, press releases, etc.

This has been a critical part of Greenpeace's media-savvy methods of campaigning, and is essential to one of the organization's 4-decade old core values, that is, bearing witness.

Each chapter of the story, told by the Press Releases that are in Annex I, is in the following part of the project with added analysis and focus in the role played by story telling, NVDA and the political context.

Opotiki, 2 April, 2011³⁴

This press release (Annex I.1) sets the tone of the campaign to come. It's fully loaded with clear messages of solidarity between causes and communities within New Zealand.

The story begins with 5 yachts arriving to the East Cape and more specifically the traditional territory of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. The yachts find a greeting of over 600 individuals who've come to show their support. This number is not small and represents a first local constituency that is willing to hit the streets and show/express their opposition to deep-sea oil drilling in their traditional territory. These 600 people are not simply writing an e-mail or sending a letter to their local politician, they are physically greeting the flotilla coalition, which will confront Petrobras in their name.

The press release (Annex I.1) continues by introducing the flotilla. 5 yachts, many of which opposed the French nuclear testing in the Pacific. This is important to note. Not only was this a historic time for protest in the Pacific, but it's also associated with the victory it brought about with New Zealand declaring itself a nuclear-free nation, which it continues to be until date.

The three quotes are very significant and wrap up in a coherent way the national context in which this seemingly local protest is relevant, not only because it's declared dangerous/reckless but also because it's part of the Government's fossil fuel agenda.

The first quote, by the skipper of the Vega, speaks of New Zealand and the relevance of this protest in the national context. The second quote, by Te Whānau-ā-Apanui spokesperson, welcomes the flotilla and mentions the inter-organisational coalition and commitment to long-term campaign work, within it. Note there is mention of Wellington, this is a political statement and makes reference to the capital city – where policy making and politics have their arena. Lastly, a quote from Greenpeace Climate Campaigner speaks of being unified and determined to ensure deep-sea oil drilling will not happen in New Zealand waters.

Opotiki, 4 April, 2011³⁵

Here we have an exemplary prelude to action. Unlike the introductory press release (Annex I.1), this one (Annex I.2) begins by describing the battleground: “The flotilla opposed to deep-sea oil drilling entered the zone where seismic testing is scheduled to begin today”.

There is mention, for the first time, in this press release (Annex I.2) of the fact that one of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's boats is now sailing with the flotilla and joined the campaign to bare witness – which is a protest tradition within the Nuclear Free Pacific campaign.

While not wanting to go in-depth of the philosophy of bearing witness here, just a short note that it is directly linked to story-telling and documenting that which would be unknown unless bearing witness – hence the justified nature and ethical value of this activity to “the rest” - of humanity, community... - who don’t see and due to not seeing don’t know about it.

A sense of urgency and anticipation seems to creep up when reading that the *Infinity* will likely encounter the *Orient Explorer* in the next 24 hours. The first ship is the biggest in the flotilla and the second in the Petrobras contracted seismic surveying vessel.

After this introduction to what should be an awaited encounter between Petrobras and the flotilla, we find more information on the campaign context and national political environment in which this is all happening.

Greenpeace spokesperson’s quotes make us aware of:

- The pride that New Zealanders hold in their coast and ocean, which are too valuable to the thought and risk of an oil spill.
- The fact that “right as the Deep Sea Oil protest flotilla is fighting for a clean energy future” there’s been a leak of the Governments Energy Strategy which “will mire New Zealand into a even deeper dependency on polluting fossil fuels”. This means that the Government got it twice wrong - deep-sea exploration and a fossil fuel agenda.

- The permit to Petrobras was granted in 2010, at the same time as oil was pouring into the US Gulf of Mexico in the “infamous BP deep-sea oil disaster”. This means the Government got it three-times-wrong.

- The Department of Conservation states that the area is home to beaked whales. Seismic survey ships emit thousands of high-decibel explosive impulses to map the seafloor geology – producing beaching and stranding of cetaceous and potentially producing irreversible cerebral damage.

- The Government has “sold” a misleading picture to foreign oil companies who now want to invest in New Zealand deep-sea oil exploration without being aware that the population is against this activity and thus is unwelcoming of foreign investment. This is exemplified with an unsuccessful attempt of the Government to open up high value conservation – protected - land for coal mining in the past.

This five-bullet point list is an arsenal of facts that back the imminent contact between the survey ship and the flotilla. It supplies enough content and background for journalists to engage in the debate through multiple levels, from the ecological and biological to the political and historical, with a subtle existential crisis opportunity for people in New Zealand to question what it is that they want for their country and future generations.

The title of this press release (Annex I.3), *Flotilla Calls Seismic Vessel to Cease Operations*, states the clear initial demand of the protest flotilla. The strength of this title is characteristic of a conflict that will not end in compromise. And that is the purpose of it, after travelling for miles to encounter the issue you're opposing and finally communicating with them on the ground, in the battle arena, where supporters, detractors and media are listening... there can be no subtleties in messaging. The flotilla had made their way there to tell them to turn around and return to Brazil.

The first part of the press release (Annex I.3) describes the scenario, you can almost visualize it and imagine the *Infinity* following and observing the *Orient Explorer*.

The quotes from this press release (Annex I.3) are loaded with the ammunition of the previous two press releases (Annex I.1 and I.2), which justify the ethos and demands of the flotilla. The first quote is from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui spokesperson, who describes the history behind this uncomfortable situation: "Petrobras came to our iwi and asked for our support for their oil drilling in our waters and we told them we did not support it, we don't want it to happen, and they were not welcome here" finishing with two sentences which include the government in the equation: "We have no confidence in this company or the government to not harm what is invaluable to us. We do not want any oil exploration or drilling in our waters"

The following quote, from a Greenpeace spokesperson, narrates the moment in which she radioed the Captain of the *Orient Explorer* and demanded they cease all operations and to leave the area immediately. The Captain acknowledged the call and continued

with seismic testing. Another follows this quote, which states: “We are here to make absolutely sure that the deep-sea oil industry knows that they are not welcome here”.

Finally a last quote from another Greenpeace spokesperson charges against the Government, by saying “We need Government leadership that sets a path away from fossil fuel dependence and into clean economy”

The last paragraph continues the narrative and describes some action and interaction between the ships by describing how the *Ocean Pioneer*, which is a smaller, support vessel, was attempting to divert the *Infinity* from their protest and observation of the exploration

A powerful and dynamic narrative is an essential part of campaigning, as of story telling. The story comes to life through this type of interactions and how they are described in a press release can define whether the media will pick it up or not – which will at the same time define how much media output the story will generate on the spot – in almost real time - on social media and later in the day or in the following days in the case of traditional media.

Opotiki, 7 April, 2011³⁷

A story that, up to date, seemed like a one-way communication starts to generate reaction from the Government. All these press releases, resulting articles, radio debates and “noise” on social media and networks seem to have created the opportunities for engagement that the Government had been waiting for. Or perhaps they felt forced to

engage in this debate due to political silence no longer being a feasible trend? Either way, this press release (Annex I.4) starts with the following statements from Prime Minister John Key – highest representative and head of the New Zealand Government – on Radio New Zealand’s Watea News:

“I don’t think it’s in nearly as deep as water as what we saw in the The Gulf”

“Any offshore drilling operation there’s obviously environmental risks, but New Zealand has proven it can manage those risks”

“... and as the people of Taranaki show and tell us it’s been very, very successful for a long period of time”

To this, Greenpeace campaigners respond in the press release stating that:

“In fact it is up to twice the depth (of the Gulf)”

“The big oil companies are hunting in increasingly more extreme places because the days of easily accessible oil are over. This is why we must begin to wean ourselves off oil and onto renewable fuel sources. The costs of exploration and extraction will continue to increase and with them the risks of environmental disaster”

3 points are here addressed with the response in the Press Release:

- Depth. There’s a natural tendency to associate deep-sea drilling with the decades-long history of shallow-water offshore drilling on the west coast of New Zealand. This

association is strongly addressed at the end of the Press Release, with the clarification that the exploratory drill at the location of the Deepwater Horizon oil disaster was at 1500 meters, whereas the Raukumara Basin is mostly over 2000 meters and deep with area up to 3000 meters. This is twice the depth at which the disaster occurred in the US Gulf of Mexico.

- Safety. The paragraph that responds to the safety issue assures that John Key also claimed that there are adequate safety measures, high environmental standards and this proved the Government had good risks management – but this both contradicts his own ministers and even the oil industry itself. There is only one full time inspector devoted to oilrigs within the New Zealand EEZ

- Investment. The repetition that unconventional and extreme fossil fuel extraction and exploration is increasing in cost and will do so as the years pass and reserves drop, is not unintentional. Campaigners know that multimillionaire investments can shift direction with changes in the investors' perception of risks and costs in their investment. The world of oil investment is no less volatile, despite subsidies and cross-national groups (corporate and governmental) and their agreements with the sole purpose of making this business as stable and predictable as possible.

This press release (Annex I.4) shows how the pressure of statements and the narrative of the story the flotilla protesters are telling the world becomes strong enough to brake the political silence and force a dialogue of parts, whereas before Government had no desire or need to engage in dialogue and the absence of it was not questioned. These are very basic dynamics in high-level politics, commonly seen in bipartisanship of contemporary democracies. Has the flotilla achieved this status by generating response? Not

necessarily, but what it has achieved in a milestone and victory in the longer-term strategy of the campaign.

The fact the Prime Minister came out in response is an achievement in the strategy of utilising NVDA – in the sense of forcing a response from a party that had up to then refused to engage on the issue.

Whakatane, 10 April, 2011³⁸

This Press Release (Annex I.5) describes the very first direct action – a nonviolent direct action (NVDA) aimed to disrupt the operation of the survey ship *Orient Explorer*.

The action - Disrupting the *Orient Explorer's* surveying trajectory – consists in placing people right in front of the ships trajectory during their sonic surveying.

This simple NVDA has more depth than what is seen at first site.

Surveying through high-decibel explosive impulses to map the seafloor geology requires a grid system through which the survey ship needs to go straight through specific x,y coordinates without changing the trajectory. And this is the one simple way of disrupting the activity – not only does it potentially tamper with the actual operation by disrupting the necessary process to attain good quality data, but it also generates loss of time and subsequently of capital. Having ships of this type out at sea for survey purposes is highly costly and this specific tactic affects the financial viability of the activity by making it more costly.

Greenpeace's campaigner calls the captain of the *Orient Explorer* to remind that six days before they'd been requested to cease surveying activity and leave. The captain confirms this message has been received.

One of the ships in the flotilla, the *San Pietro*, is a Te Whānau-ā-Apanui fishing boat. This ship is the flotilla's tribal representative and also identifies itself publicly as a concerned member of New Zealand's large fishing industry.

Rikirangi Gage, spokesperson of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui states that: "Petrobras has no consent to be in these waters from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. We've already told them that. This is not a protest. This is an act of defense of our ancestral lands and waters that have sustained us for generations. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui want Petrobras to leave these waters and not return".

This is then reinforced by Greenpeace spokesperson who says "We are sending an emphatic message to the New Zealand Government that deep sea oil drilling will not be tolerated in New Zealand waters" and "It is the Government who are endangering our coastline, our marine environment and our climate for the last drops of oil. At this moment they could be leading the way to a future with clean fuels and energy technology".

This press release (Annex I.5) is extremely important content-wise. Tribal representatives who are leading the flotilla in their ancestral waters claim their right to decide over the land that sustains their way of life.

The sentence “This is not a protest” is a powerful statement which goes deep in the colonial and postcolonial history of the country. It makes reference to the Treaty and to the systematic violation of Māori rights and livelihood by the colonial force – it evokes the emotional wave that has been carried through generations and links sovereignty disputes of colonialism with those modern ones due to neo-colonialism.

There is, though, a link to all New Zealanders who live of the fishing industry too. So this statement seems to not intend to isolate the Māori from the equation and build the bridge of solidarity with all fishermen in the country.

The environmental angle continues with the already mentioned need for the Government to rethink and steer towards a more eco-friendly energy agenda.

Opotiki, 12 April, 2011³⁹

The forced dialogue between the flotilla and the Government in the dispute about the legitimacy of the Petrobras activity gains momentum and intensity in this new chapter.

This press release (Annex I.6) – titled “Prime Minister sends military against peaceful protest” – opens with the following statement: “The united front of te Whānau ā Apanui, Greenpeace and the flotilla opposing deep sea oil drilling is holding its position in the Raukūmara Basin as the HMNZS Pūkākī arrived after eight days of surveillance by an Airforce Orion.”

After two whole days of disrupting the survey ship's operation through the NVDA described in the previous press release (Annex I.5), the New Zealand Army's Navy is called in.

In Government statements this entry is to monitor the dispute between protesters and the company, while supplying the necessary support for the police force, which is responsible to ensure that all protest is within the legal frame of New Zealand laws.

In the flotilla's statements this entry is described as an attempt to intimidate the protest and intervene in the protest.

“The Government is putting the rights of an international oil company ahead of those of local people who are defending the waters that have sustained them for generations,” and that “The Government owes Petrobras an apology because they have been led to believe they would have carte blanche in our waters with no liability if things go wrong. In fact, Petrobras were invited here before anyone had asked the people who will be most affected by the drilling if they wanted this risky industry in their waters. The answer is clearly ‘No’,”

These statements continue the narrative that has followed since the beginning of the flotilla. A narrative that points to the Government and the fact that they are not doing their job well, by misleading a foreign company and its investors to a community and country which does not welcome them.

As a response to the Governments statements which make reference to the need to jeopardize environment for the sake of economy – as it's been since the industrial

revolution. Greenpeace campaigner, noting that the US Gulf of Mexico spill cost the US economy US\$26 billion – in less than one year, then goes to state that:

“New Zealand is in no position to deal with an oil blowout anywhere near that scale.”

“This is very much about jobs and economy and that is exactly what we are defending – the future of the fishing industry and tourism but also the multi-billion dollar value of investing in clean energy development that the world so urgently needs.”

“Given what is going on in the world: climate change, upheaval in oil producing countries, we need to advance clean, secure energy not dirty and risky energy sources. That’s where future jobs and a sustainable economy lies.”

“The ocean and these coastlines are the New Zealand economy- they are also our way of life and they are a national treasure, too valuable to risk for oil money.”

“We are very concerned at the use of military services to intervene in this protest and very concerned that the Government is meddling in police matters – apparently without a complaint from the company concerned.”

“With all the industry and Government concern over safety and the danger to people protesting, it begs the question: Who is really putting our marine environment at risk? It is not people protesting. It is the Government.”

Now that the political silence has been broken, the protesters have statements to counteract and bring back to the context of “their” narrative in the story that is being

told by both the protesters and the Government. Obviously at this stage, independent journalists get to play with both stories and make sense from these while reporters from politically driven channels of information limit themselves to defend the side which their media corporation represents or is akin to.

Wharekahika, 16 April, 2011⁴⁰

This press release (Annex I.7) tells the chapter of a necessary brake to resupply before returning to confront the *Orient Explorer*.

Ngāti Porou at Wharekahika/Hicks Bay welcomes the flotilla opposing deep sea oil drilling. To avoid bad weather, facilitate crew changes and reprovision, before the boats return to the Raukūmara Basin to oppose deep sea oil exploration and drilling.

Te Whānau ā Apanui kaumātua⁴⁷ Rikirangi Gage is announced to join the flotilla crew when it next heads out. He is chief and tribal leader, thus highest position in the hierarchical structure of this iwi.

The following statements give this seeming break a tone that'll bring intensity to the issue once more. This is done by focusing on the tribal rights, and full back of the protest from the tribal leader, thus restating the presence of an indigenous resistance movement against the interests of a foreign oil corporation and a challenged form of

governance – this connects the dots between the resistance to neoliberalism to the resistance to neo-colonialism.

“We will not tolerate control of our ancestral sea areas being determined by overseas oil interests and Government forces at sea,” says Rikirangi Gage.

“The ocean has sustained our people for generations, we have looked after the sea and the sea has looked after us. But we are already seeing changes in arrival and breeding times of moki – a fish of prime importance to our tribe - due to climate and therefore sea temperature change.”

“We are not intimidated by the Navy ship and remain resolute in our commitment to protest and ensure that deep sea oil exploration and drilling does not happen in New Zealand waters,” says Greenpeace Campaigner.

The first round of protests at sea this week saw swimmers stop the seismic survey vessel *Orient Explorer* for nearly three days.

Meanwhile, Far North tribe Te Rarawa have publicly announced support for te Whānau ā Apanui. “We absolutely support the role of te Whānau ā Apanui to impose their presence as the bona fide custodians of the area,” says Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa spokesperson Hāmi Piripi. He says Government actions of using the military services to threaten the protest is a “forced entry mentality, which in most other domains is illegal.”

It is restated in the press release (Annex I.7) that:

- The military presence of the *HMNZS Pūkākī*, air force Orion flyovers and threats of arrest have not phased the flotilla members, who will continue to protest

- The flotilla is made up of, and supported by, a coalition of individual skippers, peoples and groups including te Whānau ā Apanui, the Nuclear Free Seas Flotilla and Greenpeace

- Other iwis support Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's role in the protest and condemn military presence to stifle the right to protest

Auckland, 19 April, 2011⁴¹

This press release (Annex I.8) was issued the day before the first anniversary of the Deepwater Horizon disaster at the Gulf of Mexico. Linked to the protest flotilla at Raukumara Basin it states that:

This comes at a time when a flotilla made up of a coalition including Te Whānau ā Apanui, the Nuclear Free Seas Flotilla and Greenpeace continues to protest against seismic surveying off the East Cape, in waters up to twice as deep as those of the doomed BP oil rig.

Greenpeace's spokesperson's statements are:

“The oil spill is the worst in US history and has become totemic of the deep sea oil drilling industry, yet our own Government seems hell-bent on inviting a similar disaster here. The Deepwater Horizon, an exploratory well, was drilling in 1500 meters of water when it exploded. But Petrobras is currently surveying in up to 3000 meters of water.”

“Even if a spill never occurs, we know that creating new frontiers in oil exploration will only make the climate crisis worse. And climate change, more than anything else, is driving economic transformation everywhere,”

The long term environmental effects of the Gulf of Mexico oil spill will not truly be known for years to come, although the journal Conservation Biology concluded that total mortality amongst dolphins and whales as a result of the spill may have been 50 times higher than the original estimate.

“If the Government is committed to long term, sustainable economic growth it should be showing leadership by helping shape the global shift towards more efficient, clean technologies,”

“We're already a renewable energy powerhouse, with a wealth of innovation and world class thinking in the clean energy sector that is currently being overlooked in favor of the fossil fuel industries of yesterday.”

“It's time to convert this potential into thousands of jobs and start building a cleaner, more prosperous future for our economy,”

These statements continue feeding into the narrative that links the dangers of deep-sea oil drilling and the impacts a potential disaster can have in New Zealand with the Government's fossil fuel driven agenda and the presence of the *Orient Explorer* at the Raukumara Basin.

Wharekahika, 20 April, 2011⁴²

On the very first anniversary of the Deepwater Horizon, the flotilla returns to sea to once more engage with the *Orient Explorer*.

Tribal leader of Te Whanau a- Apanui, Rikirangi Gage joins the flotilla, for the first time, on board the fishing vessel San Pietro – which represent the tribal interest in the Raukumara Basin as a healthy fishery.

[He states that] “I am setting to sea today to deliver the message directly to Petrobras that by the presence of their exploratory vessel they are stepping on our mana tangata, mana whenua and mana moana, and that they are not welcome here and not endorsed to be here by te Wha-nau a-Apanui.

“My message to John Key is, ‘We do not want the drilling – this is not the sort of industry we want for our people – we want clean and safe energy sources that do not risk our treasured waters and coasts.’”

This powerful statement challenges the Government's authority over tribal land and waters. This reinvigorates the narrative and sense of moral height of the protesting flotilla, by connecting the historic (and running up to present) struggle for sovereignty in New Zealand, from colonial times up to present – or neocolonial times.

The Head of Government, Prime Minister John Key is target of this direct communication. The very leader and head of Te Whanau Apanau demands justice and the right of determining which are the economic activities that will take place in the Raukumara Basin.

A Greenpeace campaigner, onboard one of the ships – the Windbourne states that:

“On the anniversary of the Gulf of Mexico oil disaster we sail to sea again to ensure that there is no repeat of that disaster in New Zealand waters”

“We are not intimidated by the navy, air force and police presence and remain resolute in our determination to ensure that deep sea oil exploration and drilling does not happen in New Zealand waters”.

This second direct communication goes to the state defence bodies. Ultimately the navy, air force and police should be neutral to Governmental interests. But, that said, Government can ask for these bodies to proactively keep a watch on the situation and intervene in the case this is necessary.

Both these direct communications state the determination to push the boundaries until the protesters find the desired reaction from both the Government and Petrobras, yet ultimately there would be a reaction from the navy, air force or police and this would

consequently generate a reaction from Government, which should directly affect Petrobras' future activities in the region and their interests in the country.

This press release (Annex I.9) ends with:

- Reminder of the organisations and communities that comprise the flotilla. This grips the narrative to its origin, even though the main focus is one of creating the sense of urgency and need for action in this particular day – the 1 year anniversary of the Deepwater Horizon Macondo blowout in the Gulf of Mexico.

- The following Chronology:

12 April 2011 / RNZHS Pu-kaki- arrives after 8 days of Orion surveillance. The police claim they can arrest protestors who would face a \$10,000 fine or up to a year in prison.

10 April 2011 / Protest action by flotilla, te Wha-nau a- Apanui and Greenpeace saw swimmers stop the seismic survey vessel Orient Explorer for nearly 3 days.

5 April 2011 / Flotilla finds seismic testing ship and radio messages to cease activity and leave.

2 April 2011 / Flotilla crew welcomed at Whangapara-oa Bay by te Wha-nau a- Apanui.

27 March 2011 / Flotilla opposing deep sea oil drilling departs Auckland in response to call from te Wha-nau a- Apanui

Opotiki, 21 April, 2011⁴³

This press release (Annex I.10) narrates a mishap, which is when police forces order one of the protest ships to manoeuvre and mistakenly directs them on a hazardous course towards the array that sends the high decibel undersea acoustic explosions.

This chapter reflects the growing tension between the protesting flotilla and the police force. There's navy presence and protesters seem to continue planning their disruptive activities by following the Petrobras survey ship and not taking notice despite the police's communicated concerns for the security of all at sea.

The skipper of the *Secret Affair*, David Armstrong, said:

“Given the lack of clarity around legal jurisdiction the Police appear to be following the Government's strategy and exaggerating safety issues in order to justify their intervention in a legitimate protest action where none exists”

“As soon as we began protesting in the Raukumara Basin opposing deep-sea oil exploration and drilling, the Government created safety claims as a pretext for shutting down the Flotilla's peaceful protest”

Both these statements seek to reinforce the notion that peaceful protest is not only legitimate but also potentially at risk with a Government-agenda influenced police force and army presence. This context is a clear David-Goliath situation where the moral high

stands with those who have less power-resources and claim mandate over a disputed issue (or issues). This will be a topic of discussion in the third part of this project – the interpretation and common grounds between the focus and background sections.

Tauranga, 26 April, 2011⁴⁴

This press release (Annex I.11) comes after a weekend packed of interactions and reactions between the protest flotilla, the seismic survey vessel and police forces.

On the 23rd of April it was time to up the anti. Most of the nation was now following this day-to-day unfolding story which had resulted in dozens of news and opinion articles in the main media channels, all amidst a seemingly uncomfortable political silence which even brought some video images of Government officials walking by in silence while reporters tried to engage in conversation about the flotilla protest and potential for deep sea oil drilling off the Raukumara Basin.

Up to this date, only one type of NVDA had taken place. That is disrupting the course of the Orient Explorer with swimmers in front of the ship while it's undergoing it's seabed mapping. As previously described:

The action - Disrupting the Orient Explorer's surveying trajectory – consists in placing people right in front of the ships trajectory during their sonic surveying.

This simple NVDA has more depth than what is seen at first site.

Surveying through high-decibel explosive impulses to map the seafloor geology requires a grid system through which the survey ship needs to go straight through specific x,y coordinates without changing the trajectory. And this is the one simple way of disrupting the activity – not only does it potentially tamper with the actual operation by disrupting the necessary process to attain good quality data, but it also generates loss of time and subsequently of capital. Having ships of this type out at sea for survey purposes is highly costly and this specific tactic affects the activity by making it more costly.

Now, this time was a bit different. Instead of having New Zealand environmental activists in front of the Orient Explorer, it was the San Pietro, fishing ship of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui with skipper Elvis Teddy and tribal leader Rikirangi Gage, that placed itself right in the trajectory of the survey ship.

From this position, Rikirangi Gage – Te Whānau-ā-Apanui’s tribal leader – radioed the captain of the Orient Explorer with the following message:

“You are not welcome in our waters. Accordingly, and as an expression of our mana in these waters and our deep concern for the adverse effects of deep sea drilling, we will be positioning the te Whanau-a-Apanui vessel directly in your path. We will not be moving, we will be doing some fishing. That’s what our waters are for, not for pollution. This is not a protest. We are defending tribal waters and our rights from reckless Government policies and the threat of deep sea drilling, which our hapu⁴⁸ - have not consented to and continue to oppose”.

This statement is a powerful one – and it sure travelled through all channels of communication. From it, we can assume that:

- It's a direct communication to Petrobras regarding the clear opposition and direct conflict of sovereignty, and right of presence by the Orient Explorer in Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's ancestral waters.

- It's an NVDA that doesn't claim an environmental activism reasoning or motto, but makes reference to the way of Māori – that is Māori Kaupapa, and cosmovision.

- It's a direct communication to the Government – undermining their sovereignty and rights of decision making in Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's ancestral land/water, especially as there was no prior consultation.

With a bit of humour added to this communication, by stating that they will be doing some fishing – which is what their waters are for – this statement was radioed on several channels and ended up being also played on the news and being available through several channels. It was especially powerful because this was coming from the highest in rank of the iwi which opposes the drilling from the very beginning and even sent a call out to all New Zealanders to stand with them in opposition of this company, industry and running Government.

The storytelling elements or narrative in this press release (Annex I.11) describe the arrest of the San Pietro and more specifically it's skipper – Elvis Teddy. This sure

raised the anti and pushed the authorities to react, to enable the Orient Explorer to continue their seismic survey with no further disruption from the protesting flotilla.

The press release (Annex I.11) ends with a call for the community of the Bay of Plenty to mobilise in support of Elvis outside the Tauranga District Court.

The court case pushed on through the year and even into the next year. This project will not expand on this as it intends to focus on the actual days of the flotilla and the NVDA that can be identified in order to interpret their philosophy and praxis.

In short, Elvis Teddy had to defend himself in court again and gain and even when the case appeared to be over, the crown insisted in revisiting it in order to try to set an exemplary precedent. On another hand, the New Zealand Government later created a new legal frame aimed at stifling the right of protest at sea, to ensure future cases developed differently and especially in light of their agenda and offshore leases to other foreign companies like the Texan Anadarko and the Anglo-Dutch Shell.

Once more, the politisation of this case and events to follow could be focus to a different study/thesis around the politics and governmental influence in passing corporate-friendly policies in order to attract foreign investment. This interesting subject will not be further developed in this project.

The flotilla opposing deep sea oil drilling replenished supplies and crew before returning on the 8th of May to the Raukūmara Basin. This followed a protest of eighty people greeting John Key - the Prime Minister - in Gisborne, outside the annual National Party Conference.

The flotilla represents a united front of the ships: San Pietro, Windborne and Tiama.

And the now famous Te Whānau-ā-Apanui fishing boat San Pietro - on which skipper Elvis Teddy was arrested for fishing in front of the oil survey ship two weeks prior re-joins the flotilla.

Robert Ruha, of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui said:

“That boat goes out to sea again from the heart of our people”

Greenpeace's Executive Director, Bunny McDiarmid, joins the flotilla as the skipper of Tiama. From sea she said:

“The Prime Minister says we need deep sea oil drilling to build a strong economy and create jobs - but it doesn't make sense. This is not regular oil drilling that we all know we will be doing for some time yet. This is frontier exploration, extremely risky because it is in waters too deep to easily fix even a simple mistake and we are increasing the risk by now inviting companies with dubious operating histories” and “We need to be investing in clean energy, this is where the smart economies are moving to, not deepening further our dependency on oil.”

This statement brings back the narrative around the solutions and alternatives to the economic activity that these groups are opposing. Problem solving and solutions are a key element to the theory of change within campaign strategy and campaign tactics – such as NVDAAs.

Synchronically, though, the day comes with game-changing news. As seen in the second press release from May 8th (Annex I.13), Petrobras announces that the Orient Explorer will leave the Raukumara Basin after 32 days despite having initially planned to run the survey and be at sea between 45 and 60 days.

Opotiki, 8 May, 2011⁴⁶

This final press release (Annex I.13) – in the context of media and storytelling around the actual protest flotilla as a coalition strategy – gives some strong quotes that summarise what has been considered as a positive outcome for the protesters.

Firstly it describes the Navy ships with police that have acted like private security for the Brazilian oil giant. This is difficult to argue against taking in consideration the fact they protected the oil survey ship Orient Explorer from protests for over three weeks.

Petrobras' permit to survey was for 45 - 60 days – but only 32 days were used overall the including days that protests and bad weather prevented surveying during that time.

Robert Ruha of te Whānau ā Apanui, said:

“An early departure is a good sign regardless of the days used or not used,”

“Te Whānau ā Apanui will continue to oppose deep sea drilling in its waters now and forever. We will continue to let the Government know that te Whānau ā Apanui will oppose this exploitation of the environment for as long as it takes, and in as many forms as that opposition is necessary, until deep sea oil drilling and inland mining in our tribal territory is off the agenda forever.”

Greenpeace Executive Director Bunny McDiarmid, said:

“This is a determined opposition, a united front against deep sea oil exploration that sent a clear message to international oil giants that New Zealanders do not want deep sea oil exploration”

“Petrobras has witnessed first hand the extent and depth of anger and opposition to the Government’s unjustified plans to open up New Zealand’s waters to deep sea drilling.”

“The Prime Minister says we need deep sea oil drilling to build a strong economy and create jobs - but it doesn’t make sense. This is not regular oil drilling that we all know we will be doing for some time yet. This is frontier exploration, extremely risky because it is in waters too deep to easily fix even a simple mistake and we are increasing the risk by now inviting companies with dubious operating histories.”

“We pay tribute to the determination of skippers and crew of the flotilla boats that have taken this important fight into the seventh week since departing Auckland on the 27th of March,”

The seventh week of flotilla opposition followed announcements of deep sea oil drilling projects off Taranaki, Canterbury and Kahurangi, and Abel Tasman National Parks and the Prime Minister's refusal to move on the issue in the previous Monday's meeting with East Coast iwi leaders.

Petrobras attributed their shortened survey period to external factors, on one hand having accomplished what they'd hoped and on another hand needing to address domestic issues, which required immediate attention.

Petrobras returned their exploration permits to the New Zealand Government at the end of the same year the protest at sea had been endured; breaking a 5-year permit agreement they'd settled.

Petrobras had, in 2011 what the Financial Times newspaper described as an "annus horribilis"⁴⁹, reporting its first quarterly loss in 13 years in the second quarter, disappointing investors in the third quarter and facing a 40% plunge in its share price over the year. This is the reasoning of the company and the New Zealand Government when approached about why Petrobras left the Raukumara Basin early and later returned their exploration permits.

There is no impartial evidence to the exact contribution of the protest on the fact the company pulled out of New Zealand and never again – or at least up to date - considered it as a viable investment opportunity, when it clearly did since at least 2008.

BACKGROUND

**Historic Indigenous resistance to colonial forces in Aotearoa – New Zealand.
The case of Parihaka and the role of Passive Resistance in the struggle to resist
British colonialism**

Parihaka's story is one of massacre and defeat of Māori resistance to British colonization of Aotearoa. But it's also one of the first examples in the use of passive resistance to colonial forces, by Indigenous communities.

The Background is structured the following way: An introduction to the story of Parihaka for context setting, followed by the identification of NVDA or acts of passive resistance. This project was initially going to place the interpretation and relation of Indigenous resistance movements with modern environmental struggles in the background document. Instead, this will be addressed as one of the vectors of study within the interpretation section of the project, as it will be discussed in broader view to the actual case of Parihaka.

Both parts of this section in the project (The story of Parihaka and Identifying Acts Of Passive Resistance), that is, the quotes, event and dates mentioned come from *Ask that mountain* (Dick Scott, 1954) and *Days of Darkness* (Hazel Riseborough, 1989). Which

are considered two of the most in-depth documenting works around the history of Parihaka.

THE STORY OF PARIHAKA

Te Whiti o Rongomai was born in the early nineteenth century in Taranaki on the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand. As the son of a minor Māori chief, he was educated in Māori traditions and learnt to read and write at a Catholic missionary school. His favourite book in the Bible was Revelations and, in adult life, he often used quotations from the Bible.

The mid nineteenth century saw a period of relatively peaceful coexistence between the Māori and what were small numbers of European settlers. In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the British government and many Māori chiefs giving Britain sovereignty over New Zealand in return for the protection of Māori rights and resources. The meaning of the Act was however, interpreted differently by both sides and is still being contested in New Zealand courts a hundred and sixty years later.

Māori resistance to selling land, however, provoked twelve months of fighting in Taranaki in 1860 and 1861. Neither side was able to force a victory and an uneasy truce existed when, in 1862, the ship Lord Worsley was shipwrecked off the Taranaki coast. A crowd of Māori were waiting for the survivors as they reached the shore. Despite a peaceful reception, one of the white passengers called out to those remaining on the Lord Worsley to throw all the ammunition on board into the sea to prevent its falling into the hands of the Māori. The situation began to turn ugly until two Māori chiefs

arrived and took control. One of these was Te Whiti, who killed a bullock to feed the passengers and then sent word to New Plymouth, the nearest town, to say that the passengers were safe. Te Whiti then organized for his men to escort the passengers safely to New Plymouth. The other Māori chief was Te Ua, whose cult followers, in 1864 at the battle of Sentry Hill, went to fight against the white settlers with their right hand raised believing that the Christian God would protect them. Many were consequently killed.

George Grey had become Governor of New Zealand for a second term in 1861. In his earlier period of office he had learnt Māori and organised for their traditions and myths to be written down, thus earning the respect of many Māori. The situation, however, was different in 1861 as New Zealand now had its own elected parliament. In the three years after 1861 the white population doubled. White settlers in the North Island were eager to take over Māori land and in 1863 The Suppression of Rebellion Act was passed stating that any Māori fighting to retain their land was a rebel and therefore could be detained indefinitely without trial. This Act was quickly followed by The New Zealand Settlements Act, which allowed the Government to take over any land claimed by so-called rebels.

Seizure of Māori land

Three million acres were seized mainly in Taranaki leading to renewed fighting. Te Whiti took no part in the ensuing wars and when his village was burnt in 1865 he took his people inland and set up the town of Parihaka. Parihaka was run as a model community. Te Whiti and his fellow leader Tohu Kakahi argued that the Māori should

refuse to sell land to the white settlers but should live in peaceful coexistence and reject the use of violence. Te Whiti was a very charismatic leader who was very knowledgeable and loved to talk in metaphors. On the 18th of every month a meeting was held in Parihaka attended by many Māori from outside the town and even some white individuals. Te Whiti's followers used the white feather of the albatross as a symbol of their peaceful intentions.

Although Te Whiti welcomed other Māori into Parihaka, he refused to become involved in any plans for armed resistance to the seizure of their lands. There is a story that when Titokowaru, the great Māori warrior came to Parihaka with his armed followers, Te Whiti stopped him and said "Titokowaru the man is welcome, but when Waru the man comes to Parihaka, Waru the warrior must stay at home." Titokowaru pointed to the armed warriors behind him and asked Te Whiti arrogantly "Who is behind you?" "God" replied Te Whiti. At this Titokowaru told his men to lay down their arms and was welcomed into the town.

By the end of the 1870s Parihaka was a thriving community with a population of approximately 1500. Self sufficient in food, they also grew cash crops and used the latest agricultural equipment. Many European visitors praised the village for its orderliness and industry.

Although Māori land had been confiscated in the 60s, few European settlers had bought land there. So in 1878 the colonial government came up with a plan to survey the land prior to selling it off to some of the many settlers who were arriving on assisted passages from the United Kingdom. The surveyors cut through Māori fences and

trampled cash crops, so Te Whiti organised for his followers to plough up grasslands belonging to existing European farmers. This enraged the white population and some members of the colonial government were determined to teach the Māori a lesson. An Member of Parliament Major Harry Atkinson wrote in the local paper that, “he hoped if war did come, the natives would be exterminated.”

Te Whiti commanded that the ploughers should resist arrest and violence passively, saying “Go, put your hands to the plough. Look not back. If any come with guns, be not afraid. If they smite you, smite not in return. If they rend you, be not discouraged. Another will take up the good work.”

As the ploughers were arrested, others immediately took their place. A commission was set up to try to resolve the issue but although they reported that it was a puzzle why the land had been confiscated when Te Whiti had never been a rebel, it still recommended that the surveying and sale of land should continue. The interim report from the commissioners stated that, “the story (of how the Māori had been treated) ought to fill us with shame”.

In 1880 Native Minister Bryce, known to the Māori as Brycekohuru or Bryce of the murders, insisted that a road was built north towards Parihaka. At first Te Whiti offered the labourers food as a sign of hospitality and was offered beer in return. But when Bryce ordered the road to be built through cultivated fields, refusing to fence it off so that livestock would not eat growing crops, Te Whiti ordered that fences should be erected and the road blocked. The road builders destroyed these fences and Parihaka

fencers remorselessly kept rebuilding them. In total 420 ploughers were arrested and 216 fencers. Several later died in prison on the South Island.

Taking advantage of the absence of the British governor in 1881, parliament passed a proclamation giving Te Whiti 14 days to expel all non residents and to accept the reserves set aside for him, which would be sold by the government with Parihaka receiving rents for them. Te Whiti refused to sign.

Nonviolent resistance continues

On 5th November Bryce, the native Minister, along with a group of 2674 armed men, made up of volunteers as well as armed constabulary, rode to Parihaka. Croumbie-Brown, a newspaper reporter from the Christchurch Lyttleton Times, hid in one of the Parihaka houses and filed a full report of what happened, much to the annoyance of the government who had refused to allow any media to be present.

The militia were met by a group of 200 young boys, who sang and performed a haka⁵⁰ or action routine. Then came a group of young girls skipping. Around 2,500 adults had been sitting in silence since midnight and 500 loaves had been baked to feed the militia.

The Riot Act was read but met by silence, which continued for an hour. After this Te Whiti and Tohu were arrested and taken away. The Māori remained silently where they were until nightfall. Next day the militia returned and began destroying the town and

dispersing the Māori. Te Whiti and Tohu were never brought to trial, as the politicians feared they would not be found guilty. Instead they were removed to Christchurch prison in the South Island. Christchurch had been founded in 1839 as a model community of Anglicans based on the city of Oxford. Here the two Māori leaders were admired by many of the city elders. They were given tweed suits and a meal of tinned lobster and taken on outings to show off the advanced technology and ‘civilisation’ of the European settlers. Te Whiti when asked if he had been impressed said he had liked the river. He claimed, “...indeed the Pākehā⁵¹ did have some useful technology but not the kindness of heart to see that Māori also possessed much great technology, which if Pākehā were prepared to adopt, would lead to stability and peace and the building of a great new society”.

Parihaka restored

In 1883 after the British governor in New Zealand had pleaded the Māori case in the House of Commons in London, Te Whiti and Tohu were released and taken back to Parihaka. Here they helped rebuild the village in a modern mixed European and Māori style. Both leaders continued to live there until their deaths in the early 1900s.

The political and social context for Te Whiti’s passive resistance differed in significant ways from Gandhi’s, three generations later. The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 had given Great Britain sovereignty over New Zealand and the Māori rights as British citizens. In 1854 a New Zealand Parliament met for the first time and the British crown showed little interest in this small colony 12,000 miles away. Te Whiti was fighting for the right

of Māori to live independent lives on their own lands but in peaceful coexistence with European settlers who were arriving in boatloads on assisted passages. His fight was with these settlers and their leaders rather than with the full might of the British Empire.

Given the difficulties and limitations of international communication at the time, Te Whiti's passive resistance received less media attention in Britain and the wider world than Gandhi's. His actions did not fit the white settler view of the colonization of New Zealand and so were largely ignored by white historians until recently.

However as with Gandhi, powerful opinion in both the colony and London was divided as to the rights and wrongs of the Māori case. Several Māori challenged the government's land claims in the courts and by personal entreaty to Queen Victoria. Unlike Gandhi, Te Whiti refused to take part in these actions.

Te Whiti and his followers in Parihaka lived simply but were not averse to using modern, European technology. They willingly offered hospitality to any European settlers, even opponents. Large crowds came to hear Te Whiti speak, as he was a gifted and charismatic orator.

Te Whiti believed not only in total nonviolence, or ahimsa⁵², but also in civil disobedience, by resisting the surveying of Māori land through the actions of the ploughers and the fencers. He argued that Māori should never sell their land but his vision was that Māori would continue to live according to their traditional customs and beliefs in peaceful coexistence with European settlers. His traditional Māori spirituality was combined with a sound knowledge and belief in the Christian bible.

For these beliefs Te Whiti was willing to spend time in prison and to put his own and his followers lives at risk. As Gandhi said “I am willing to die for many causes but not to kill”.

Gandhi is officially recognised in India as “The father of the nation”. Te Whiti certainly does not receive such recognition in his homeland except perhaps amongst Māori. The European settlers continued taking over Māori land, and in the twentieth century many Māori were forced to move to the cities, thereby often losing touch with their tribe and traditional customs. Discrimination often also led to unemployment, poverty and other social problems.

However, almost one hundred years after Te Whiti’s civil disobedience campaign against land seizures, New Zealand was forced to acknowledge the injustices that had been committed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 led to formal apologies and the setting up of a Tribunal to settle Māori land claims.

Significant places regained their Māori place names. Aoraki – Mount Cook, the highest mountain in New Zealand returned to the Ngai Tahu tribe, who the same day gave it back to the nation, their mana restored. Mana, an important concept in Māori culture, refers to authority or reputation and it is keeping this alive within the Māori communities that is perhaps Te Whiti’s greatest legacy.

The Parihaka gathering on the 18th of each month still goes on, the forum called Tekau mā waru (‘The Eighteenth’) is an opportunity for people to talk about strategies, thoughts and visions for the future. Presently discussing sustainable future strategies,

Māori sovereignty and environmental issues like Hydraulic Fracturing for gas, and foreign oil companies' ventures to drill for deep-sea oil.

IDENTIFYING ACTS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE / NVDA

There are 3 clear moments in the passive resistance movement led by Te Whiti.

Detailed below, it should be noted that Te Whiti's campaign of passive resistance was able to significantly disrupt colonial affairs in a way that touched the minds and hearts of people all around Aotearoa – New Zealand, that is Māori and European settlers, and the stories that came from this nonviolent natured community crossed borders and was topic of articles in Europe and conversation within colonial classist communities.

The challenge of the ploughmen

Te Whiti organised for his followers to plough up grasslands belonging to existing European farmers. They had seen how their land was taken and shrunk week-by-week and month-by-month. Land grabbing was a lawful exercise in the eyes of the colonial Government, and it addressed the need to expand the colony as more Europeans arrived. Even though, Parihaka had been conceived after a bloody episode for community, Te Whiti knew very well from past experience and from other tribes' experience that armed struggle would only make history repeat. This organised action began on the morning of the 26th of May of 1879.

As a form of resistance to the surveyors, who effectively trampled on their cash crops, he ordered the men of Parihaka to plough the land, which had not been ploughed. Surveyors could only claim by law all land which was not ploughed in order to sale it for agricultural activity.

And there was only one thing that could happen at this stage: confrontation. The clash of interests soon brought about the first stories.

The fact that the ploughmen were working from sunrise to sunset ploughing the Pākehā occupied land made the local farmers uncomfortable and think that the Māori were either reoccupying the land or taking it back without paying for it.

It didn't take long until the first confrontations began. Now, these were not equally violent confrontations. While farmers were armed, all ploughmen – under Te Whiti's instruction – were unarmed at all times while ploughing the land.

In Te Whiti's words, they had been instructed to:

“Go, put your hands to the plough. Look not back. If any come with guns, be not afraid. If they smite you, smite not in return. If they rend you, be not discouraged. Another will take up the good work.”

Te Whiti emphasised that the ploughing was not directed against the settlers, it was solely to force a declaration of policy from the colonial government, but not all settlers were able to make that distinction.

The Government was slow in reaction and settlers organised and resupplied with rifles. The pressure felt on the ground soon translated into a regional policy being brought to

life, that of wartimes, a policy that dictates not only ‘rebel Māori’ were to be punished but also all land should be free of the presence of ‘friendly Māori’.

And of course, it wasn’t long until the settlers got together and approximately one hundred vigilantes came together and decided to come down on a party of ploughmen.

The discipline of Māori averted pitched battle. Tohu – who shared strong leadership with Te Whiti, within Parihaka – had been asked by the ploughmen what they should do if any of them were shot. To this his answer was: *“Gather up the earth on which the blood has spilt and bring it to Parihaka”*

At the end of June the heavily armed constabulary began arresting the ploughmen. Large squads swooped down on the ploughing parties to find them unarmed, unresisting and quite unimpressed. They went to prison, and as they left more others took their place.

As the ploughmen filled the prison of Taranaki, Te Whiti described them as “martyrs whose reward would be a crown of glory”.

As Te Whiti’s story and the story of Parihaka was told around the country, more and more people grew eager to understand what was happening. It should be noted that this was a new experience to everyone; it leaped out of the frame of reality of any settler and Māori at that time.

But the fruits started to come. Not only had they forced a disproportionate measure which reflected and reinforced the unfair nature of the colonial government and its army, also, a commission was set up to try to resolve the issue but although they

reported that it was a puzzle why the land had been confiscated when Te Whiti had never been a rebel, it still recommended that the surveying and sale of land should continue. The interim report from the commissioners stated that, “the story (of how the Māori had been treated) ought to fill us with shame”.

This coordinated and disruptive action resulted in changing the status quo with which the colonial government and forces had acted up to date, and especially since the ceasefire. By acting and forcing a reaction, Te Whiti was able to change the game rules, which had been unfavourable to Parihaka from the very beginning.

The challenge of the fencers

In 1880 Native Minister Bryce, known to the Māori as Brycekohuru or Bryce of the murders, insisted that a road was built north towards Parihaka. At first Te Whiti offered the labourers food as a sign of hospitality and was offered beer in return. But when Bryce ordered the road to be built through cultivated fields, refusing to fence it off so that livestock would not eat growing crops, Te Whiti ordered that fences should be erected and the road blocked. The road builders destroyed these fences and Parihaka fencers remorselessly kept rebuilding them.

Even though we will discern the challenge of the ploughmen from the challenge of the fencers it should be noted that the second is the continuation of the first. Meaning that the episode of the ploughmen had just occurred and the challenge of the fencers was simply the action to follow the shift in strategy from the Colonial Government and

Forces. Following the same logic, the fencer posed no resistance when being arrested and taken away, others immediately replaced them.

In total 420 ploughers and 216 fencers were arrested. Several later died in prison on the South Island.

This situation forced a desire to settle things and so came the first settlement and offer to compromise. Taking advantage of the absence of the British governor in 1881, parliament passed a proclamation giving Te Whiti 14 days to expel all non residents and to accept the reserves set aside for him, which would be sold by the government with Parihaka receiving rents for them.

Te Whiti refused to sign.

Nonviolent resistance – the militia episode

This episode and the action that the community took is probably one of the most emblematic and bold actions taken by Parihaka residents under Te Whiti's orders. It's still today a reference to nonviolent resistance.

The armed constabulary was ordered to invade Parihaka and end the rebellion. Interestingly there had been call from the Colonial Government to all newspaper to call back any reporters that might be in Parihaka. For they knew this better not be documented. The constabulary camped close to Parihaka and spent the night there to wake up early in the morning and launch a surprise attack.

The group of 2674 armed men who rode to Parihaka would have never imagined what they'd find. They were met by a group of 200 young boys, who sang and performed a haka or action routine. And then came a group of young girls skipping. Finally at the centre of the town they found around 2,500 adults who'd been sitting in silence since midnight and 500 loaves had been baked to feed the militia.

Apparently, when meeting with the armed men, Te Whiti said: *"If war comes, what can we do but look on and laugh"*

Te Whiti and Tohu opposed no resistance and after an exchange of few sentences they both stood and walked towards the constable and were arrested.

This episode was thoroughly documented by two reporters/journalists who'd disobeyed the press blackout, and was later telegraphed to the newspapers.

The glorious invasion of Parihaka ended up being a walk in and a walk out to arrest the two leaders.

It is a fact that the extremely successful strategy of resisting peacefully and greeting the armed men in a way that would soften the toughest hearts was an essential part to the invasion not ending in a blood bath – like it had in so many previous invasions in other communities.

Unfortunately, once the leaders were taken, at the next morning, blood was shed and women and children were abused and killed, and most of the town burnt down. This is described in detail in the stories that are still told, today, by those who live in Parihaka.

INTERPRETATION. From Parihaka to Te Whānau-ā-Apanui

Role of Strategy and Narrative in NVDA

Outcomes and Results from NVDA

NVDA in Environment and Indigenous struggle

NVDA in the realm of digital communications

Final Conclusions

Role of Strategy and Narrative in NVDA

While faith- or philosophy-based nonviolence often leads to political change, one can also look at nonviolence from a purely strategic vantage point. This is the view of Gene Sharp, the preeminent cataloguer of nonviolent action. While moral jiu jitsu operates by generating questions within the adversary who comes to a change of heart in the course of this process. Sharp, on the other hand, refers to "political jiu jitsu."

By combining nonviolent discipline with solidarity and persistence in struggle, the nonviolent actionists cause the violence of the opponent's repression to be exposed in the worst possible light.⁵³

According to this school of thinking, non-violent action acts in three ways to change opponents' behavior:

- Conversion
- Accommodation
- Coercion

Conversion involves a change of heart in the opponent to the point where the goals of the protestors are now her/his own. At the other extreme, in coercion, the opponent has had no change of heart or mind, but acquiesces to the demands of the protestors because they feel there is no choice. In between is accommodation, probably the most frequent mechanism through which nonviolent action is effective.

In the mechanism of accommodation the opponent resolves to grant the demands of the nonviolent action without having changed his mind fundamentally about the issues involved. Some other factor has come to be considered more important than the issue at stake in the conflict, and the opponent is therefore willing to yield on the issue rather than to risk or to experience some other condition or result regarded as still more unsatisfactory.

A Gandhian approach suggests that conversion is the appropriate goal of nonviolence. Not all nonviolent action proponents, however, adhere to this standard. On the other extreme there are those whose only concern is achieving the desired goal and the most effective and/or expeditious way of getting there. In between are those who prefer conversion where possible, but not at the cost of significantly prolonging the struggle or participants' suffering.

Sharp defines three major categories of nonviolent action:

- Protest and Persuasion. These are actions that highlight the issue in contention and/or a desired strategy for responding to the situation. Specific methods include petitions, leafleting, picketing, vigils, marches, and teach-ins.

- Noncooperation. Protestors may refuse to participate in the behavior to which they object socially, economically, and/or politically. Specific methods include sanctuary, boycotts, strikes, and civil disobedience.
- Nonviolent intervention. This category includes techniques in which protestors actively interfere with the activity to which they are objecting. Specific methods include sit-ins, fasts, overloading of facilities, and parallel government.

In general, the level of disruption and confrontation increases as one moves from protest and persuasion to intervention. If the protestors' goal is to convert, "protest and persuasion" is likely to be the most appropriate category from which to choose. If the protestors wish to force their opponents to change their behavior, they will probably need to include nonviolent intervention methods in their overall strategy. Those who are seeking accommodation might best mix protest and persuasion tactics with noncooperation if the former are not having the desired impact.

In the case of Parihaka we'd categorise passive resistance as a form of non-cooperation, while in the case of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui we'd be speaking of nonviolent intervention. Many authors tend to put any act of nonviolence in the same field, and this is why I thought Gene Sharp's analysis is essential to address in what way NVDA is different when speaking about Parihaka and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, which then have great correlation in the theory of colonial – or neo-colonial – resistance.

While Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's flotilla, a grass-roots organised resistance campaign acts in the realm of political jiu jitsu and nonviolent intervention by disrupting the Orient Explorer's trajectory, we can only define Parihaka's passive resistance as a form of non-cooperation which stems from the need to innovate in light of the defeat of other neighbouring tribes. This last one would sit in the real of moral jiu jitsu.

Te Whiti was a leader who had been raised as a Christian, and in his thinking you can identify the call on a Christian God to justify the act of defiance. He spoke to their enemy in their same language and in the same frame of theological understanding.

This is very different to the case of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's flotilla, where the moral ground is held in traditional rights of an oppressed people. There is no intention to convert the opponent to understand the position so that through a change of heart this oil giant stops their economic activity in the Raukumara Basin.

The narrative and who tells the story has been repeatedly mentioned throughout this project as a means to tell the story of the oppressed, the story of those who don't own the media, the story of those who have less capital to promote their version.

Without this build-up in the narrative towards the flotilla, the actions and direct interventions in the described NVDAs would have less of a moral high, and not only because less people would understand why Te Whānau-ā-Apanui is doing this, but simply because less people would even know of it. If journalists hadn't had the Press Releases from the flotilla to contrast the story that Government influenced corporate media could tell, most New Zealanders would probably think that this flotilla is an act of violence towards a foreign company that's willing to invest in the country, bring jobs and future welfare. What if this protest were about to jeopardise the country from being the next Norway or future Texas of the southern hemisphere? Storytelling and being co-author of the narrative are essential aspects to justifying NVDAs, because they also tell the story of negotiations behind the actions.

Martin Luther King Jr. described where Direct Action must sit in the steps to achieve tactical victory through nonviolent resistance, as seen here:

- Step One. Information gathering
- Step Two. Education
- Step Three. Personal commitment
- Step Four. Negotiations
- Step Five. Direct action
- Step Six. Reconciliation

It's important to note that Direct Action (NVDA) always sits after negotiation as a step. This is the case of most modern cases, too. Before taking action there's always a desire for dialogue. If dialogue is not successful or not available, then NVDA can unlock the negotiation or force the opponent to sit at the table to negotiate. This is well described in Martin Luther King's own definition of nonviolent direct action, as seen at the introduction of this project:

“Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.”

- *Martin Luther King Jr.* (Letter From Birmingham Jail. April 16, 1963)

Outcomes and results from NVDA

In order to understand the results from NVDAs at sea during the flotilla protest, we will look at both the strategic goal of the tactic itself and at the media output these created.

Firstly, the impactful images that portray an activist floating with a banner right in front of the survey ship as it comes closer and closer to the protester. This – David Vs. Goliath - image is both a direct action while an extremely successful tool of communication and key part of the narrative used by the protesters.

Once these images are out in the country and the world – the protesters are sure their story is being told in the tone they've chosen to set. That itself is a victory in the battle of propaganda between Government and anti-oil drilling protesters.

This aspect, seeking media output to portray the narrative that protesters are using, is not exactly comparable in the case of Parihaka as the historic context is very different. That said, there is record in Dick Scott's "Ask That Mountain" (1954) of articles written in the UK, in the late 19th Century, about Parihaka and a Māori tribe that had been resisting the invincible Royal Army through humane acts of kindness.

An interesting analogy when comparing the outcomes of both NVDA campaigns is that they both posed a quantifiable cost to their enemies. While not being able to speak of concrete numbers in this study, we can generalise and ensure that in the case of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's disruption of the Orient Explorers seismic surveying, we could be speaking of millions of dollars of extra cost to the Brazilian giant, as each failed seismic round due to a protester in their trajectory lengthens the amount of time the surveying campaign needs to go on for. Regarding Parihaka, it is noted in Dick Scott's "*Ask That*

Mountain” (1954) that Te Whiti’s campaign of resistance cost the Government 5,600 pounds a month at the end of 1879 and by 1880 had reportedly surpassed the million-pound mark⁵⁴. This is because more troops had to be kept in the soundings of Parihaka and for longer than in other military campaigns against other tribes.

There’s even documented reference of how the constabulary wanted the people of Parihaka to attack them to justify an invasion, this attack never happened and consequently the invasion of Parihaka is still today considered one of the most brutal and least justified invasions (if any of them were to be justified) during the British colonisation of the land that would later be the independent state of New Zealand.

The three most important outcomes of using NVDA that have been identified from the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui flotilla case are:

- The overreaction of the Government when they sent the Navy in. This created powerful images of contrast between the relatively small protest sail boats, the big Petrobras survey ship and the even bigger Navy ships with their cannons, which had been called in not to defend the locals from an external threat but to defend a foreign oil giant from the local tribe that’s peacefully protesting in the waters they’ve fished in for centuries.
- Government policies after the protest flotilla, approved in 2013 where there’s specific legislation that strongly punishes any type of protest activity at 500 meters from vessels on-going “legitimate” economic activities within the New Zealand EEZ. This legislation, named by environmentalists as the Anadarko Amendment – due to the arrival of this Texan oil giant to New Zealand waters in 2013 – was put in place despite

the strong public, academic and political opposition. Even though there is no factual proof that the flotilla shortened the survey window in the Raukumara Basin or Petrobras' pull out from New Zealand, this reaction from the Government proves NVDA was an effective tactic and did disrupt the oil giant's activity.

- The story didn't end. The over-reactive detention of Elvis Teddy, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's skipper, while being surrounded by the navy gave the story a higher profile. People across the nation were shocked at the court case going ahead which up to date has not been resolved. The specific NVDA that brought the San Pietro in front of the Orient Explorer, as described in the Focus, and ended with Elvis' arrest meant the story continued in court and meant that the injustice forced by Goliath on David was latent until this process ends with Elvis free.

The three most important outcomes of using NVDA that have been identified from the Parihaka case are:

- The invasion didn't take place when the colonising forces wished it had. It's solely attributed to NVDA – passive resistance that the militia didn't attack Parihaka with all its force. Before the approval for an all-out assault on Parihaka by Bryce, many of his colleagues confessed having little stomach for head-on collision with the women and children left in Parihaka. The fact that there had been no violent confrontation with Parihaka residents gave the militia no moral ground to attack with its full force.

- The resistance cost the Crown more than what a military confrontation would have. As mentioned previously, it is noted in Dick Scott's "*Ask That Mountain*" (1954) that Te Whiti's campaign of resistance cost the Government 5,600 pounds a month at the end of 1879 and by 1880 had reportedly surpassed the million-pound mark.

- Parihaka is up to date a reference and legacy of peaceful resistance and nonviolent direct action in New Zealand – Aotearoa. The grounds have been recovered by a community, which promotes environmental and cultural preservation initiatives. The monthly meeting is still an open and safe space of dialogue between people of all walks. Parihaka has recently hosted activist skill-shares and informative meetings around neo-colonisation and environmental struggle, from those derived from lignite coal mining to hydraulic fracturing or “fracking”.

Having seen the three most important outcomes from the use of NVDA and its consequent David vs. Goliath narrative, it becomes obvious that the repressive nature of “Goliath” which is ignited as a reaction to the NVDAs reinforces the notion that the weaker hold the moral ground. This is well reflected by Nicolo Machiavelli, who argued that the prince “... who has the public as a whole for his enemy can never make himself secure; and the greater his cruelty, the weaker does his regime become”⁵⁵.

Grand Strategy, Strategies and Tactics in alliance building

As a tactic, nonviolent resistance can be dated as far back as 494 BC, when plebeians withdrew cooperation from their Roman patrician masters. Despite nonviolent resistance being part of human history for millennia, it has evolved quite a bit throughout history and especially since the big mid-XX century civil society movements; this will become evident when taking a deeper dive into the tactics and strategies, which are here studied in the context of alliance building.

For this study, that of Parihaka's resistance to colonialism and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's resistance to neo-colonialism, we will now focus on the grand strategy, strategies and tactics which enabled coalition and alliance building to support what would initially be considered the interest of a few.

A Grand Strategy is composed of the movement's vision, that non-defined chain of events that will lead to the final goal of a campaign. Campaign strategies on the other hand will have a more defined scope and might vary for each of the events within the desired chain reaction that'll lead to victory. Finally, tactics are limited in scope and consist of defined actions that will be taken within measurable timeframes.

In the case of Parihaka's resistance to colonialism, the Grand Strategy was to remain sovereign and at peace with external events to those within the land of the community. The Campaign Strategies were to remain nonviolent and peaceful towards any external provocation, while being inviting to anyone, regardless of whether they were Māori or Pākehā. Another strategy was to be open to dialogue with the British regime and generate a calm and peer-to-peer relation that would create a sense of unjustified use of military force. Finally the tactics or specific NVDA's used by the community are those described in the Background section, that of ploughing the land for it to not be affected by the land-grab laws which were enforced by the British. The fencers planted fence poles in front of roads under construction to obstruct these from crossing their cultivated land. Finally, the greeting of the militia by children and women offering food to soldiers was the most effective tactic to avoid a massacre on the spot, as intended by Bryce.

I haven't spoken about alliances in the case of Parihaka, but it should be noted in this section that the population of Parihaka was not fully Māori from that region, or only Māori either. This community attracted Māori from across the country and also

European settlers, who had come in contact with the community and felt connected with it or, in some cases, saw in Te Whiti a spiritual leader who spoke in a familiar language to Christians. As documented, Te Whiti often made mention of the fact the fight for peace was not with the white man, but with the army of Great Britain, which claimed sovereignty over all in that land.

Shifting our attention now to the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui led flotilla in the Raukumara Basin, we can dissect the case study and look a bit deeper into the distinction of Grand Strategy, Campaign Strategies and Tactics and their relation with coalition or alliance building. As a grassroots initiated and led campaign with a focus on defending the cultural and ancestral heritage, and in a similar way to the Parihaka case, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's Grand Strategy is to remain sovereign and at peace with external events to those within the land of their community or iwi, thus reinforcing their political struggle within the colonised and growingly privatised New Zealand State system.

To understand the convergence of Campaign Strategies within the flotilla coalition, we will define the Grand Strategy of the different groups involved by defining the scope of the Campaign Strategy to that of the actual protest flotilla:

- Greenpeace's Grand Strategy sits in the context of fighting climate change and challenging the Government's fossil fuel industry driven agenda while promoting and opening the public and political debate for an energy revolution to renewable energy generation and a green economy.

- Nuclear Free Pacific Flotilla's Grand Strategy was achieved when their campaign successfully shifted public opinion in New Zealand to oppose nuclear detonations in the Pacific and this spurred into a successful national anti-nuclear campaign, which ended with

New Zealand declaring itself a nuclear-free nation – There are no nuclear plants in New Zealand. Their narrative around why they joined the flotilla was the fact that foreign oil companies coming into New Zealand was the more current version of that which they stood against in the past, and this requires firm opposition.

- Forest and Bird's Grand Strategy, as expected from a conservationist organisation, is to support policies that encourage the protection of fauna and flora in New Zealand. This also translates into disapproval of those policies that will negatively impact the environment. Forest and Bird were especially concerned by the fact that an oil spill would produce irreversible damage to marine wildlife and used in their messaging the endemic, unique and critically endangered Maui's Dolphin – that is the smallest species of dolphin in the world, which has an estimate adult population of 50-55 individuals.

- Coromandel Watchdog is an anti-mining group, and as such their Grand Strategy is to confront the coal industry in the specific region of the Coromandel.

The Coromandel is a high ecological value area of the North Island and is close vicinity to the Raukumara Basin.

- Coal Action Network (CAN) is a grassroots global movement famous for its call for direct action in the quest to disrupt the coal industry. This is their Grand Strategy.

- Board Riders Against Drilling (BRAD) is a recently formed group from Tauranga, a famous area of New Zealand amongst surfers all around the world. Their Grand Strategy is to honour the ocean and protect marine life. As the name suggests, this is a group of environmentally conscious surfers.

- 350.org is a global grassroots born and growingly corporate structured NGO that solely focuses on fighting Climate Change. 350.org's Grand Strategy is to fight all policy (usually lack of policies) or economic activity that contributes to the climate change emergency. 350ppm (parts per million) is the amount defined by NASA scientist James Hansen to be the necessary concentration of CO₂ at which our climate could stabilise without creating the damaging effects of climate change or runaway climate change – term used to speak of the no-turning (or tipping) point. In 2013 the concentration of atmospheric CO₂ reached 400ppm, these are the highest levels found on earth in hundreds of thousands of years⁵⁶.

Despite all these different Grand Strategies, all these groups were willing to sit at the same table after Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's call for support and action. They agreed that the flotilla, as a time-bound Campaign Strategy, served all their Grand Strategies. And that together they'd have a stronger and unified voice when opposing the Government's fossil fuel agenda which in this case manifests as the arrival of a foreign oil corporation with intention to explore for oil at deep-seas, which is a new frontier exploration for New Zealand, and could have devastating consequences for the environment.

The common tactic (NVDA) used during the flotilla campaign was to disrupt the Orient Explorer's activity as it intended to map out the seabed through 3D mapping that would identify the best and most viable positions to explore for oil.

This coalition was a historic one, never before had this community with seemingly different mission statements and agendas found a common target which ticked all the boxes within their Grand Strategy, potential Campaign Strategies and agreed tactics.

The quotes in the Press Releases, from the Focus section of this project, reinforced the notion of both a coalition of organisations – civil society, non-profit, grassroots – and an important movement building element adhered to the challenge the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui led flotilla had to face.

NVDA in Environmental and Indigenous struggle

Both the Parihaka and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui cases narrate the story of an oppressed colonised indigenous people. The response is one that is in both cases nonviolent. Now, nonviolence and NVDA as a tactic does not mean it is peaceful or not aggressive. In fact it intends to foster the tension necessary to force a window for dialogue. We've already explained this in the Interpretations section "*role of strategy and narrative*".

The Indigenous struggles around the world were, in the past, isolated in silos of resistance with no support other than that from potential local allies. But times have changed, a globalized world and the very struggle of Indigenous communities globally has created a new landscape, one of global solidarity and opportunities of sharing of knowledge, tools and tactics.

Land grabs, described in the Parihaka case within the Background section, are one of the oldest forms of ecological imperialism. This dates back to the Castilian Conquest of the Berber aboriginal Guanches that inhabited Canary Islands in 1402⁵⁷, and later colonization of the Americas in its different phases. And it could be argued that the later land management Governance justified tactics seen in the 17th - 20th Centuries never ended, up to date.

The big difference, as mentioned above, is that a globalized, networked, informed, resourced, and consequently more solidary world has been a game changer. In fact, more and more cases of multinational corporations with intention to profit from resources in areas of disputed indigenous and government sovereignty show a trend where they pressure Government and State systems to put a bigger effort in shutting down the communication channels and activism that disrupts their operations and threaten their social license to operate by exposing the reality in the field. This can be seen in many cases, like Brazil's efforts to silence the Amazon's indigenous communities while they fight the impacts of the Belo Monte Dam construction on the Xingu River⁵⁸, the Guatemalan Government putting a blind eye as the Western Highland indigenous resistance to mining companies⁵⁹ is met by armed private security commandos that have systematically target-killed activist leaders and raped women in night raids to intimidate them so that they leave the lands which the mining companies have, in too many cases, illegally bought. Or the Indonesian case of SinarMas and AP&P's palm oil and paper pulp industry⁶⁰, which has forcefully moved whole communities from their ancestral lands and passed laws that define any opposition as state terrorism while deporting with a no entry in 10 years policy any foreign activist that disrupts this industry on the ground. Just to name a few.

But there seems to be hope, there seems to be a global uproar within Indigenous struggles, of which in my opinion the recent Idle No More movement has been a catalyzer. The illusion of a seemingly suddenly appearing and growing movement in Canada is actually a response to the historic state oppression on First Nations and the Governments fossil fuel agenda and macro-spatial and macro-subsidized tar sands.

This grassroots-led movement defines its mission statement as *“a call on all people to join in a revolution which honors and fulfills Indigenous sovereignty which protects the land and water”*.

This statement has many parallels with the quotes voiced by Te Whānau-ā-Apanui while out at sea confronting Petrobras, as seen in the Press Releases on the Focus.

The main themes and pillars that run through Indigenous nonviolent movements with environmental justice struggles embedded, can be identified as:

- The need of safeguarding Natural resources, land and water.
- The role they have as stewards and guardians of the land and water
- Their understanding of this response as part of their cultural heritage and understanding of the universe i.e. cosmovision.
- The call for action and support from all, regardless of their cultural background or location. This can be seen in the Parihaka case with European-friendly and inviting actions and in contemporary cases through global solidarity movements.

In the very origin of the modern environmental movements we can find some of the reason these previously mentioned cases are a truly new phenomenon and unprecedented understanding of global solidarity and alliance building. If we look back at Greenpeace’s seal or whaling campaign, the main target of these campaigns were industries which gave work to Indigenous communities in the far North. This made these communities feel attacked and they saw environmental activism as another white-mans form of colonizing and affecting negatively their way of life, while portraying them as cruel people to the rest of the world. This is currently an open wound for many communities in North territories of Canada, USA and Greenland. And the consequences

of those campaigns are still felt by environmental movements despite shutting down the seal campaign - as seals are not endangered, and in fact have never been - and reassessing the whaling campaigns messaging and campaign goals to one that solely targets industrial whaling – and not that from subsistence.

To conclude this section we can state that there's been historic use of NVDA throughout Indigenous movements and struggles with an environmental justice component adhered to it, and this continues being a reality. In fact it would seem reasonable to point out that all effective modern resistance movements have a nonviolent ethos behind them, and environmental struggle adhered, and find solidarity, support and amplification of their communications via other connected struggles – whether of indigenous nature or not – thanks to the tools and channels of a modern globalized world. The contribution of global solidarity and alliances to the changing landscape of Indigenous struggles, through global communications and networking, could also be a thesis of its own.

NVDA in the realm of digital communications

In the past, it could be said that the only way to reach people across the globe, or even in a region or country, was through newspapers and other paper outlets. For the type of campaigning we're focusing on, this meant that understanding how to reach these channels would be key to reaching a critical mass of people who'd bare witness with activists, to ensure their security and an exposé of that which they intend to change or campaign against. In fact, journalists and not professional activists or scientists founded Greenpeace. Having the right equipment and taking photos of those moments of action

to then develop them and send them to the wires was the only proof that they were actually there campaigning, like in the case of the famous images where RIBs⁶¹ stand between the harpoon and the whale.

Now, in the era of globalized communications and digital democracy⁶², it's very different.

Every person has an offline and an online presence. Almost everyone not only owns a computer but even has a pocket-sized computer, which also makes them the reporter, the videographer, the photographer, the blogger, the advocate.

The consequences of this fact are still not fully understood, so for this section I will focus on how this has changed the campaigning scape.

Pre-internet organizations are still adapting to the rapidly growing and evolving phenomenon of global digital organizing, where people from the whole world can support a case with a single click. This phenomenon, often being undermined with the “clicktivism” label, has give birth to a new type of organized campaigns. Often referred to as minimal online campaigns, which don't put a massive effort in creating the narrative and building up the case or pressure to make a target (corporate, political...) fold. But instead wait for the pressure to arise externally, and once the momentum is there and the voice of millions will give the final push, they seek for people to click and support the case. This is what we call tipping-point campaigns, and tipping-point organizations – such as Avaaz⁶³. And this has too, raised many concerns around the so called “petition fatigue syndrome” – another subject that won't be discussed here but could be focus of its own study in the fields of sociology, psychology, anthropology and new technologies amongst others.

Now, independently of how millions of voices are channeled to effect change, social networks and digital communications have created a platform from where campaigns can elaborate compelling stories to tell and that will engage audiences in a collective effort to change an injustice. This new media helps overcome the bumps of traditional media filtering, corporate control and even censorship. That said, we do still live in an era where Internet censorship and control are a reality, yet relatively at an extremely lower scope than that of traditional channels.

In the case of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, images were being posted on social networks all around the world, amplifying the message and collecting support from all corners of the world. The images of the Navy appearing to protect a foreign oil company from the Indigenous tribe with their artisanal fishing boats touched the minds and hearts of fishermen in Senegal. This type of globalized and horizontal communications has changed the world of campaigning forever.

What's most relevant to this project is that this has boosted the belief within environmental and indigenous movements that now it's more plausible to win than ever, not only because of the global network but also because these horizontal platforms to share experiences also make the world smaller and bring together those communities that face the same challenges.

This vector of study, like the previous ones, could be focus of its own thesis and project. It's not an understatement to say that this is extremely relevant to the world of campaigning in the 21st Century.

Final Conclusions

This political ecology project has, up to this point, addressed the philosophy and praxis of NVDA through the close look of two historic events that involve Indigenous and environmental struggles. Broadly, the study of political struggles for control over natural resources and, concretely, the strategic and tactical use of NVDA to achieve progressive milestones, or goals, in advancing these campaigns.

From the analysis in the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui versus Petrobras case we've unpacked key elements that make NVDA different in a globalized and digital era. These tools suggest that now more than ever, nonviolent environmental campaigns and Indigenous struggles can seek the support of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of peers or people around the world. This is done through bearing witness, documenting and telling the story that will take these people on a journey from the moment they find out about the campaign, or struggle, to the moment they receive news that it's concluded and they paid a part independently of where on planet Earth they live.

From the Parihaka case we've also identified the moral high ground that resides in NVDA when responding nonviolently to armed forces or violent repression. In this historic case we can see that there was a belief and spiritual sense as to why NVDA should be used, but also there was a need to test new forms of resistance as many communities had lost through violent confrontations.

Another subject addressed has been the fact that up to recently there had been conflict of environmental groups and Indigenous nations, and even though Indigenous struggle tends to have environmental connotations too, other than social or political, there had been tensions with modern environmental groups. This is rapidly changing in the

landscape of a globalised world, especially as movements are converging and struggles seems to resonate throughout their themes... whether social, Indigenous, political or environmental, now more than ever people can access information and demand a cross-cultural justice to become the new norm. This is directly linked to the recent appearance of global justice movements like 15M, Occupy Wall Street and Idle No More. And again the globalised era of digital communications has made the resistance and struggles to be more empowered than ever before. Whether it's sharing information, tactics or supporting with names, signatures and local/regional lobby efforts, this new landscape is empowering people to act in a way that never before had been accessible.

In this landscape, NVDA has become the single most effective form of resistance to neoliberal policies that benefit multinational corporations over the welfare of people. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui internationally showcased as successful grassroots-led movement as they restated their grounds within NZ and in the face of any oil company that may consider taking up the lease, which Petrobras gave back to Government. Each victory seems isolated but in reality there is a growing sense that these converging resistance movements are gaining ground and growing in identity building and self-realisation of their potential.

And it's working.

Communities that resist neoliberal policies and multinational corporations are now more equipped than ever, from nonviolent resistance toolkits and manuals⁶⁴ to forums and gatherings to discuss the best ways to start campaigns in defence of the land and the people living on and from the land.

Another reason to think that NVDA is working and the most effective tool in these cases is that companies now calculate community-company as part of their risk assessment, including the delays and damage created by this tactic as part of their initial calculations on profit for a corporate project⁶⁵. As mentioned previously Social media and internet access are allowing indigenous and local groups to organize more quickly, to learn from others who have had successful protests, and to connect with nonprofits and humanitarian groups that can help push their stories out to the entire world.

We can expect a growing number of civil society groups and movements that'll use these tactics and globalise (make internationally relevant) their cause as the fronts of resource extraction, sovereignty disputes, social and environmental justice and the ever-growing global economy. Even the National Security Agency of the United States of America (NSA) is expecting the risk from these movements to rise in light of governmental and corporate inability to tackle climate change⁶⁶. Governmental security agencies and corporate private security companies are heavily and increasingly surveying Green and Indigenous groups. And once more, there's no unbiased information on whether this is due to the growing risk to national and corporate security, or to the fact the tactics being used are now more effective than ever and are substantially affecting the free-for-all market situation that would benefit resource-extractive industry multinational corporations.

As a final conclusion to this project and research, we can expect a growing number of civil society groups and movements that'll use these tactics and globalise (make internationally relevant) their cause as the fronts of resource extraction, sovereignty disputes, social and environmental justice and the ever-growing global economy.

This natural conflict is shifting and the moral ground has been redefined due to global communications and the pressure put on people by States and corporations as they adapt to financial markets in the era of extreme fossil fuels.

We now know that climate change is a real threat and more than ever people around the world are informed of this and are demanding Governments and corporations to enable a swift transition towards clean energies.

Nonviolent direct action and resistance have proven to be the most effective way of overthrowing dictatorships through civil upraise in the last century⁶⁷, this is true too for environmental and Indigenous campaigns and struggles. Even though this should not be taken as an analogy, there are clear connections between the David versus Goliath narrative, the role of digital communications and the role of people power in both. Perhaps this, too, could be further explored in it's own study.

To finalise, I'd like to go back to the quote that opens this project, that of Martin Luther King Jr. – in it we find the key reason of why this tactic would be used when wanting to expose an injustice within “your story” of the events. Nonviolence itself represents the utmost moral high form of human treatment. In a world where the biggest business is warfare, to confront injustice with nonviolence resonates deep in a society that is victim of cognitive dissonance. We learn about human rights and we like to think we live in an equalitarian world, and anything different is barbaric, uncivilised and inhumane – despite this our Governments invade countries and play geo-politics as if it still were any century of the last 4 millennia. Nonviolent direct action (NVDA) resonates deep in resistance movements that fight resource industry corporations and Governmental support of these, this project's analyses is the tip of an iceberg.

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- ³³ Deep Water, The Gulf Oil Disaster and the Future of Offshore Drilling, Report to the President. National Commission on the BP Deepwater Horizon Jan 2011, page 51
- ³⁴ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/600-greet-flotilla-in-a-firm-opposition-to-deep-sea-oil-drilling/>
- ³⁵ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Protest-Flotilla-Heads-Out-to-Confront-Seismic-Oil-Detection-Ship/>
- ³⁶ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Flotilla-Calls-Seismic-Vessel-to-Cease-Operations/>
- ³⁷ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Think-Again-Prime-Minister--Raukmara-is-up-to-Twice-Depth-of-Deepwater-Horizon-Disaster/>
- ³⁸ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Flotilla-Opposing-Deep-Sea-Oil-Drilling-Diverts-Oil-Giants-Seismic-Testing/>
- ³⁹ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/PM-Sends-Military-Against-Peaceful-Protest/>
- ⁴⁰ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/PM-Sends-Military-Against-Peaceful-Protest/Protest-flotilla-anchors-to-re-provision-before-returning-to-sea--Te-Rarawa-pledges-support/>
- ⁴¹ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Deepwater-Horizon-disaster-a-warning-for-New-Zealand/>
- ⁴² <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Protest-flotilla-returns-to-sea-on-one-year-anniversary-of-Deepwater-Horizon-oil-disaster/>
- ⁴³ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Governments-Misleading-Safety-Claims-An-Attempt-to-Silence-Flotilla/>
- ⁴⁴ <http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Flotilla-harbours-in-Tauranga-to-support-Captain-Elvis/>

⁴⁵<http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Flotilla>Returns-to-Oil-Survey-Zone-After-Protests-Outside-Annual-National-Party-Conference/>

⁴⁶<http://www.greenpeace.org/new-zealand/en/press/Petrobras-Oil-Survey-Ship-Leaves-Raukmara-Basin--Dont-Come-Back-Now-YHear/>

⁴⁷ *Kaumātua* (Māori language): elders in Māori society. Male elders are also known as koroua (or koro for short), and female elders as kuia. Whether a person can be considered a kaumātua depends on age, knowledge of tribal history and traditions, and the presence of other potential elders for younger generations to turn to. People aged in their mid-60s or older would be universally accepted as a kaumātua. Some elders may be considered kaumātua purely based on their age, while others, despite their youth, have knowledge and leadership abilities, which see them considered kaumātua at an earlier age.

⁴⁸ *Hapū* (Māori language): As named divisions of Māori iwi, hapū have membership determined by genealogical descent; a hapū comprises a number of whānau. Generally hapū range in size from 350 to 500 persons, although there is no upper limit. Māori can belong to or have links to many different hapū.

⁴⁹ <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7a1a8660-27fb-11e2-ac7f-00144feabdc0.html#axzz33xlGI3t8>

⁵⁰ *Haka* (Māori language): traditional ancestral war cry, dance or challenge from the Māori of New Zealand. It is a posture dance performed by a group, with vigorous movements and stamping of the feet with rhythmically shouted accompaniment.

⁵¹ *Pākehā* (Māori language): New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa - New Zealand. movements and stamping of the feet with rhythmically shouted accompaniment.

⁵² *Ahimsa* (Sanskrit): term meaning 'to not injure'. The word is derived from the Sanskrit root *hiṃs* – to strike; *hiṃsā* is injury or harm, *a-hiṃsā* is the opposite of this, i.e. cause no injury, do no harm. Ahimsa is also referred to as nonviolence, and it applies to all living beings including animals according to many Indian religions

⁵³ From Dictatorship to Democracy (Gene Sharp, 1993)

⁵⁴ Ask That Mountain (Dick Scott, 1954)

⁵⁵ The Prince (Nicolo Machiavelli, XVI century)

⁵⁶ <http://400.350.org>

⁵⁶<http://green.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/05/31/on-our-radar-a-greenhouse-gas-milestone/>

⁵⁷Ecological Imperialism (Alfred Crosby, 1986)

⁵⁸<http://amazonwatch.org/news/2014/0530-brazil-amazon-indians-shot-at-belo-monte-dam-site>

⁵⁹<http://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/publications/revistaonline/winter-2014/power-violence-and-mining-guatemala>

⁶⁰<http://www.reprisk.com/downloads/specialreports/26/120807%20Spotlight%20on%20Sinar%20Mas%20report.pdf>

⁶¹A rigid-hulled inflatable boat (RHIB), or rigid-inflatable boat (RIB), is a lightweight but high-performance and high-capacity boat constructed with a solid, shaped hull and flexible tubes at the gunwale. The design is stable and seaworthy. The inflatable collar allows the vessel to maintain buoyancy if a large quantity of water is shipped aboard due to bad sea conditions. The RIB is a development of the inflatable boat.

⁶²Digital Democracy incorporates 21st century information and communications technology to promote democracy. That means a form of government in which all adult citizens are presumed to be eligible to participate equally in the proposal, development, and creation of laws. Digital democracy encompasses social, economic and cultural conditions that enable the free and equal practice of political self-determination.

⁶³<http://www.avaaz.org/en/>

⁶⁴http://www.networkforclimateaction.org.uk/toolkit/action_resources/direct_action_a_handbook.pdf

⁶⁵<http://motherboard.vice.com/read/local-protesters-are-killing-big-oil-and-mining-projects-worldwide>

⁶⁶<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2013/jun/14/climate-change-energy-shocks-nsa-prism>

⁶⁷<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YJSehRIU34w>

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ANNEX I

- Annex I (1) - 600 Greet Flotilla In a Firm Opposition to Deep Sea Oil drilling
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