APPLYING KAUPAPA MĀORI PROCESSES TO DOCUMENTARY FILM

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Mihi

Tēnei au, tēnei au.

Te tū whakatoro ana ki runga i ōku pae maunga, ara te manomano ō ngā tihi a Tihirau, te maunga e kore e nekehia a Hikurangi me te kaitiaki ō te pounamu a Aoraki.

Kātahi ka tiro whakararo ki ngā awa ō Whangaparaoa, Waiapu me Waitaki e whakairohia ana i te kiri o Papatuanuku.

Tēnei rā he ūri whakatipu no ngā iwi o Te Whānau a Apanui, Ngāti Porou me Kai Tahu.

Ko ēnei whenua te pūtaki o te tōnga o ōku pakiaka hei arataki i ahau i tēnei taiao

"Ma te tiro whakamuri I awhi kit e tiro whakamua"

Abstract

This thesis explores the application of Kaupapa Māori processes to documentary filmmaking through practiced-led research. The need for this research came to light through the experience of witnessing unacceptable behaviour shown by film crews towards kaumātua who were attending the 2006 28th Māori Battalion Reunion. In reflecting on this experience and considering my own filming experience as a person with a Te Ao Māori background, the basis for this argument was conceived. This thesis argues that there are alternative ways in which filming can be conducted by considering processes that already exist within Māori practices and philosophies.

This Thesis, therefore, investigates alternative processes of filming that have developed from a Kaupapa Māori perspective through practical filming experience. An historical overview of the relationship between Māori, media and filming practices have been provided to give context to this discussion. The application of Kaupapa Māori processes to film was considered through the use of Marae protocol and philosophies. The application of these concepts was supported by the creative research which was utilised by referencing specific examples. The reader is, therefore, instructed to refer to the DVD in the front of the thesis as referenced in the written text.

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Chapter One: Method and Methodology

<u>Method</u>

The need for this thesis came to light through an experience that made me uncomfortable and embarrassed to be associated with filming, with the media and with my own camera equipment. The incident arose when documenting my Fathers participation in the 2006 Māori Battalion Reunion, in April, helped at Omāpere in the Hokianga. My Father is 87 years of age and is a return service man that joined the 28th Māori Battalion C. Company in 1941, and along with many others, took part in World War Two. There were many other film crews in attendance at the Battalion Reunion weekend. The attendance of so many film crews was something new. We had been attending these reunions since we were very young and the media presence had never been so strong. While this attention was encouraging to see and helped to create a greater awareness towards the 28th Māori Battalion for all New Zealanders, the conduct of the film crews throughout the reunion could be likened to a swarm of vultures crowding and fighting over the best feeding position. It was disgusting to watch. They were rude to each other and disrespectful of one another others filming space. They often set up their cameras in front of each other vying for better shot positions. This behaviour was filmed, not because that was my objective at the time but because wherever the camera focused other film crews were there crowding for space. This can be viewed in <u>Clip 4: Chapter 1</u> and although I have viewed the footage many times it still disgusts me to watch. This behaviour was not only restricted to a war between film crews but they also extended this misconduct by forcing cameras and microphones into kaumātua (elders) faces and invading their space while in the process of a formal and emotional ceremony. My small film crew consisting of family members were amongst these professional crews. Our initial reaction was one of dismay. We were not quite sure how to react, how to film or what to do next. Dismay quickly turned into irritation and disapproval. This way of behaving seemed to be foreign to us as this would normally never be tolerated towards kaumātua, particularly during such a prestigious occasion. These events prompted us to leave the offensive mass of

cameras and hide in a building behind the ceremony where there were no people and no other cameras. Our main reason for leaving was the embarrassment that we felt at being associated, through our camera equipment to these other film crews. We wanted nothing to do with them and we did not want people to think we were like these other camera crews that would go beyond personal boundaries to get good shot composition. We continued to film from the building that looked over the ceremony but were still highly distracted by the offensive film crews that were now much more visible to us from our new perspective. This can also be seen in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 2</u>. This segment shows a high angle view of the ceremony and shows that our camera could not avoid capturing the invasiveness of these crews although they were not the primary focus. This scene shows the audacity of these crews to put their own needs before those being filmed and validates the need for this research project to be undertaken. This thesis therefore argues for an alternative approach to filming by considering processes that already exist within Māori practices and philosophies.

This experience at the Māori Battalion Reunion prompted a direct and personal need to address this situation and consider other means of filming kaumātua. Their behaviour was not acceptable and there are other ways of capturing footage that are much more respectful of the people and situations. My knowledge of other ways of capturing footage came from the previous filming of stories and experiences of my own Father and the other kaumātua in our family. There were three experiences that I reflected upon for the purposes of this research. The first was the filming of my Father in 2005. I had filmed and interviewed him during the holidays over a period of a year and compiled some of the footage into a visual proposal included as a clip in the D.V.D titled *Taku Hoia.* The second experience drawn upon was the filming of my Father and his brothers and sister at the end of 2005. This was an excellent opportunity to film these kaumātua all together in the same room and the richness of their interactions and collective stories can be seen throughout <u>Clip 3.</u> The third experience was the filming done at the Māori Battalion Reunion. Each of these experiences has been compiled into individual clips, as each

circumstance was different. It was much clearer to reference the individual occasions within the research, even though some of the concepts discussed can be apparent throughout all the clips. These filming experiences were proof of other, more considerate, ways of filming. The footage captured was reflected upon and the values that derive from a Kaupapa Māori mindset that dictated my conduct and behaviour whilst filming were explored. These values were reflected in the conduct therefore, specific references to the footage have been made to highlight these points. Reviewing past footage helped in the reflection process by giving myself markers that reaffirmed instances that might be important for this argument, such as the importance of the remembrance as highlighted by Aunty Sarah in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 3.</u> Throughout this research the experience of filming and why I conducted myself in a particular manner have been discussed and have been supported by highlighting specific moments in the footage caught. The footage supports my research findings by giving actual accounts as examples of key concepts that derive from a Kaupapa Māori mind set. This argument, in some instances, also uses a comparison with Western filming techniques to further highlight the need for the application of Kaupapa Māori processes to documentary film.

This argument uses the experience of filming and the footage itself to articulate alternative ways of creating a space that enhances indigenous storytelling. The misconduct shown by film crews at Omāpere highlighted the need to investigate how filmmakers might approach filming kaumātua. Filming with a Kaupapa Māori mindset might mean considering the different paths film makers might use to create a space that allows them to contemplate, think, recall and feel at ease with the process of filming. This research aimed to investigate such alternative filming practices, through reflecting upon the footage caught from these previous interviews. These past experiences validated other ways of filming that considered values from Te Ao Māori (Māori world) and perspectives of our kaumātua.

When discussing Māori throughout this research I am referring to those that have a Te Ao Māori perception and view the world from values obtained from this perspective. Kaumātua are often from an era of older

ways that involve tīkanga and Te Reo Māori (The Māori language).The filming of my father and other kaumātua, used techniques that are not conventionally used in documentary film. These were techniques derived from a Kaupapa Māori perspective that adhered to the idea that to capture Māori narratives, the listener must consider the conditions of those being filmed and have a connective cultural awareness of what is expected of them as researchers and filmmakers. The thesis therefore, explores the implementation of techniques considerate of the Māori world view through practice-led research.

The audio/visual clips provided in this thesis accompanies the written material as an indicator to what the reader/viewer is to focus on when discussing the specific processes of creating the clips, interacting with participants and capturing footage and narratives. The clips also provide more than specific reference to factors. They also provide a holistic view of fundamental concepts such as whānaungatanga (kinship networks) that are talked about in the thesis. In some aspects of the discussion I cannot direct the reader to a specific point of reference that indicates for example whānaungatanga because not one incident can fully explain what this concept is. Although Clip 5 is titled *Whānaungatanga,* it has been given its own segment because it is a fundamental concept within kaupapa Māori processes. This clip highlights a lighter and enjoyable way of filming whilst the other clips deal with more serious accounts. Whānaungatanga is a concept that embodies many aspects and is not simply a phenomenon that can be academically defined and it is not my wish to do so. What the clips can do, in this case, is provide a broad notion of what it is and if I have developed the clips with the vision intended then should be able to describe a sense of what whānaungatanga feels like through voice and image. If a picture says a thousand words then the purpose of the clips is to say much more than what could ever be verbalised.

Methodology

This thesis is therefore based on practice-led research, and contains strategies derived from Kaupapa Māori research and Action research. When considering the research undertaken in this thesis, two fundamental

elements arise as major points of investigative approaches. Essentially, it was a combination of both Kaupapa Māori research and Action research that led to a balanced method of creating desired outcomes. Separating the two methods is not a simple matter. Kaupapa Māori research supports the direct involvement of the researcher and therefore Action research is an ingredient within the wider methodology of Kaupapa Māori Research:

> Mutual understanding and control between both the researcher and the participants constitutes the degree of involvement of the researcher undertaking Kaupapa Māori research. This means that the researcher does not act as an individual agent but works alongside their participants in a reciprocal manner. (Powick, 2002, p.13)

It seems appropriate that Kaupapa Māori research should be involved in creating Kaupapa Māori concepts and processes that apply to documentary film. One of the main intentions of this thesis is to use Kaupapa Māori research to develop processes within documentary film. Understanding the processes in which we filmed, and how the processes were constructed, was a primary factor in this research. In order to grasp an understanding of how Kaupapa Māori processes could be incorporated into documentary these methods needed to be researched by practice to establish outcomes as well as creating a better mode to express elements of audio/visual properties. The audio/visual realm of documentary is best explained if it is able to be done so via an audio/visual means. This is where Action research is to be considered.

Action Research

Essentially, Action research is research concerned with learning by doing. The researcher, or in my case the filmmaker, attempts to learn by being an active participant in their research. Rory O'Brien states the basic concept of Action research "learning by doing" – a group of people identify a problem, do something to resolve it, see how successful their efforts were, and if not satisfied, try again." (1998, p.3). Action research takes place in real world situations rather than in controlled conditions (as a scientific

experiment may be conducted). In hindsight, my own research started as a result of identifying issues within film processes constructed from a Western perspective, this could be seen as Step 1 "identifying a problem". Step 1 in this journey was not only constructed around the research for this thesis but also developed from previous research where issues were identified in relation to applying Western filming modes of representation to a Te Ao Māori context. Issues were identified throughout this context, therefore, other means of filming definitely needed to be considered. This concept was solidified by the unacceptable actions of the film crews at the 28th Māori Battalion reunion. Our own footage and filming processes were reviewed after the problem was identified. This reflective process then lead to the identification and discussion of more considerate ways of filming.   The structure of Action research involves a cyclic process highlighted by this diagram:
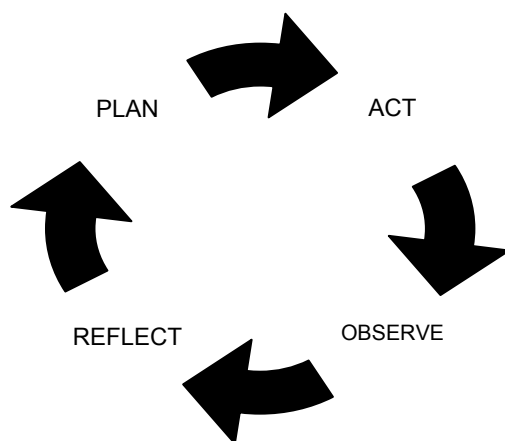
Figure 1: A Model of action research
(Sourced from: CEDAR Project Team (2004))

This cyclic pattern shows a process in which interaction, consideration and refection can all occur within research which is why it is a method that is very applicable to the structure of this argument.

One element of Action research that is important in the context of documentary film is audience interpretation of the information collected,

> Truth, in a social setting, however, is relative to the teller. The principle of reflective critique ensures people reflect on issues and processes   and   make   explicit   the   interpretations,   biases,

assumptions and concerns upon which judgements are made. (O'Brien, 1998, p.5)

What helps communicate these elements to the audience or readers in this thesis is the audio/visual clips. They are able to see interactions with the filmmaker and participants and are able to interpret various situations with the help of body language, physical interactions, conversation and audio tones.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Documentary is a mode of research that is highly controversial because it is a form of film that has an audience expectation of representing the truth. This truth can at times be blurred by how the filmmaker choses to present the footage. This topic is discussed more thoroughly throughout the thesis but what it does mean is that the power to misrepresent is a concern, and is also an issue that resonates deeply within Māori communities. Research has been implicated with the perpetuation of Western knowledge both through academic work and the construction of theories (Smith, 1999, p.183). As Smith (1999) highlights, these notions have "dehumanized Māori and in practices which have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture." (p.183)

To combat this, the concept of Kaupapa Māori approaches of research were initiated as a strategy to create a culturally considerate and safe environment. What is apparent when considering the definition of Kaupapa Māori research is that it has various meanings and can be interpreted in different ways depending upon the tīkanga of different Iwi (tribal group). Kiri Powick (2002) talks about the ability to be able to identify with what Kaupapa Māori research is and is not, rather than classifying it with a universal definition of approach. What is clear however, is that Kaupapa Māori research exists to benefit Māori by considering the Māori-world-view. Kaupapa Māori research has also been described as research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori (Powick, 2002). One area that much of the literature on Kaupapa Māori research highlights is the fundamental

element of whānau as a structure to form research methods. Graham Smith has created a summary that states Kaupapa Māori research:

1. is related to 'being Māori'
2. is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
4. is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing'.

(as cited in Smith, 1999, p.185)

I had been filming long before I actually knew what Kaupapa Māori research was, yet when I had actually needed to consider this literature for the purposes of this thesis the guidelines and the philosophies that were fundamental parts of Kaupapa Māori research had already been applied to my own filming I just did not know that what I was doing was called Kaupapa Māori research. For me this shows an element within Kaupapa Māori research that goes deep beyond the exterior needs of creating a methodology because of Western implications. In Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonising Methodologies* (1999) Tuakana Nepe speaks about how Kaupapa Māori is distinctive from Western philosophies because it has derived from a different epistemological and metaphysical foundation. This would explain the intuitive nature of my own filming as it stemmed from my being nurtured from birth in Te Ao Māori.

Ethnography

At this point, it is beneficial to acknowledge ethnography as another body of work that is concerned with the researching of cultures. Historically, ethnography has been less than considerate towards going about collecting and taking information, stories and images out of their cultural context and presenting them predominantly to Western societies. Much has changed and many ethical issues are now taken into account as Timothy Asch describes:

we can no longer view our subjects as objects. It is no longer enough to film wherever and however we want for the simple sake of scientific inquiry. Our social contract with our subjects demands that we ask ourselves whether we are working with them for legitimate reasons or simply for personal gain. (Asch, 1992, p.197)

Ethnographers have become concerned with the way in which they conduct themselves, yet with indigenous communities there is still an uncertainty that has stemmed from past experiences of outside research and people coming into communities. This is seen through a connection via culture and through a collective familiarity that makes participants feel like there is an empathy that will be applied to the filming process and will be reflected in the film. This is an incident that Debra Reweti (2006) experienced when reporting for *Koha*.

The fact that I was a television reporter was important; the fact that I was a Māori was even more important. They assumed a sympathetic ear, an empathy that they did not feel from my Pākehā director and crew, although they were always polite and hospitable to all of us. (p.181)

Although many ethnographers have adopted views of looking at alternative ways of collecting information and footage that are culturally sensitive, there are others that express a more historically ignorant view of researching the indigenous other. While I respect that ethnographers have done much to immortalise images and voices from past times which we may never have seen otherwise, we are now at a point where indigenous people are able to use media technologies to implement their own cultural storytelling techniques. What is being argued here is that Kaupapa Māori methods, although similar to techniques used by ethnographers, have developed from Māori epistemology, therefore, to filmmakers with a Māori background these methods have developed from a different way of viewing the world.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

It was important to engage with the work of our Māori filmmakers so that I would have a firm understanding of what had already been covered with regard to this topic. Linda Tuhiwai Smith and the research conducted in *Decolonising Methodologies* (1999) was a major influence in the direction of the research as well as a means of articulating these methods in an academic voice, yet through Te Ao Māori eyes.

Māori as well as indigenous filmmakers such as Barry Barclay, Merata Mita and Alanis Obomsawin, and their work have all been considered and referred to throughout the thesis. What I was particularly interested in was how they negotiated their own filming process by combining their own experiences as Māori with the filming process. The construction of alternative methods of filming Māori are not at all a new concept. Barclay for example talks about creating a category called 4th Cinema or Indigenous Cinema (2003, p.7). Those filmmakers who wrote about their filmmaking experiences were particularly useful as their own accounts allowed me to establish what needed more research and for myself validated the need to further discuss these issues that I had similarly encountered. This thesis therefore, examines alternative filming methods that consider a Te Ao Māori perspective. The argument uses kaupapa Māori methodology and Action research to investigate documentary processes through previous filming experiences. These experiences are considered in relation to the work of prominent Māori filmmakers, theorists, and researchers.

The notion of applying Kaupapa Māori processes to film is not a new concept as Barry Barclay suggests in his article titled *Celebrating Fourth Cinema* (2003)*.* Barclay (2003) proposes that there is a category beyond the framework of First-Second and Third Cinema (American, Art House and Third World Cinema), which he has aptly named Fourth Cinema and indicates that what he means by this is Indigenous Cinema. When reading this article what is relavant when Barclay alludes to the meaning of Fourth Cinema is that he explains elements of this framework in relation to the

conceptual theory of "interiority" and "exteriority", highlighted by Arts Academic, Dr Rangihiroa Panoho (Barclay, 2003). What is of interest here regarding my own research, is that Barclay talks about the temptation to validate this category by focussing on the "exteriority" such as "the surface features: the rituals, the language, the posturing, the décor, the use of elders, the presence of children, attitudes to the land, the rituals of spirit." (2003, p.7), with little consideration in pursuing the "essence" or elusive "interiority" of this form of cinema. In many ways I have done just that, validated the use of Kaupapa Māori processes, as a direct result of the misconduct witnessed and felt at the Reunion in Omāpere. The fact that such a violation occurred by so many different television and media organisations, made it seem necessary to validate the use of other ways of filming. There is no doubt in my mind that it is the "interiority" that separates Indigenous Cinema from others, yet defining such a concept is difficult. Māori may refer to people or occasions as having a "good wairua" (spirit/feeling) about it, perhaps one way of looking at "interiority" is to consider it as the inner wairua that surfaces when the "exteriority" finds balance with the "interiority". A question of consideration here is, can interiority exist without exteriority? Barclay provides a forum to discuss this Indigenous category, yet does not explain what this category entails.

This research examines the use of Kaupapa Māori processes in film and discusses why they are important and why they work in a Māori context. This research can be seen as an attempt to understand some of the reasoning for the exteriority of a film made by a Kaupapa Māori perspective. For documentary at least, maybe the key to interiority is through the processes in which we film, how we engage with participants and how we as filmmakers allow a space to invite wairua in.

With the rise of new technologies and new ways of communicating, the means by which we can communicate our narratives have now developed to include a range of audio/visual recording elements. There are many modes of media that can now deliver stories to vast destinations and audiences. Documentary is one such mode that has the ability to present narratives to a wide audience in many different languages and from many

different perspectives. Documentary can entertain and inform us about social issues pertaining to the world in which we live. One example of this is in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 4</u> , Joseph Toki highlights the lack of Māori history being taught in schools and therefore, highlights issues he hopes maybe be addressed. Bill Nichols explains that the pleasure and appeal of documentary lies in its ability to highlight timely issues that need attention (Nichols, p.1991). As explained by Nichols (1991) "We see aspects and perspectives of the world, and what they put before us are social issues and cultural values, current problems and possible solutions, actual situation and specific ways of representing them" (p.x). If documentary is able to highlight perspectives, social issues, problems and solutions then the processes and conditions in which documentary is produced are critical. As the discussion develops the following research questions will be highlighted and deliberated.

- If Māori issues or stories are to be presented for example, can non-Māori understand the responsibility involved with expressing these narratives?
- Can filming processes developed from Western culture capture the "interiority" of Māori narratives?

One of the major focuses of this thesis is to find distinct ways to utilise documentary film making to help express Māori narratives. There are already many Māori filmmakers that are successful in negotiating a relationship between the conventional realm of documentary and the customary values of Te Ao Māori, these including Merata Mita and Barry Barclay (the list continues) as well as noted indigenous filmmakers such as Alanis Obomsawin. All of these filmmakers have contributed heavily to Māori and indigenous ways of capturing narratives and presenting them via audio/visual means. These filmmakers have offered a theoretical and practical context for this study.

The direction of this thesis redeveloped out of the events that took place while in the field filming and researching at Omāpere that Easter weekend. The argument considers the different paths we might use to create a

space that allows participants to contemplate, think, recall and feel at ease with the process of filming. The question was not so much about the content i.e capturing footage effectively in terms of accurate representation, rather how the footage was captured in terms of the process itself. What will however, be suggested is that being considerate in the capturing process will lead to the quality of content. The thesis attempts to solidify the place of Kaupapa Māori processes in all facets of film production and can also be applied to a wider context of media production. These processes need to firstly derive from the values of Te Ao Māori so that the procedure of filming is relative to those being filmed. The most effective way to build the theory from the perspective of Te Ao Māori is for it to develop from the protocols that have descended from our ancestors. Marae (a traditional meeting house and surrounding land and buidings) concepts and protocols have both been used as a metaphor to highlight the filming processes that can stem from Te Ao Māori, and secondly it also helps to articulate the reasons for conducting one's self while filming.

The need to structure filming processes from Te Ao Māori also stemmed from previous research aimed at investigating Bill Nichols documentary modes of representation and their effectiveness towards being applied to Te Ao Māori (Waititi, 2006). The modes of representation in documentary are techniques that have formed over a period of time that portrays a subject or topic in a certain way, depending on the intentions of the filmmaker. Nichols explains the development of the modes,

> Situations and events, actions and issues may be represented in a variety of ways. Strategies arise, conventions take shape, constraints come into play; these factors work to establish commonality among different texts, to place them with in the same discursive formation at a given historical moment. (1991, p.32)

The modes of representation have been developed by the reoccurring features and conventions within documentary history. Documentary history lies in the West and indigenous people have not in the past had the power

behind the camera to contribute to the development of these conventions. However, what is fundamental here is that indigenous people like Māori do have a profound history of storytelling. This history can be seen through the existence of Māori myths and legends. These mythologies connect the past with the present and perpetuate values and beliefs through providing examples of behaviors and outcomes of those behaviors as Walker (1992) explains,

> Properly understood, Māori mythology and traditions provide myth-messages to which the people can and will respond today… One way of looking at mythology is to read it as the mirror image of a culture. Myths reflect the philosophy, ideas and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating charters. Sometimes a myth is the outward projection of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. (p.170-171)

Storytelling has always been an important element to the continuation of the cultural values. Walker (1992) talks about the origins of Māori myths and legends dating back to 26 generations or six and a half centuries (p.180). With this in mind, we are able to consider applying these indigenous ways of storytelling to the production of documentary. The fact that these stories still exist illustrates how effective oral storytelling has been for Māori. Rather than working from the historically developed Western ways of constructing narratives, we have our own ways of delivering and collecting stories. The success of our storytelling history validates the development of creating our own storytelling processes.

In 2006 I completed a research report that looked at documentary modes of representing which are techniques developed to position an argument in a certain perspective by using filming techniques. These techniques were reflected upon in relation to their effectiveness when applied to a Māori context. This previous research project helped highlight the need for alternative methods of filming when dealing with Māori. The research showed that many aspects of these Western codes and conventions were not considerate of Māori tīkanga or world view. As Nichols (2001) himself

asserts documentary is constructed on ethical issues, therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that applying the modes of representation to Te Ao Māori is challenging and in some cases even, inappropriate.

New technologies combined with imperative deadlines, can at times be very invasive as Barclay explains "As a Māori technician the filmmaker is faced with the challenge of how to respect this age old process of discussion and decision making while using the technology within a climate that so often demands precision and answers."(1990, p.9). Treating our interactions as discussions rather than formal interviews helped to develop this balance. This is apparent in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 5</u>, as it is clear that I am processing what is being said and responding to it rather than putting forward a list of questions. Many conflicting issues such as this using technology in an older storytelling space, were discussed and debated. The findings from this report prompted a direct interest in the way Māori were filmed and how the processes in which we film can affect the narratives and what participants chose to share. This contextual and historical body of work developed the need to structure Kaupapa Māori processes in film and highlighted the areas in which to do so.

Bill Nichols (2001) highlights that documentary filmmakers take on the role of public representative. This means that they speak in the interest of others, whether it be the institution or agency they stand for or the individuals they represent (p.g.3). As a filmmaker, I did not collect footage on behalf of an institution or agency but was more concerned with capturing stories for the benefit of the descending generations. On my part there was a constant awareness of having this power that came with holding a camera. Indeed this was an uncomfortable position for me when filming kaumātua, as this situation embodied an altered power dynamic. The resonance of past teachings had always placed much emphasis on the importance of kaumātua. Smith describes this awareness as a necessity for the researcher to consider,

> Being culturally sensitive must also mean being politically astute.
> Power also plays a major role in determining who makes decisions

on whose behalf. To be naive about the power that backs up this theory and practice (i.e. the validity of your theories, your credentials, your status, your wealth) and to be unaware of the power, which has brought disempowered clients to your attention, is to be grossly insensitive. (1992, p.74)

This awareness prompted a search to attempt to dismantle the predominant features within the filming process that constructed the power position of the filmmaker. This meant considering what aspects of filmmaking helped to give such power to the filmmaker and utilising ways to deconstruct this position.

While the discussion at this point speaks of the "Māori perspective" my intention here is not to impose a boxed "Māori" outlook. I cannot speak on behalf of all Māori. Within a wider forum of cultures or to the dominant culture, I may identify myself as Māori or I may be identified as Māori. However, on a more profound and intimate level, my source of identity derives from my iwi, hapū and whānau. We have often been categorised as all Māori which implicates us with being collectively grouped. Many of us come from different iwi, hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (family). For example, the rituals and protocols I relate to in my iwi of Te Whānau a Apanui may differ to those of someone with a Tainui or Ngapuhi background. Language differences and tribal protocols such as Marae etiquette can be vary from iwi to iwi. It is important to stress that this research cannot be labelled as "The Māori view" because it simply cannot embrace the multitude of variants that now embrace Māori lives. What it can do is give a platform from which to discuss these issues regardless of family or tribal background. It is important for me to state that I enter this research journey holding my own values and beliefs that have derived from fundamental elements of my upbringing such as Kōhanga Reo (language nest-total immersion pre-school), Kura Kaupapa (total immersion primary school) and growing up in my rural papakainga (homestead) in Te Whānau a Apanui. This is important for me to highlight this because I believe it contextualises the perspective of the argument. An aspect that I found difficult within this discussion was deciphering the

inherent processes of my own actions when filming. How I chose to conduct myself while filming was based around growing up with specific teachings pertaining to relating and behaving around kaumātua. The difficult part about talking about these actions is that I conducted myself with inherent behaviour derived from my background. It was natural for me to do so and therefore, a lot of the aspects of this process were not consciously noted. In some instances, some features of the filming process had to be highlighted to me by my Supervisors, as I often took them for granted because the behaviour was so natural and inbuilt that I could not distinguish it as a difference in how my filming varied to others. A majority of this research was cultivated from instinctual conduct that derived from a predominantly Māori background, therefore, it is important to position the research in this respect.

Within the context of mātauranga (knowledge) Māori I understand that discussing the processes of Māori knowledge is difficult to do without writing and expressing whakaaro (thoughts/way of thinking) in Te reo Māori. I understand that there are elements within Mātauranga Māori and the Māori language that can be difficult or impossible to articulate or translate in to the English language, therefore, by not writing this thesis in the Māori language it may prevent some of the in-depth whakaaro to be clearly expressed in the way that those who dwell in the realm of Te Reo might understand it. In saying this I have chosen to write this thesis in the English language so that I may attempt to engage a wider audience and help to bring clearer understanding of the developmental processes that should be considered in Māori filmmaking. Having a clearer understanding is important as it is both Māori and non-Māori filmmakers that must consider the wider implications of their conduct when filming people in Te Ao Māori. It is also to acknowledge that many Māori have not been given the advantages of a Marae based upbringing or immersed in their own language. This thesis therefore, rests on my practised-led research. In this way, this is a personal reflective process. However, my self-reflection offers a way of understanding how Kaupapa Māori processes might be applied to documentary production.

Chapter Three: Context

To understand the application of Kaupapa Māori processes in the realm of documentary filmmaking it is important to highlight the aspect that sets Māori documentary apart from Western documentary filmmaking. The purpose of documentary made by Māori in some cases is different to that of documentary made by non-Māori. This does not suggest that all documentary made by Māori about Māori follows the same process. Rather, this thesis by creative practice argues that there are underlining principles and practices that derive from Te Ao Māori that are often not valued in film production and should be drawn on to inform the filmmaking process. This chapter offers a context to this argument by investigating the intentions that Māori filmmakers may have and suggests these are the driving motives towards creating documentary processes, drapt in tīkanga and considerate of Te Ao Māori in all aspects of production. The purpose dictates how the production starts, develops and ends, and therefore is essential to explore through my own filming experience. This Chapter is a discussion pertaining to the intentions of Māori filmakers, which includes a reflection of conventional Western film techniques and their inadequacy (at times) in achieving the intended objectives that a Māori filmmaker may strive for.

When I started filming the footage that accompanies this thesis, the actual thesis was not the foremost factor in mind. Essentially, the thesis was built around the experience of the filming. The filming was not constructed because of the thesis. This footage however, offered a way of exploring the issue of behaviour within the filming process and the positive outcomes of conducting ones self in a considerate manner towards participants. The primary goal of the filming was to capture the past stories and histories locked away (at their discretion) in the minds, souls, hearts and spirits of our kaumātua. The purpose was not to seek detailed codes that would unlock great treasures. These treasures of insight are unravelled on what might seem modest circumstances of conversation, laughter and remembrance. The filming of my Father, and his brothers and sister, was an invaluable opportunity to immortalise their stories, however

routine some stories may have seemed. Patterson (1992) contextualises the importance of such stories in suggesting "Family and tribal mana and tapu are involved in every day activities such as hospitality, work and sport." (p.26). There is no need for kaumātua to speak of great events in their lives to be deemed important. All stories are important because through their actions and experiences we get to encounter glimmers of the old ways and ancestors that we did not know.

What is more fundamental, is that although we may embrace windows of our past tīpuna (ancestors) through the eyes of the kaumātua, if filmed the descending generations get to watch, hear and experience their own ancestors that they may not have known through the footage. A connection not only to the past is solidified through these narratives but as Anne Salmond (1983) highlights, it is the past that illuminates the future and provides identity for the present which contradicts the Pākehā view of the past as world the behind us.

Our oral culture can now embrace an element in which we have the opportunity to capture kaumātua speaking and interacting on film. The Māori culture survived through the passing down of narratives and experiences. It has always been important and at present perhaps is even more so with people moving away from their papakainga where their histories are told not only orally but also through their whakapapa (geneology) of land, sea, rivers, mountains and Marae. Whakapapa is the all-encompassing connection between past and present. The importance of knowing one's whakapapa is paramount to the understanding of one's identity as Māori, which is an imperative issue that inflicts upon rangatahi (youth) of today.

> Whakapapa is about family, but it is also an all-embracing cultural concept that allows us as Māori to access the past, to acknowledge our deep roots, to select exemplars of affinity and to take pride of place in the moving swirls of time. However, for many rangatahi, these connections are unknown, untracked and without association. Social dislocation, familial dislocation and cultural traditions have

been responsible for separating rangatahi from their cultural inheritance of knowledge taking away the cloak of belonging. (Biasiny-Tule, 2006, p.171-172)

This statement clearly highlights how critical past narratives are in continuing the knowledge of whakapapa, whether it be of people or the land and seas. This point is also highlighted in Clip 4:Chapter 4 by Joseph Toki who highlights the importance of knowing his own heritage, this is emphasised by the conviction in the way he tells his story. We need to know, we need to understand so that we may find our belonging as emphasised in the whakataukī (saying) that supports the concept of knowledge and understanding is,

> *"Te manu kai i te miro nona te ngahere, te manu kai i te mātauranga nona te Ao. The bird that feeds from the miro tree owns the forest, the bird that feeds from the tree of knowledge owns."* (http://wwwlibraries.com)

Mātauranga is and has always been vital to the survival of our Māori values, beliefs and traditions. Knowledge descends from our ancestors and is layered with the metaphor and poetic expression that revolves around Whakapapa. Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) explain the interconnections of Māori concepts;

> The Māori World view is holistic and cyclic, one in which every person is linked to every living thing and to the atua. Māori customary concepts are interconnected through a whakapapa (genealogical structure) that links te taha wairua (spiritual aspects) and te taha kikokiko (physical aspects). (p.13)

The Māori World view is entrenched in whakapapa and interconnections or relationships. All such issues need to be considered when documenting the stories of our kaumātua for present and future generations. As well as being a rationale for the need to make documentary that encompasses our histories, these concepts of physical and spiritualness need to be

considered in the production of film. The concept of relationships is a fundamental aspect of the values and beliefs associated with Te Ao Māori.

The decision to film my Father and his brothers and sister together was an idea that those of my generation embraced because of the value of their kōrero (stories/words). The intention was to let the dialogue take on its own natural course of development. I knew the development of dialogue would happen because in our past when our family and kaumātua have been able to come together for various tangihanga (funerals), unveilings or birthdays, we usually gather, talk and listen to the kaumātua stories. Some of my fondest memories are of long nights with my extended whānau sitting around at our marae or homestead after we had contented ourselves with dinner. Some of us on the floor, some on mattresses, some lucky enough to get chairs, as we listen to stories about our tīpuna who we never knew, those who we did know and stories of our land, sea, mountains and rivers. All are involved in these korero, young and old. These are long conversations as our kaumātua's kōrero stretch into the night, with an abundance of laughing and plenty of cup of tea breaks. The intention was to emulate these past experiences and capture them on film, as they were important for the continuation of these unique histories for our family.

Immortalising these rich moments on film for future generations is a new and exciting way to pass down stories by tīpuna. Not only was this a chance for the future generations to understand stories, values, people, whakapapa and tīkanga from their past, it was also an opportunity for them to witness kaumātua that they may never have met or were too young to remember. They can see their mannerisms, the way they talked, the way they laughed and the way they interacted with people. Clip 2:Chapter 2 highlights a beautiful aspect of my Father, it shows his personality and his humour and for me to be able to show the following generations or to let them experience his character and qualities is invaluable. These visual elements were not possible with our oral traditions. Copies of the filming of their korero have been sent out to all kaumātua involved in the speaking that night. We now have a precious gift

to share with our children and their children's children that directly link them to a past that means to strengthen their place in the future. This re-emphasises the need to film such stories with a Kaupapa Māori mindset.

Another aspect we must reflect upon when looking at what a Māori documentary aims to do, is the circumstance of Māori as a minority culture in New Zealand. Māori, like many other indigenous minorities throughout the world, have suffered a deprivation of indigenous voice, perspective and world view. These fundamental aspects were reflected in our oral histories which were not considered accurate recordings of the past as suggested by early social anthropologists such as Piddington, "In such an area as Polynesia, the amount of significant history which can be reconstructed is negligible…Native tradition is unreliable." He also says "Again, Māori traditions are of questionable value as historical documents." (as cited in Roberton, 1956, p.45) This statement portrays the positioning early anthropologists had and reflects the attitude and manner that helped to build a representation by colonisers of the "native other". Storytelling was not considered a valid form of historical accounts, yet as we have discussed, storytelling was an ingredient that helped perpetuate Māori values and beliefs. Acknowledging past anthropologists perspectives on Māori having "unreliable" traditions, helps to create a context to develop this argument and assists in highlighting the need for Kaupapa Māori processes to be applied to modes of knowledge transmission, such as documentary.

An example of the oppression faced by Māori in the context of media can be seen through the history of Māori in television. This is reflected in the history of Māori in television. We have a short history and on many levels television and Māori have a youthful relationship. Māori filmmaker Merata Mita was at the forefront of these difficulties and reflects upon the deprivation of Māori people from television both in front of the camera and behind it. Television media was to remain untouched by a Māori hand or devoid of Māori images for over 20 years (Mita, 1996). "From the Māori grass roots to the university intellectuals it was a graphic illustration of what came to be termed institutionalized racism. We were offered no

choices, given no alternatives; television made us invisible." (Mita, 1996, p.45) Historically, it has been non-Māori with the power, funds and knowledge to film Māori. Their positioning is Eurocentric and therefore, their perspectives and values are portrayed in the films they make. These perspectives are evident in films such as *The Romance of Hine-Moa* (1925) and *Hei Tiki* (1930). This can be dangerous as the powerful nature of images through film has been used to perpetuate the existence of stereotyping. As Fleras and Spoonley (1999) highlight "Stereotyped images of Māori have distorted the cultural basis of Māori identities. The evolving nature of these stereotypes has reflected prevailing views of New Zealand's emergent national identity." (p.65) The stereotyping in past films, further supports this argument by producing a need to apply Kaupapa Māori practices to filming processes.

From our history we can see that a primary motivation for documentary made by Māori has stemmed from the deprivation of being able to tell our own stories, as well as the Eurocentric interpretation of stories about Te Ao Māori. As has been discussed, the early relationship between Māori and the media had many challenges. Barclay was one of the initiators that formed a national organisation of Māori communicators in the late 1980's, called Te Manu Aute (Barclay, 1990). Initiations such as these have helped to empower Māori with the opportunity to tell their own narratives. A key clause within the constitution of Te Manu Aute highlighted the fact that Māori need to have the means of expression to both themselves and to tauiwi (others);

> Every culture has a right and responsibility to present its own culture to its own people. That responsibility is so fundamental it cannot be left in the hands of outsiders, nor be usurped by them. Furthermore, any culture living closely with another ought to have regular opportunities to express itself to that other culture in ways that are true to its own values and needs. (Barclay, 1990, p.7).

This statement emphasises a need for Māori to be involved in the documentary process. The past has shown that if we do not make a point

to represent ourselves in the realm of documentary then someone else will, most often non-Māori. This point is reasserted in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 4</u> by Joseph Toki. The silence of our own voices generates the need to create stories from our own perspectives. There is a need because there is a lack and therefore, the narratives of various Māori perspectives and positioning are paramount to a holistic understanding that provides empowerment to Māori. As Barclay has alluded to, non-Māori will also find benefits from experiencing a culture that is familiar to them yet very different in many respects. Supplying stories from the outlook of cultural minorities helps to share true indigenous narratives with dominant cultures. This sharing will hopefully contribute towards us becoming a nation that is bi-cultural and has an appreciation of different cultural view points.

Conforming age old processes to western filming requirements, such as time frames and profits, can potentially devalue the needs of Māori by not considering fundamental aspects of their world view. This includes understanding the importance of filming many Māori narratives or the need to expose many different perspectives of Te Ao Māori which has always been an issue for funding bodies to accept. This is an all too familiar scenario for Māori film makers as suggested in the following interview with Barclay (1990),

> "a documentary synopsis is expected to lay out a clear thesis in as few words as possible.
> 'What is your point?
> 'The point is that it is not my point at all. I wish to record and present what the people think.'
> 'Then what is your target audience?'
> When you reply, 'The target audience is people' you get the sort of look a headmaster shoots at a cheeky pupil." (1990, p.9-10)

Restricting Māori voices and images to a few films or programs reduces the awareness that is needed within a society to combat misconceptions. This awareness is critical for ourselves as Māori as a source of empowerment as much as it is for tauiwi. Understanding the underlining

principals of Māori documentary or why it is made sets a platform from which all production values should develop. The "why" needs to be constantly addressed throughout production to ensure the path develops towards the desired direction. The desired objectives are better achieved if the processes are constructed around the values that adhere to those being filmed rather than the rules that historically govern filmmaking. Incorporating Māori values into the filming of this thesis by creative practice, was one of the primary purposes and will be explored in the following chapters. As a way to initiate this discussion, the following Chapter compares Māori concepts within Marae protocol to ways of approaching and filming within a Māori context.

Chapter Four: Building Relationships through Marae Concepts

When considering how to apply concepts from Te Ao Māori to documentary filmmaking processes, it would be of value to consider Māori tīkanga and practices which are relevant in our lives today. The rituals of encounter associated with marae protocol provides processes which could very well be adapted as a theoretical basis a successful process to achieve Te Ao Māori concepts in documentary film. These rituals have stood the test of time. The philisophcal basis for their existence has remained the same but some of the practices have been adapted to suit the world Māori now find themselves in.

Therefore, this chapter will consider the concepts of Marae protocol as a metaphoric framework for the application of kaupapa Māori processes to documentary. By using Marae protocol as a framework it allows us to conceptually investigate and understand the theory behind the methods used during my approach to filming. Marae protocol also provides a historical perspective of why key concepts should be used when filming Māori. On a basic level, using Marae concepts as a metaphor offers a form of validation for the application of different Te Ao Māori concepts. Protocols and tīkanga that are still robust within Te Ao Māori need to be applied conceptually in Western technologies and professions (such as documentary) if dealing with Māori people. This application needs to be applied because it helps to make sense and to make relevant to Māori people by relating familiar Māori ideology to foreign concepts. Whilst studying and learning about Western theorists throughout my degrees, I have always related the research back to my Te Ao Māori perspective, back to a world and theories that makes sense to me. This allows me to engage with foreign concepts while embracing the conceptual learning derived from my background. Therefore, relating Marae protocol back to filming processes can be a way to further understand how to gain storytelling success for the benefit of both participants and filmmakers.

Building documentary processes from Marae protocol also acknowledges the fact that there maybe different kawa or protocol in different iwi or hapū that need to be considered when filming. This concept is respectful of the need for flexibility when filming and the ability to be able to adjust to different circumstances that require people filming to be respectful of the world and the rules of those they wish to document.

Essentially, utilizing concepts from Marae protocol when filming documentary, is about preserving a balance of mana and integrity. There are two positions here that need to be considered when addressing the vital issue of maintaining mana (pride/prestige); those doing the filming and those being filmed or 'the observer and the observed'. The importance of maintaining this 'mana' was very much on my mind and my nerves were visible in Clip 3-Chapter 1, when trying to organise the kaumatau to film. Based on my creative research, what is going to be suggested here is that people filming need to consider themselves as manuhiri (vistors) and those being filmed should be considered in the position of tangata whenua (people of the land or indigenous). If we consider the term manuhiri, its meaning is visitor or guest and from that meaning the role of the film crew must be taken and shaped accordingly. This title tangata whenua literally means people of the land and indicates the positioning of the relationship between tangata whenua and manuhiri which will be discussed in terms of Marae protocols and frameworks. The conceptual use of the title tangata whenua encompasses the intellectual property rights of the participant. A filmmaker is a conceptual manuhiri to the knowledge shared with him or her. What this means is that the knowledge interviewees (tangata whenua) share is to be treated with the dignity and respect that surrounds the relationship between manuhiri and tangata whenua. Barclay (2005) talks about the need to consider our own ways of dealing with aspects of our knowledge,

> It is my suggestion that we look not to modern law (copyright, intellectual property rights law) or some yet-to-be-born hybrid law (Indigenous intellectual property rights law) but to our own law, which is both ancient and modern – tīkanga… One reason that

tīkanga is so valuable is because it is the only body of understanding – i.e of law – that covers the spirituality and intellectual dimensions of our traditional treasures. (p.248-249)

Applying tīkanga to filming processes allows consideration of concepts such as tangata whenua and manuhiri to be applied in a documentary context which is usually associated with deriving from Western roots. To begin let us consider what the roles of manuhiri and tangata whenua are in some of the fundamental processes of Marae protocol.

There are manuhiri in the informal sense where people you know come and stay at your home, however, because of the nature of documentary and the fact that you may not always be dealing with people you personally know, the focus here is on the formal processes manuhiri need to consider before filming. There are necessary steps to be taken before a manuhiri is welcomed onto a marae. The pōwhiri and its elements are fundamental initiation stages and protocols that connect; manuhiri with tangata whenua, establish the relationship and underline intentions and reasons for being there. The pōwhiri is used to welcome visitors on to the marae and historically has a purpose that is applicable to the establishing process between filmmaker and subjects as Higgins and Moorefield (2004) describe,

The pōwhiri, or in western dialects powhiri, is the ritual welcome ceremony that occurs when visitors arrive at a marae. In pre-European times it was not always known if the manuhiri were coming in peace or with war like intent. One of the purposes of this ritual of encounter was to determine this. (p.77)

If we consider this statement in relation to the documentary process, the pōwhiri deals with access, intent and clarification which is a fundamental concern that filmmakers should consider when filming tangata whenua. It is of particular concern to Te Ao Māori, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, because the purpose of the documentary is of utmost importance to the tangata whenua. Manuhiri come in many different forms

as do filmmakers. The establishment of their purpose and how they intend on reaching their objectives are to be discussed and negotiated by both manuhiri and tangata whenua.

The clear metaphoric use of the pōwhiri is fundamental towards building a relationship and understanding between tangata whenua and manuhiri. This is important as Māori have a well established history of misrepresentation and derogatory representation by the media as highlighted by Derek Fox (2002),

> The standard procedure is still to pay little attention to Māori activities except as they impinge on the Pākehā (white) establishment. So crime and land claims get publicity, as do achievers in sport and show business, although the Māori element in the success story is liable to be played down. Losers maybe Māori, But winners are New Zealanders. (p.262)

Although initiatives such as Māori TV have helped to empower Māori by giving a means in which we can now celebrate our own stories of success, this statement helps to justify the suspicion and caution on the part of the tangata whenua. Perhaps these suspicions are connected more so with Pākehā filmmakers as Leonie Pihama asserts, "Māori representation by Pākehā image-makers has been influenced by dominant discourses which have constructed limited notions of who we are, derived from colonial representations of Māori." (as cited in Fleras & Spoonley,1997, p.191).

To add to this, there can be an animosity felt towards the use of the filming equipment (which is foreign to many) regardless of whether the filmmaker is Māori or Pākehā. This was evident when we asked one of our nannies who was very nervous, to speak on camera. She agreed after a lot of the other whānau had reported back after their filming experience saying that it was okay. She spoke on camera but her body language looked as if she really was uncomfortable and did not like being there, she did get more confident as the interview progressed. However, because of her discomfort, the interview was short. Her body language can be seen briefly

in <u>Clip 5-Chapter 2</u>, but because of her obvious discomfort, her interview has not been included into to the clips provided for this thesis.

What documentary (not only in the case of Māori people) can do is deliver stories and images to a world beyond its structures of norms and understandings. This allows perspectives to be broadened and communicated to a wider audience. The risk here, however, is it can take people and their stories out of context depending on how it is edited and presented. These concerns evoke another aspect of the pōwhiri that mirrors the conflict negotiation between filmmaker and participants, the wero (the challnge). The wero is a challenge from the tangata whenua to the manuhiri that determines their intent.

> The tangata whenua had to determine whether the visitors were hostile or friendly. The sentry of sighting a party of strangers approaching, altered the inhabitants of the pa, who prepared to receive or repel them. The rituals of encounter determined how the tangata whenua responded to the strangers. (Walker, 1990, p.73)

The wero symbolizes the scepticism that has been associated with researchers and filmmakers. Māori have a right to feel animosity towards outside technologies and people. This right has stemmed from the historical misrepresentations that have portrayed Māori in the past. Our past validates the need for this concern as Mita explains, "We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving them the power to define." (as cited in Smith, 1999, p.58).

Through my own filming the wero was asserted in the form of questions as to what the footage was to be used for. Questions were asked about what we were filming for and concerns about its distribution were highlighted. We ensured the participants that the footage was not to be commercially distributed in anyway and the objectives for the filming were explained with relevance to the purposes outlined in Chapter 1 and for Masters research, although the topic exactly was not evident at the time. The filming of our

kaumātua was primarily for the benefit of providing the descending generations with the images and stories from our treasures. This is highlighted through the creative research by the history told throughout Clip 3. The filming at the Māori Battalion Reunion served a similar purpose however, a main topic of that weekend was based around whether this was to be the last reunion. Therefore, questions were directed towards what the reunion meant to people attending and whether they thought some form of remembrance should continue. Both scenarios serve similar purposes, to inform future generations. Although there was an idea that the filming may also to be used for this Masters research project, how the footage was going to be used was not yet known until after this filming experience.

People may feel the need to lay down a wero to intended filmmakers for their own safety, as manuhiri should by all means expect a wero to be handed to them. People coming into a Māori community to take information out of the rohe with the intention of representing his or her interactions with the people via audio/visual means can be an issue and therefore, a wero is indeed needed. A reason why documentary makers often live and stay within a community or family for a period of time is that it allows them to gain the trust of the people and have access to information a stranger would not normally get. Anthropologists and ethnographers talk about the need to gain the trust of your subjects. This is the path ethnographers may chose to take and can involve controversial elements, pertaining to access and representation. Timothy Asch (1992) suggests that living in the field with the subjects for two to three months before filming gives an opportunity for the filmmaker to "develop trust and let the people know what you are attempting to accomplish." (1992, p.197). Filmmaker, Dennis O'Rourke, lived in the small town Cunnamulla for a number of months for example, and his documentary is based on interviews conducted with the people of the small rural outback town. His objectives did not consider the position of the towns people or how they might feel being portrayed in a derogatory light. Some of the town's people of Cunnamulla took exception to the documentary and pursued legal action against O'Rourke for they felt they had been misrepresented and he

had taken advantage of the development of the intimate and trusting relationship. The documentary named after the town Cunnamulla, offended two of the young teenage girls and their families in particular. The girls talk freely in the documentary about their experiences which resulted in their parents taking legal action;

> lawyers for the plaintiffs claimed the girls suffered stress embarrassment and humiliation when the film was shown, were forced to leave town, and that O'Rourke had not told them when he sought permission from their parents that he would ask about their sexual activity. (Cathcart,www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/atoday/stories (2001).

Many of the towns people trusted him and because of this they spoke in confidence without realising how they might be represented by what he chose to include or exclude. What O'Rourke had done was create a false sense of comfort. In an underhanded way his constant presence allowed him to drop the title manuhiri to receive certain reactions and responses from town's people. He moved from visitor to 'one of them', this is not the conduct that manuhiri should exhibit. What is important to consider is that O'Rourke's objectives differed to that of the objectives that Māori filmmakers may seek. This is important to note, as applying Kaupapa Māori processes to documentary film cannot support the misrepresentation of those that participate. The reasoning for this is elaborated on in the following discussion.

O'Rourke did not have a holistic connection through whakapapa to the people he was filming. He is an outsider looking in, and at the end of the filming he was able to leave and disconnect himself from the people he filmed. This is not possible for a Māori researchers or filmmaker and was certainly not the case in my own creative research. Our responsibilities to their iwi, hapū, family and in many cases more extensively to Māoridom itself (as have been discussed) need to be at the forefront of our decision making. This responsibility was a constant presence during my deliberating about the filming and during the filming it self. My own filming

situation was different perhaps to some ethnographers, in most cases, I already have an established relationship with the people I am filming. I have more than an established relationship with many, I am whānau. As a member of a whānau, my responsibilities and obligations are always present. If I breach these tīkanga obligations I will be called to task immediately. Most filmmakers and researchers can leave and go home after they have finished filming. This is not possible for me because of my responsibilities and obligations to my whānau, hapū and iwi. When I go home I am going back to the people I have just filmed, Smith (1999) calls this being an "Insider" or "Insider Research" and explains the issues involved with this title,

> At a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data analysis. So do outsiders, but the major difference is that insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities. (1999, p.137)

This 'insiders' responsibility affected my own filming process, rather than thinking about what would look best when we interviewed, the focus was on how we could make the interviewing process more comfortable for them to speak and what questions they might be comfortable answering. The different filming processes used to achieve are elaborated on in Chapter 3. From my own filming experience the responsibility of being an insider made me more aware of the positioning and perspective of those that were being filmed. It also made me conscious of how the footage was to be presented and for whom it was to be presented which is further discussed in Chapter 4.

The need for Māori stories and perspectives to be brought to light has awakened an imperative passion to make films with a Māori perspective. Many Māori filmmakers and researchers have and will make films based on the perspectives of Māori people and communities. This is a result of the lack of positive Māori perspectives in the media, as well as the fact

that storytelling is and has always been a crucial part of knowledge transmission which include Te Reo and values and beliefs. Māori will find themselves as 'insider's', resulting in constant responsibility throughout the filming processes and beyond. O'Rourke considered himself as an 'insider' as he states "So my project with this film - as with all my films from now on - is to get inside and then look out, not to be on the outside looking in." (Grech, 2001). With this in mind O'Rourke and Smith use the term 'insider' in very different ways. O'Rourke did not have the collective responsibility that Smith (1999) highlights as he was not tangata whenua. This collective responsibility is a major factor in understanding the accountability that Māori have when presenting images and voices from their people. This collective responsibility includes the positive and negative achievements of the individual. Moana Jackson (1988) an authoritative figure in the field of Māori law, believes that the rights and obligations of the individual and community are intertwined and sit on a mutual level. Individuals maintain their own rights but are governed by collective responsibilities (p.269). The awareness I had of this collective responsibility when filming was immense. What made this awareness bearable, was the objectives and outcomes that guided the processes whilst filming. The value of having captured these stories can be viewed throughout the clips provided. An example of this is highlighted in Clip 3:Chapter 2 when the kaumātua talk about the moving of the Marae in the old days, I had never heard that story before which made me think that perhaps other members of my whānau did not know either, therefore it was a tool to educate ourselves about aspects of our own history. The benefits for me and my whānau personally are highlighted throughout Clips 2 and 3, they are experiences we can hold on to and share with our children and their children and so on.

The whaikōrero (oratory) is also a vital part in the establishment of a relationship between manuhiri and tangata whenua. The whaikōrero is the formal speech making element of the pōhiri, it gives both manuhiri and tangata whenua the chance to speak and talk about the subjects of the day, as well as affirm whakapapa links to gods and ancestors. The whaikōrero represents a forum in which to discuss intentions and desired outcomes by both manuhiri and tangata whenua. It is a formal process

that has specific protocols. Within the whaikōrero, both manuhiri and tangata whenua are able to speak without interruption from the other. This is as much a process intended for listening as it is for speaking. Listening is an equivocal part of the preservation of Māori culture through our oral history, it has always been an imperative element in the processes of storytelling. Barclay (1990) talks about the importance of being able to listen in Māoridom,

> To be any sort of Māori, you have to be a listener. You do not interrupt a person who is talking, no matter how humble a person maybe – the rules about that are quite clear when formal talk is in progress. But a similar spirit is maintained even at informal occasions, such as a meal among relations or chatting over a beer at a hotel. The liveliness of Pākehā groups on the other hand, seems based on thrusting yourself forward. (1990, p.14)

The whaikōrero is an excellent example of how these 'rules' of listening are utilised within Māoridom on a formal context. This point is also emphasised through the creative research, in Clip 3 Chapter 3. The sequence shows a burst of hearty laughter that ripples throughout the room, but as soon as my Father begins to speak again we all quickly cessed laughing, showing an instant respect for my Fathers words. This is a key concept when applying Kaupapa Māori processes to filming and was considered throughout my own filming processes.

When filming at the Māori Battalion Reunion in Omāpere, we encountered many other film crews interviewing people. They would choose people to interview simply by asking them if they would mind being on camera and by telling them what television program or company they represented. My brother Haimona, and I had decided to interview people together to experiment with the dynamics. The fact that we were male and female could have also assisted in creating a more comfortable interviewing space, as some people seemed like they were more comfortable speaking to me (see Clip 4-Chapter 5), and in some cases, some people seemed to be more relaxed talking to Haimona (see Clip 5-Chapter 4). It was good to

know that if they did have a preference (this was not always apparent) that they had the option of both of us to engage with and therefore, further accommodated the interviewees to help create a space in which they are more at ease with speaking.

We made a conscience choice not to film on the first day this was the day of the pōwhiri and the mihimihi (greetings). We choose to watch and listen to the korero. This was a significant and emotional event for many people involved including my brother and I. Engaging in the ceremony was important to us as what we found when we actually started filming was that there was a constant awareness that stemmed from the 'focused gaze of the lens'. In some way it felt as though filming actually disassociated us from the actual ceremony, you are still viewing and you still listen but you are not engaging with the process. With ceremonies as formal as these, the camera is an outsider and as people behind the camera we were constantly reminded of this. This was a new experience for us as we had attended many reunions in the past and had always taken part and held the role of listeners.

To further use the Marae protocol framework as a way of understanding key issues involved in filming within a Māori context. Another important part of the pōhiri to consider is the waiata which follows each speaker after their whaikōrero. The waiata is a song or lament that at formal hui usually tells stories of ancestors, whakapapa and where one is from. A part of my own whakapapa has been expressed visually through Clip 1. The orator will speak about whakapapa and where the group has come from. The waiata is sung by the group and helps to reaffirm these ties as a collective, which in turn gives the tangata whenua significant insight into the historical background of the group approaching by making connections through knowing their whakapapa. What separated us from the other film crews was that we had spent the previous day talking to people and finding connections with different people. The reunion was the common factor that bound us to those in attendance. Connections to different soldiers were made and we were able to share stories from the return service men that we were related to, as well as the 'other service men. Whakapapa

connections were also found through the various discussions before filming commenced. Patterson highlights this as a fundamental ingredient to creating a kinship connection,

> in a Māori setting, meaningful relationships are based on kinship. When you encounter strangers you do not find out what official positions they hold; you trace back your ancestry until you can work out the kinship ties between yourself and them. (Patterson, 1992, p.140)

Our whakapapa was known to many because of our Father's rank in the Battalion as a major. These previous discussions created a space that enabled those being filmed to understand more about our background firstly as people and secondly film makers. This in turn personalised us as people that could relate to their thoughts about aspects of the reunion and perhaps provided an empathy that allowed them to speak with confidence. This personalisation produced a dynamic within the interviewing process that allowed both the interviewers and the interviewees to connect over a relative theme. This is evident in Clip 4-Chapter 5, we spoke to Maude Kemara whose Father was in the same company as my Father. She was well aware of this connection and was aware of our knowledge of the Māori Battalion, therefore, spoke confidently, assuming a sympathetic ear. Perhaps this personalisation seems like it contradicts the role of manuhiri and tangata whenua. However, the concept of tangata whenua and manuhiri in my opinion still applies. Although a connection is found through whakapapa and common experience if the footage is going into an unfamiliar forum, it will be viewed from the eyes of manuhiri and therefore this needs to be considered in that light as well. No matter how close the relationship may become or may already be, the fact that the camera captures images and stories that can be distributed to others not of the same whakapapa must be considered. Although my Father and I have a bond of whakapapa that may position me as being tangata whenua, the footage needs to be considered as being viewed by the eyes of manuhiri. Therefore, within my own filming experience I chose not to include a lot of the footage in the clips for the DVD, as manuhiri would be

viewing it. This was more so apparent with the footage of the kaumātua, as they spoke more of personal experiences that I thought were more appropriate within a whānau context. We were able to become close through our shared whakapapa and the kaupapa of the hui. Showing this relationship is fine as long as it is with the integrity that has been entrusted to you as a manuhiri that was 'welcomed on to the marae' or welcomed into the realm of the passing down of knowledge. This is important to the overall argument because it is an important process to consider within the production of a film that is conscious of Te Ao Māori perspectives. Considering this concept is being respectful to those that have volunteered to participate in a filming process.

What is significant here is that many Māori filmmakers have collective responsibilities that associate their actions with their whakapapa, family and community regardless of whether they are positive or negative actions and outcomes. In many ways the purpose of the pōwhiri reflects the needs that perhaps have been lacking in the past about establishing connections and intended objectives before the actual filming process begins. Often in the film and television industry the necessary elements of establishment have been neglected as this process. Cost and time were not the priorities of our filming and the benefits that we gained from the interviews with those we met and talked to were seen, heard and felt. The benefit of creating space for these initiation processes were also felt at a personal level as our film crew (of family members) were able to connect with those being filmed not as subjects but as people with a similar purpose for being there as well as having a connective whakapapa. Within Clip 1 *Mihimihi,* I have attempted to express my own close linkage with my home, I identify myself through the different element of the land and waters and have a deep understanding that my collective and connective responsibilities lie here. Clip 4-Chapter 6 runs parallel to these deep connections as Maude Kemara speaks about being away from home. All these filming experiences, as described through the metaphor of the Marae protocols, highlights that it is as important for manuhiri to establish their background as much as it is for tangata whenua and specifically people you film (in a Māori context) want to know where you are from and therefore, where you

collective responsibilities lie. Once they know you are accountable, it is easier to trust. The establishment of the relationship influences how people participate in the filming processes. This is a fundamental aspect to consider within the framework of applying Kaupapa Māori processes to film. It is a base from which a storytelling space can be developed and is therefore, an important process to consider when filming in a Māori context.

To accompany this belief, the filmmaker also needs to consider not only how they approach participants to film but also how their own behaviour impacts the sharing of information which will be discussed in the following Chapter.

Chapter Five: Conduct while Filming

How we behave during the filming process is an important element in the creation of a storytelling 'space'. The main focus of this chapter is based upon the filming process and the appropriate conduct that filmmakers should engage with when in a Māori context. The incident involving the camera crews inappropriate behaviour created a greater awareness of my own conduct when filming which provoked a need to investigate alternative paths to approaching and conducting oneself when filming kaumātua. My instinctive negative reaction to the inappropriate behaviour of the camera crews at Omāpere was so strong that the need to disassociate ourselves was immediate. We left the area where the film crews were contesting for space and shot composition. While dealing with feelings of shock, dismay and disbelief at the disrespect shown for our kaumātua's space and ceremony that was taking place. I knew there had to be another way. Thus after reflection I realised that I could turn this negative experience into a positive one for myself by reflecting upon past filming journeys that relied on knowledge from both cultures. This approach brought about successes that were not aesthetic achievements that conventional filming history would require. Instead these successes came in the form of content and shared knowledge. They were successful in encouraging indigenous storytelling values that considered what it means to be a Māori narrator and listener.

A focal element that gained much emphasis while filming was creating a documenting environment that created less emphasis on the camera and more on the telling of the story. A number of techniques were utilised to achieve this. One issue that was given much consideration was how to diffuse the unfamiliarity that accompanied the use of the camera. I needed to normalise its presence in the location. When the camera was first brought into the home to film my Father, its presence was really felt, in the sense that there was a constant awareness of the camera that dictated the flow and direction of the conversation. This awareness was evident in the first attempted filming session that took place. The general idea of this session was to try and start a conversation with my Father pertaining to

some past memories. The camera was set up and I filmed while asking open and somewhat disorganised questions. The response from him and the footage was less than desirable. He looked as though he had great disinterest in the camera and in the conversation. After 20 minutes of filming we stopped and did not proceed. This session left me pondering and wondering about my ability as a documentary filmmaker. Something had to be initiated that created a storytelling space, a space in which he felt secure and content to share his thoughts and stories. In keeping with Barclays (1990) assertion regarding listening highlighted in Chapter 2, one aspect that is very important when filming kaumātua is to let the camera roll and not interrupt them while they are speaking. This practice was used throughout the interviews to ensure that we did not disrespect anyone and did not cut them off. This logic was put to the test when we encountered a talkative man called Bob Tipene seen in Clip 5-Chapter 1, but without fail the camera kept capturing. What this does is give value and importance to the words of the interviewees, it is a step or method towards creating a space that allows storytelling to develop. Alanis Obomsawin a highly respected native Canadian documentary filmmaker from the Obenaki tribe, has a similar point of view that has been instilled from her traditional upbringing with her own elders,

> An older rhythm is at work, one more leisurely than what commercial television demands. With her background in the patient art of storytelling, Obomsawin seems to create a space for contemplation, conversation, and reflection, qualities that have been squeezed out of the global media marketplace. (Lewis, 2006, p.66)

The camera was a predominant issue, its unfamiliarity and its cold formal presence presented a conflict with the older form of storytelling that my Father was brought up with. To deal with this unfamiliar component, the camera was left randomly around the house on the tripod. This was done for an entire weekend and filming did not commence until the following weekend. When filming finally did commence the following day the camera had extinguished the title of unfamiliar and its presence was tolerated. The

invading presence of the camera can be a concern for people being filmed, especially for those who have not had much experience being filmed before. This obstacle was finally overcome and the result was the interviews collated in <u>Clip 2</u> *Taku Hoia.* My Father speaks with ease and at times seems like he is very much enjoying the retelling of his past experiences as seen in <u>Clip 2-Chapter 2</u>. Barclay (1990) suggests removing the camera from the space of those being interviewed. This can be achieved by using cameras with a strong zoom lens so that the film crew can sit further away and also by using small lapel microphones that attach to clothing to replace the intrusion of big boom microphones. Sound is extremely important when filming. If the aesthetic composition of the footage is not at the forefront of filming then the sound and peoples voices need to be recorded as clearly as possible. Alanis Obomsawin talks about her vital need to capture sound, like Māori, a need that stems from her oral cultural (Lewis, 2006, p.64). Lewis (2006) talks about how Obomsawin's realisation of the importance of sound has developed from a traditional form of storytelling,

> Telling stories was the centerpiece of the Abenaki education that she received from her relatives, and she never abandoned the storyteller's art, always relying on the power of the spoken word in her creative expression as a performer, a creator of education kits, and rare filmmaker who listens before she looks. (p.64)

Our own oral tradition celebrates the use of using the sensory elements of traditional storytelling. Sound is essential in this traditional art of storytelling and is just as important in contemporary modes of storytelling such as documentary. Sound and voice have always been important in the continuation of Māori tīkanga, values and beliefs and is therefore, a kaupapa Māori process that needs to be considered when filming in a Māori context.

Another consideration was my own positioning as the interviewer. The previous filming attempt had shown that talking directly to the camera was uncomfortable and impersonal which was reflected in the footage. This

ultimately meant that I could not be behind the camera. The dialogue is directed at me so leaving the camera was necessary to ensure Father's focus was taken away from the camera lens. This technique was also utilised throughout the other interviews that involved the filming of my Father with his elder sister Nuki and his younger brothers Brown and Ned as well as the interviews at the Māori Battalion Reunion. By applying this technique to the filming of my Father the positive effects were instant. I was not behind the distant camera so we could engage on a level of conversation that allowed natural elements of human interaction to be included. Tangata ki te tanagata (person to person), kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face), all important interaction components with in Te Ao Māori. These interactions allowed my Fathers personality to show as well as being a catalyst for continuous conversation. He was much more relaxed and eventually seemed as though he enjoyed the process and reliving stories experiences as seen in Clip 2-Chapter 3, where he uses his hands and facial expressions to help develop his story. This made the footage really enjoyable to watch and engaged with. Perhaps, this was an instance of achieving this 'space', a space that included the interviewer or perhaps allowed the interviewer to be apart of the process. In a way a reciprocal concept of receiving stories on the part of the listener, and for the storyteller, the knowledge that the information will or is passing to future generations via a person who has an understanding of Te Ao Māori and therefore, the context. Diffusing the uncomfortable and unfamiliar presence of the camera with the techniques suggested, helped to engage the participants and encourage the development of their narratives.

Not associating my self with the camera created an obvious problem. If I was not able to film behind the camera, who was going to operate the camera? In most productions the filmmaker would enlist a specialised film crew to get a professional looking documentary. The film crew would have considered the best angles to shoot the kaumātua. This would have resulted in changing the position of the camera so that the viewers would not get bored with one frame. Moving cameras around while they were talking would have been highly distractive to the participants as well as being disrespectful to those speaking. This is a rule that governs the

etiquette of being a listener which is also a rule exhibited in the formal realm of whaikōrero as well as informal speaking. When someone is speaking you do not get up or walk around, if you do you will be swiftly told off as I have seen at times with tauiwi (non-Māori) who did not know or understand this rule or the protocol of the marae.

If a film crew was enlisted, lighting equipment would have been brought in and more than one camera may have been used to create a variety of shots, angles and perspectives. A sound person would also have to be used and would have moved from person to person, which again would have been distracting and disrespectful. This equates to a lot of equipment being used as well as personnel and therefore, a greater sense of physical intrusion. This intrusion would also have been exaggerated with the presence of so many unfamiliar people operating the equipment. The group interview that included my Father and his brothers and sister took place at our family homestead. This was an environment that was familiar and comfortable to all involved in the interviewing process and it also helped to evoke memories from the place of their childhood. This point is highlighted in Clip 3-Chapter 4 as specific references are made to the grounds outside the house we were filming in. This was regularly done throughout the interviews. The sitting room was quite small for the number of family members present and the couches were situated right in front of the window that did not have a curtain so the light glared through until the sun went down. This can be seen when viewing the difference in lighting between Clip 3-Chapter 3 and Clip 3-Chapter 4. These were all factors that traditionally in a documentary film context would have been addressed and changed. These aesthetic elements were sacrificed in order to gain a discussion enriched with past memories and entrusted into my hands. The content rather than the technical glamour of the image was more important. This supports the overall argument by considering the comfort of the participants over the technical aspects of capturing footage and therefore considers a Kaupapa Māori mind frame that encourages an alternative method of filming.

Bringing a film crew into my family's natural setting, would have raised questions of intrusion and trust such as; Who are these people? What are they going to record? What are they going to use it for? How will they use it? This would have polluted their natural flow of conversation and interaction, which would defeat the point of recording them. To help prevent this from happening my Partner, Shem Murray (Ngaiterangi, Ngāti Ranginui) was asked to operate the camera. Filming was a very new experience for him, and his knowledge of operating a camera was limited. We used a PD150 camera which is quite small and less intrusive than some of the bigger production cameras can be. My family members all knew Shem well and were comfortable with his presence (in fact his presence is usually expected when I am around). Shem's understanding of the importance of their stories was crucial to me. We share similar values in terms of understanding the roles and importance of our kaumātua narratives and perspectives. Therefore, he more than understood the objectives (in terms of how we approached the situation) of the project and also the immense value the outcome could have for our generation and the generations that follow. There was great benefit and relief in not having to verbalise the etiquette that accompanies being in the present of kaumātua during storytelling. I suspect this benefit was not only for myself but was also an indication to the Kaumātua that Shem was a person that understood the tīkanga. Clearly the decision between creating footage that had television framing conventions or getting more integrity and therefore, value from the kaumātua's stories was a simple choice.

Using family members was also a technique used when filming at the Battalion Reunion. A fundamental outcome that came from the filming session with our kaumātua was the use of family to actually take part of the filming. More family members were used to film at Omāpere, including a cousin, Nathan, who had travelled down on the Te Whānau a Apanui bus and wanted to be apart of what we were doing. Shem was our camera man and through his previous experience of filming our kaumātua, was much more confident with the camera. Our cousin Nathan participated for the first time as a Sound person and just happened to be going on the trip and interested in what we were doing. My brother, Haimona, also

participated as another interviewer. The dynamics of how two interviewers would work and what the outcomes may be was not really known. There are many programs that use two or more interviewers but this seems to be a technique used more in studio based television e.g morning and children's programs. Both of us are very tall and my initial thought was that our frames would be intimidating to those that were being interviewed. This was not the case when we interviewed whānau members. They could remember us as babies and had watched us grow up. The bonds of whānaungatanga through our shared whakapapa was more important then any physical characteristics. Whānaungatanga is highlighted throughout the clips provided but has been especially emphasised in Clip 5 where we are genuinely enjoying being together, talking and creating bonds through the sharing of stories. Getting to know the people being interviewed and being connected to many of them through whakapapa initiated interesting interactions that alluded to these relationships. In Clip 4-Chapter 3, Aunty Sarah illustrates how these relationships can strengthen the interviews with sentiment and concern. Our frames although tall did not seem intimidating in this context as the embrace that we held spoke of a connection embedded in commonality of whakapapa and our links to living and fallen soldiers. She out stretched her arms and chose to be interviewed in this manner.

Another important consideration in this interview was the use of the Māori language. In Clip 4-Chapter 3, both my brother and I are able to switch in and out of the Te Reo Māori with Aunty Sarah. This was also done in other interviews and allowed us as interviewers, to adjust to what the participants felt comfortable with by being able to speak both languages. As has been talked about earlier, the Māori language holds Te Ao Māori philosophies and if participants feel like they are better expressed through the Māori language, then speaking in it is what will help develop the narratives and therefore the content.

Using family members as a camera crew had one benefit that was not so obvious when filming. Our own dynamic and our own interactions were available for others to see. We did not look like a professional camera

crew and looking like one was not our intention. Being very familiar with one an other formed a sense of ease and comfort and allowed us to interact with each other like family do and not so much in a professional manner. As the previous chapter highlighted, those that are being filmed need to know who the people are that are doing the filming. This can be seen through the creative research in Clip 5-Chapter 3, when we interview Nathan our Sound man. People may act more naturally when they are with people they have a close connection with (well we did). Witnessing our interactions allowed them to gauge our personalities and obtain a sense of who we were as people. These observations were apparent in Clip 5-Chapter 4 when Taylor Roger (a person we did not know or were not related to) was filmed and seemed comfortable to laugh and joke with us as we interviewed. Another positive aspect in using family members that had direct interest in the occasion as the crew was that it connected us with a wider range of people to interview. Which is evident in Clip 4-Chapter 6 when Maude Kemara, Nathan's mother, directly refers to him. One of our Uncles directly speaks to Shem (Shem did not know him) as seen in Clip 5-Chapter 5. To me this showed what using familiar people as the crew can do, he disassociated Shem with the camera, where as some people might consider the camera as the important focal point. Perhaps people recognised my association with Shem and my brother, and recognised us more as a family unit rather than a film crew. Without a doubt this would have changed their behaviour towards us as well as what and how they chose to share with us.

People in groups were also filmed as we were trying to recreate what we had previously achieved when filming whānau at home. There were a number of factors that were different in this case that prevented this technique from being as effective. The people being interviewed were not in a familiar space, they were out of their comfort zone. The time frame in which we were able to capture footage and allow people time to get use to the camera was limited as the Reunion was only held for three days. In saying this, this technique was still able to relieve some pressure by distributing the focus of the interviews as well as showing the interactions of the interviewees.

What was of great importance when under going these interviews was to understand how the role of power was being used. The camera is a powerful tool and as Mita (1996) has previously articulated those doing the looking are empowering themselves to define. Therefore, this power negotiation was carefully considered before filming. The person interviewing is usually in a position of power as they are solely able to direct the conversation. In the interviews done with our kaumātua, relations were invited to listen and partake in the storytelling process with our kaumātua. In order to help distribute this presence of power the questions were to be directed from the whole family and not form me. This is evident throughout <u>Clip 2</u>. This element diffuses the role of the interviewer as the sole director of the conversation. Our past family traditions of long nights of whānau conversation were perfect in distributing power throughout to dictate the flow and direction of the discussion. Their questions were just as valid as mine. What they wanted to know was just as important as what I wanted to know. Not only was having other family members there important in distributing questions but it also redirected the focus away from the camera, which helped to encourage the natural progression of the conversation. This element was indeed effective as the dialogue soon developed and was comfortable and relaxed, where we were at ease with each other. This is evident in <u>Clip 2</u> as there is much laughter and interaction. The result being an abundance of questions and the prolonged discussions that spread late into the night. The role other family members had that night was bigger than had been anticipated. In hindsight, the camera was focused only on the kaumātua, the dynamic of the whole whānau should have been filmed to show the interactions and the importance their role played in the storytelling process which is also a focal aspect for the future generations to witness. I knew they would play an important role in developing the discussions and alleviating the focus from the camera, however, they also provided a forum where questions could be clarified and debated. This was also the case when the discussion about the moving of the wharenui was raised. Cousin Connie had interviewed a number of other kaumātua as well in the past and there was a difference in opinion between the method of transportation as seen in <u>Clip 3-Chapter 2</u>.

In this instance, differences were able to be discussed and various view points were able to be shared and debated. This component of group interviewing is not about who is right or who is wrong, it is about gaining as much information about our past from all of our precious resources, while we are privileged enough to still have them. With using a group method of interviewing we do not get a subjective view of any one situation. We get shared experiences and therefore, we get different perspectives of the same situation. Which in it self, gives the viewers a broader range of experiences to engage with and contemplate. Diffusing the traditional power role of the interviewer was an important step to take towards creating an alternative way of filming.

Initially, I saw my role as a catalyst to start the dialogue. I wanted very little input into the conversation. Perhaps, this stemmed from my own awareness of having a role that was associated with the power to define and this was an attempt to deconstruct that power by making me invisible or mute. However, in considering the structure of the korero and how these korero had been conducted in the past, it would only be natural for me to join the rest of my family in asking questions of interest as I had done so in the past. It was a natural form of interaction and one that the whole family should have been able to partake in.

Every person in the room was able to ask questions and be part of the conversation. It is an organic process that has been used in our family for generations and will continue for years to come. Conversing in groups is a natural and comfortable way to communicate within Māoridom. Māori people are often more comfortable and will be more willing to engage in conversation when they are allowed to converse in groups with people they know. These interactions are unique and can express values otherwise not seen. Non-Māori filmmakers can find this hard to understand. As Māori Barclay (1990) highlights in a past incident, "I was astonished when the producer flatly refused to allow the friends of Ngoi Pewhairangi to sit with her while she was being interviewed." (p.g 12). Ngoi Pewhairangi is of Ngāti Porou descent and considered to be one of Māoridom's greatest songwriters. Her knowledge was considered

priceless and recording her should have been considered a privilege for a filmmaker. Collecting this information in whatever way she was comfortable with should have been the priority, as this would have enhanced the quality of the information by making her more comfortable to speak. Speaking in groups rather than to the individual may seem to be willing chaos with people talking over each other. However, if the listening component is adhered to by all, the dialogue is controlled and coherent. This point is re-highlighted by the creative research in <u>Clip 3-Chapter 3</u> where the laughing stops as soon as one of the kaumātua start to speak. A substantial part of interviews is for the camera to take on the role as listeners. This is a Kaupapa Māori concept that needs to be implemented when filming.

The brief time period of the Battalion Reunion in a sense provided some understanding (although still no validation) of the behaviour of those professional camera crews that weekend. The urgency was indeed apparent. There was no doubt that the events of the weekend were important to capture, but at what cost? What I hope is that those soldiers, who were remembering what only someone who has been in their situation can experience, did not find their behaviour as intrusive and inappropriate as we did. I hope this because for some of those brave men it may be their last reunion and what I hope beyond hope is that clambering camera crews are not at the forefront of their memories of those days. There has been much emphasis on filming the now for the future, but if the most basic of encounter protocols are not followed, then one party gets what they want at the expense of the other.

What this chapter has attempted to convey is that with events such as this, it is not necessary to sacrifice the needs of one party for the benefit of the other. Using techniques that are simple yet consider the space, positioning and point of view of those being interviewed allow the filming to develop more organically. Using a film crew that was familiar and had direct interest and connections to the events or people being filmed enabled a collective focus to develop which in turn resulted in a determination and understanding of our actions as a film crew. This collective focus

contributed to the quality of the interviews by being able to relate to the people filmed as well as the benefit from them knowing our background and intentions. Essentially, what applying these filming strategies does is create a space that enables a more organic conversation to take place that considers what it means to be part of indigenous Māori storytelling. Beyond the filming however, the filmmakers hold a potentially even greater responsibility of choosing what footage to use (and discard). The post-production, editing processes brings with it further issues.

Chapter Six: Looking Through the eyes as a Manuhiri and Tangata Whenua

How the filmmaker choses to cut and present the footage is of great importance in the development of the meaning of the documentary. When a comment directed towards film editor, Walter Murch (1995), minimised the role that editing plays in the meaning of a film, Murch responded by saying "It is much more than that. Editing is structure, color, dynamics, manipulation of time, all these other things, etc., etc." (p.10). This chapter will discuss the role and responsibilities the filmmaker has when filming stops and editing begins. One of the most ethically important elements in creating documentary occurs in the process of post-production. It is the cutting and putting together of the footage that has been can be open to great controversy as explained "continuity editing rules can be violated" (Orpen, 2003, p.60). By looking at Western film techniques and how they construct meaning, we are able to build a picture that in some areas contrasts to how an indigenous filmmaker may apply themselves to this process. Through the use of the modes of the representation highlighted by Bill Nichols (2001) we will consider how the process of filming is constructed to edit in a certain way to achieve the objectives of the filmmaker. Through these methods the director can overrides any power that the tangata whenua might have in creating the conditions of the filming. This chapter will discuss the responsibilities the filmmaker has as manuhiri or tangata whenua and apply concepts from Te Ao Māori to my own processes in post-production. In Chapter 2 the metaphor of tangata whenua and manuhri was used to explain the importance of interacting before filming In this chapter we will apply this concept not only to those that create documentaries but also to those that do the looking. The audience will be discussed in relation to their positioning as manuhiri or tangata whenua and will be contrasted against Western codes and conventions to help articulate these roles. The outcome of this will in turn consider kaupapa Māori techniques that could be implemented within the editing process and therefore further emphasis the key argument throughout this thesis that documentary film can derive from a Te Ao

Māori perspective and be a more authentic source of indigenous information.

In Western documentary filmmaking, the structure of how the footage will be edited is already dictated by the chosen mode of representation. The techniques filmmakers use during filming are deliberate methods used to gain a deliberate view that will be composed through the editing process. An example of this can be seen within the research. The film crews that behaved inappropriately at the Reunion wanted to get near the Battalion members to get close-ups of their faces. This is evident in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 1</u>. It is a technique used to get an emotional response from the viewers. It is a purposeful way of filming so that it may be edited in a way that helps to articulate this emotion. Bill Nichols has highlighted three main modes of representation in documentary. These modes are also constructed techniques that give specific meaning with rules regarding how they are filmed and edited. These are the techniques that have formed over the space of documenting time that will essentially portray a subject or topic in a certain way, depending on the intentions of the filmmaker. Nichols explains the development of the modes:

> Situations and events, actions and issues may be represented in a variety of ways. Strategies arise, conventions take shape, constraints come into play; these factors work to establish commonality among different texts, to place them with in the same discursive formation at a given historical moment. (1991, p.32).

These modes are being looked at to underline the predominant issues of representation and responsibility that can be inherent in the filming and editing process and at times are not appropriate in a Māori context. The modes of representation have been developed by the reoccurring features and conventions within documentary history i.e using a voice-over is synonymous with the Exposition mode because of how this mode presents an historical perspective through evidential filming of photos and memorabilia. Aspects of this mode can be seen in the editing style used in <u>Clip 2</u>, where photos are used to help articulate the stories being told. The

conventions that have developed represent basic ways of organising text into modes of representation. These modes have given rise to more contemporary styles of documentary that are not holistically one mode or the other, but can be amalgamations of old and new conventions. These modes have derived historically from the West and can present many problems when applied to an indigenous context.

This thesis argues for the development of filming techniques from the perspective and history of Māori storytelling rather than from these Western modes of representation. In saying this there are still aspects of Western documentary that can be used to fulfill certain needs as Mita explains that some artists are able to "express their peculiarly Māori experience in the language of the oppressor" (as cited in Lewis, 2006). It needs to be highlighted that these are modes that have been used to present past perspectives that can perpetuate stereotypes about the other and empower the Western filmmakers with the ability to define the "exotic other" to audiences. As Nichols (2001) alludes to, documentary stands for a perspective of the world, that although maybe familiar to the audience is a world that they may have never encountered. Here in lies the issue that illustrates the dangers in presenting images and voices to an audience that are experiencing only a window into the indigenous world from a framework and perspective derived from the West. If people are only able to experience brief windows into a culture then this is how limited perspectives are formed.

The three main modes highlighted by Nichols are the dominating organizational patterns around which text is structured. These modes are expositional, observational and interactive. It is worth briefly highlighting the modes as a means of discussing the prevalent issues that involved within the editing process.

Mode
- **The Expositional Mode:**
Filmmakers in the expositional mode adopt the role of the reporter who directs the argument. It emphasizes a subjective point and often has the

'voice-of-god' narrative running over images and footage to help develop the argument.

"Most television news and reality TV shows depend heavily on its quite dated conventions, as do most all science and nature documentaries, biographies such as the A&E biography series and the majority of the large scale historical documentaries."(Nichols, 2001, p.100). Evidential editing presents images and testimonies in a way that directs the argument towards the filmmakers final intension, just as a lawyer would produce the evidence in a logical directed manner.

- **The Observational mode:**

The observational mode is conducted by the camera following the subject or subjects around, creating a fly-on-the-wall tone to the documentary. The observation creates the sense of unmediated time by the audience not seeing the direct involvement of the filmmaker. This mode allows the filmmaker to give the pretence that he or she has not intervened, as they do not show themselves in front of the camera. The editing enhances the perception of lived time by showing the events unfold in what seems to be a chronological pattern. The observational mode creates a 'present tense' form of direction (Nichols, 1991).

- **The Interactive mode**

The Interactive mode gives way to the observational notion of the filmmaker being invisible. The filmmaker is now actively involved by interacting and reacting with the social actors (subjects) "The filmmakers voice could be heard as readily as any others, not subsequently, in a organizing voice over commentary, but on the spot, in face to face encounters with others." (1999, p.44). By working with the participants of the documentary the textual authority shifts from the filmmaker to the social actors. The audience is able to engage with the body language and reactions of the filmmaker and subject/s as they would when assessing and reading their own conversations,

Discussing what the modes entail and how they develop their intentions assists in emphasising the point that these modes can pre-determined the

way filming and editing proceeds. Therefore, filmmakers already have an idea about what they want to film and specific ways they need to film which are edited in a manner that highlights their intentions. The filmmaker has a general sense of how the editing will progress, what kind of response they want from the audience and what mode or hybrid of a mode will best achieve this. For example the observational mode needs to give the audience a sense of real time, a sense that what they are watching is happening and developing before their eyes. However, one of the issues that presents itself, in this case, is that often this sense of events unfolding are constructed. One of the foremost issues that are not always apparent to the audience when viewing documentary, is that there are very blurred lines between fiction and non-fiction. What we see are events unfolding or an argument developing toward a solution or outcome, we do not see the processes and the manipulations that take place on the filmmakers behalf to build the argument in the direction they wish. These adjustments can be made during the process of making the film and/or in the post-production stage within editing, as seen in a very classical documentary, *Nanook of the North* (1922). This was Robert Flaherty's story of an Inuit family and their struggle for survival in the unforgiving climate of the Arctic. *Nanook of the North* "is generally regarded as the work from which all subsequent efforts to bring real life to the screen have steemed." (Rothman, 1997, p.1). This classic documentary is a prime example of what Nichols calls 'wish-fulfilment' by the filmmakers. Flaherty filmed the Inuit family going about their day to day lives; lighting camp fires, paddling kayaks, trapping foxes and making igloo's, or so it seemed to be. In reality Flaherty arranged a lot of the events that transpired during what seemed to be the impression of lived time as described by Rothman (1997)

> Flaherty did not … simply directly film Nanook and his family going about their lives. Many actions on view in the film were performed for the camera and not simply 'documented' by it. The filmmaker actively involved his subjects in the filming, telling them what he wanted them to do, responding to their suggestions, and directing their performance with the camera. (p.1)

This is not a technique that is restricted to classic filmmaking and is still used today in many respects, this emphasises the distorted realm in which fiction and non-fiction. Flaherty had preconceived ideas about what he wanted a 'noble savage' to look and act like. He lived these desires through Nanook and his family, thus portraying them with a romanticized Western view of how he wished to view the 'other' and where he thought the 'other' belonged. Martin Blythe (1994) talks about a similar theme of how historical British-Pākehā filmmakers built romanticized clichés through their films that aptly had the title 'Māoriland' in many. This is important to the overall argument because it can contrast to a Kaupapa Māori perspective which may consider the need to empower the participants with decisions that they are comfortable with. These decisions may include; having more than one person in the shot, not being comfortable with the camera in their personal space and in some case, not being happy with being told how to act, as was the scenario of *Nanook*. A Kaupapa Māori view would have ensured that the needs of the participants were met.

Not only does this emphasise the blurred boundaries between what we see and what is constructed, but it also highlights an important ethical issue pertaining to Māori. There are past films that have portrayed Māori in the same subjective light as Nanook and his family were shown to the world. Flaherty shows his audacity and his lack of respect for a culture he could not understand and insults their integrity as human beings by imposing his romanticised ideology of what a noble savage like Nanook should look and act like. Nanooks skills as a hunter were tested even though the Eskimos of the 1920's no longer relied on traditional methods of hunting to survive (Nichols, 2001). This is indeed a wish-fulfilment on Flaherty's part, this showed the kind of people he wished to see in the world. Māori have often in film history been subjected to the romanticised ideals from Pākehā. Colonisers who assure themselves that they are in the position to identify and characterise cultures that they feel superior to. Nichols calls the undermining contructs of *Nanook of the North* 'Wish-fulfilment', I call it 'Imperial definement'. In the past, documentary has been used by the West to define the meaning of another peoples values and beliefs. As Blythe (1994) asserts this self-appointed power to define is

created through the compilation of differences,

> As in many novels, traveling writing, and ethnographies, the timeless romance resorts to the Myth of Authenticity, a myth in which erotic and exotic worlds can be constructed as authentically different from European or American cultures by piling up various racial and cultural differences. (p.22)

The 'Myth of Authenticity' is an element that can be associated with documentary film. This phrase highlights the historical portrayal of the romanticized notions of the 'other' as well as highlighting the fact that these portrayals seek to represent circumstances that are mythical in construction and presentation.

When filming the kaumātua at Omāpere, how the footage was going to be edited and presented was not really a priority at the time. What was important was capturing stories and narratives, especially those of our kaumātua. The filming techniques that I used contradicted some of the rules that apply to conventional western filming methods and modes of representations. There were no real techniques that were used to consider developing the documentary towards aesthetic brilliance, this can be seen in Clip 3 where the framing of the shots are quite bad but the need to be respectful of capturing all the kaumātua's stories and interactions were considered.

The lack of pre-conceived notions about the editing process relieved pressure from the concerns surrounding the representation of my family. The pressure to consider the reaction of the audience or how my own relatives might feel about being represented in the documentary were not as heavy because the footage was for the family and was to be distributed to them. The footage was constructed not for the commercial market or to an audience that was unfamiliar with their perspective and circumstance. Would I have edited the footage differently if a wider audience were going to view it? Absolutely. It is indeed appropriate to apply a concept of editing for manuhiri or tangata whenua to the construction of Māori documentary.

This became apparent when considering the difference in presenting footage for the relatives that had been filmed and then preparing the footage for the clips for this thesis. The audiences were to be quite different and because of this my deliberation was to encompass how my relatives were to be presented and how they would be viewed from the perspective of people not from their own context. Bringing the argument back to the metaphor used in Chapter two, people were to view these clips as manuhiri tuarangi (vistors from far away). On one hand I was collaborating stories for those that were being filmed, the tangata whenua and on the other hand I was constructing clips that would also be viewed by non-Māori and other Māori not of my whakapapa. Even though I was tangata whenua when filming, the people viewing the clips may view through the eyes of manuhiri. This is what I had to consider when editing. My role as tangata whenua had already contracted me to upholding their integrity and representation. Ethnographers talk about this factor in relation to their own research,

> We have learnt over time that anthropological studies are not a one-way street but an exchange that involves people being studied, a contract which implies that in exchange for an intimate understanding of a culture and the privilege of recording it, the ethnographer will do nothing to exploit or misrepresent his or her subjects, now or in the future. (Asch, 1992, p.204)

The 'insider' research discussed in Chapter 2 is the fundamental difference here. An anthropologist and ethnographer will not usually have whakapapa connections to the people filmed and therefore, they do not have the collective responsibility that encompasses the role of Māori filming Māori. Good intentions may be prevalent on their part but looking at a culture for a certain amount of time does not constitute an intimate understanding of that culture. Ngoi Pewhairangi a prominent Māori leader of her time articulates this point,

> I know there are a lot of Pākehās who would love to learn, not only the Māori language, but also the Māori heart. And it's a thing that

one can never teach. Quite a number of Pākehās are sincere about it. This is part of the Māori they want to learn: respect for nature, respect for anything Māori, how they should come on to a marae, how they should come in to a meeting house, and how to learn to speak like a orator. But anyone can speak on a marae once they've been shown the proper procedure. This is just scratching the surface. (as cited in King, 1975)

These are fundamental grounds for arguing that tangata whenua should present their own narratives to the world beyond their own context. 'Scratching the surface' is sometimes all a documentary can do due to time constraints but if that surface is to be scratched at all then it should be delivered by people that have a deeper understanding through their connections of whakapapa, culture and background. 'Scratching the surface' was what the rude camera crews were doing at Omāpere. They were only concerned with capturing a window, which is why they moved so quickly and obtrusively as seen in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 1</u>. This can be contrasted to the way we filmed which was deliberated and careful. This is the fundamental difference between research done by an 'insider' and that done by an 'outsider'. Through an 'insiders' cultural knowledge, whakapapa, empathy, understanding, a bond of familiarity and known collective responsibility, they will receive quality stories, interactions and experiences.

I felt a sense of anxiety when editing these clips for the eyes of manuhiri. This anxiety stemmed from wanting to please the people I filmed as well as achieving the objective of creating a thesis that could help others to consider and utilise kaupapa Māori methods when filming Māori which would be beneficial to both the filmmaker and those being filmed. What is argued here is that this sense of great concern is an indication of being in the "right space" as a filmmaker. If the right space is developed, then a documentary will be created that respects and understands the people it is portraying. If the filmmaker does not feel this sense of responsibility to the participants they have filmed then they may create controversy which as in *Cunnamulla's (2000)* case resulted in legal action. Participants that have

experienced the abuse of trust may associate all filmmakers with this experience or perhaps even those that have watched a documentary where people were misrepresented may cause further animosity towards being filmed. It is a feeling that accompanies the knowledge of responsibility and is bound by the knowledge of a history of marginalization and misrepresentation.

Editing the clips for the thesis was very difficult in comparison to the editing of the footage for the whānau. For example when editing the clips of our kaumātua I did not include certain stories that shared more personal thoughts and whānau information into the clips intended for this thesis however, all stories were included in the footage given to the kaumātua themselves. Some aspects of the modes of representation were used to achieve the desired outcomes because the clips were more about process than content and therefore, creative ways of producing what needed to be articulated were applied. This editing style seem to echo fragments of the modes but are still very much constructed out of conscious consideration from the 'insiders' point of view. Alanis Obomsawin talks about her learning experiences through a filming institution but also about maintaining her own indigenous point of view that has grown from her Abenaki upbringing "I've certainly learnt much from the film board," she says, "but I have my own way"(as cited in Lewis, 2006, p.60). The clip titled *Taku Hoia* could be considered to contain aspects of the expositional mode, however, the voice-over was purposely not used to enhance the focus on the voice that was speaking, I feel it made the clip less dictative and more emotive. As seen in <u>Clip 2-Chapter 4,</u> the images and the actual content of the story gained and held the attention of the viewer, without needing to be directed by a voice-over. The only time a voice-over was used throughout the clips was to highlight the prominent issues in the thesis or the need for the research. This is evident in <u>Clip 4-Chapter 1,</u> where I needed to highlight the issues pertaining to the invasive cameras to better explain the need for this research.

Editing the footage for the whānau was not an overwhelming or tedious task. The interviewees were left to speak so that people could say what

they wanted to say. The takes were long and left to roll until the person had finished speaking. This left little to edit, as I had said before, it was not important to create an aesthetically pleasing documentary but more so a document that had good sound and shared common stories that could be shared and passed on. A scene that highlights this point is <u>Clip 4-Chapter 7</u>. This clip shows how my Father speaks. He does not answer the question directly but uses a process that needs time to circle related aspects to give depth, colour and context to an answer he may give or leave you to find the answer. This cannot be achieved if only part of the discussion is shown and further highlights why leaving long shots are so important. The need to be respectful in the process of storytelling is a fundamental theme that runs through all of the Chapters throughout this thesis. This theme reaches beyond the physical interruptions that occur with interviewer to interviewee. In the editing process interruptions also need to be considered so that disruption can be minimalised and respect can be given to what is being said and who is saying it. The people in the footage were the ones that were going to be watching it. All of them knew each other and were connected through whakapapa. This means that the understanding of viewpoint and circumstance was already acquired which helps to eliminate misinterpretations and misconceptions.

What is important in the editing process from a Te Ao Māori perspective differs in some respects to a Western outlook. Looking at the issues pertaining to the modes of representation can highlight how some of the techniques used are inappropriate within a Māori context. What is also highlighted in this Chapter, is that the same concepts of respect given by being a listener are not only important in the process of filming, but also needs consideration in the editing process by employing long takes. Therefore, this concept relates back to the overall argument by validating alternative techniques of editing through my own research experience, that encompass Kaupapa Māori values within the development of a film.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

It has been interesting to reflect on why I found it difficult to create headings in the chapters for this thesis. In a Pākehā world, categorizing seems to be a much simpler matter. You can categorize components of documentary film making into pre production, post production and production, this is not say that they are not inter-related. But when you are using principals and practices from Te Ao Māori it is difficult to find the demarcation lines. This is because all the components are interwoven throughout the process. It could be likened to the complex, holistic weave you would find in a beautiful interwoven kete (kit).

This interweaving acts as a motivator, a control mechanism, a safety net, an enabler that allows potential to grow. This interweaving is found in most processes within Te Ao Māori and when recognized and practiced will enhance the Māori creative process. This has been illustrated throughout this thesis.

The important aim and objective of Māori filmmakers is to ensure that the Māori voice is heard and seen in a way that values the Māori world view. That the information seen and heard is an empathetic representation so that it informs, educates and challenges both Māori and other New Zealanders. These aims and objective are similar for indigenous communities around the world. Indigenous people want to use technologies to tell their own stories using processes that make sense to them and validate their own world view.

My initial objective in filming was to provide the future generations with a way to connect and understand the world of their kaumātua. Copies of the DVD had been given to the families of each of my uncles and my aunties. The filming at the Māori Battalion Reunion at Omāpere was again just for my own whānau and for the whānau of other Te Whānau a Apanui Battalion members. I had no idea that the shocking events that I was to witness, where a variety of different film crews trampled over the mana

and dignity of our kaumātua, would cause me so much distress and ultimately provide the direction for this research.

This thesis produced by creative practice, argues that there are underlying principals and practices derived from Te Ao Māori that are not valued in film production and should be drawn on to inform the film making process.

It further argues that basic principals of whānaungatanga " the ability to make and maintain connections through whakapapa" is an important key within this process. My research highlights the depth and breadth of whakapapa and the rights and responsibilities that inform how I should behave.

What I found through reflection of my own filming experience that I learnt to 'create' that storytelling space through my own upbringing and I was able to do this through the experience of having been privileged enough to be in this 'space' many times. In retrospect, it was not just me who created this space, but rather a collective understanding of the importance of these stories coupled with a knowledge of who I was and where my collective responsibilities lay. Being respectful of people's personal space, being conscious of how you approach them and being considerate to the needs of a participant, is part of creating this space. Referring back to the concept that Barclay highlights pertaining to 'interiority' and 'exteriority'. These outer features of how a filmmaker may chose to conduct themselves can be seen as the surface attributes or the exteriority of the film. However, what stimulates the deeper development of this space in my opinion is whakapapa. It is through being an 'insider' that we may access a true confidence from those who participant in the filming process. It is because they view me as a whānaunga (relation) as apposed to a filmmaker, someone who will return to them and whose whakapapa has always lived amongst them. Thus, the trust and confidence, as a filmmaker highlights that interiority was gained through an understanding of the importance of whakapapa. This is not to say that people not of the same whakapapa or culture, do not have an interiority to their films, it is just that this is a type of interiority that exists within the connection of

whakapapa. However, in saying this I have a strong feeling that if I was to film kaumātua in the way witnessed in Clip 4-Chapter 1, regardless of whakapapa links, I would not be given respect and if they did allow me to interview them the interview would be one-dimensional and shallow.

Marae protocol was used as a model to explain some of the processes that were applied to my own filming experience. The theory behind this was that to consider a Kaupapa Māori way of creating processes, it required a Kaupapa Māori way of looking at the world. A key concept that has risen from the research is the importance responsibility has in shaping the filming process. How we feel this responsibility, as filmmakers, reflects upon how we conduct ourselves when filming. When we consider the behaviour of the film crews that weekend in Omāpere (revise Clip 4-Chapter 1), a conclusion that maybe drawn upon is that they had no feeling of responsibility towards those they filmed. In my short filmmaking experience, the responsibility as an 'insider' is so great that it was at the forefront of my mind whenever, we filmed. It was also at the forefront of my mind when we watched those camera crews thrusting into the personal space of kaumātua without permission. There is no need for this. Other forms of filming can be utilised that are much more appropriate in considering the position held by kaumātua and what a kaumātua means to their community. This is evident throughout this discussion. As I have previously stated, I hope that the kaumātua that day did not find these cameras as overwhelming as I did, as the ceremony was one of deep meaning. It is horrible to think that these soldiers might remember the crowding camera crews, over a ceremony of remembrance of the sacrifice given in World War Two.

What this research has confirmed is that there are other ways of documenting Māori that can enrich the content or interiority of the interviews by creating a storytelling space to do so, as well as provide a considerate environment for the participants. The responsibility as a Māori and a Te Whānau a Apanui/Ngati Porou/Ngai Tahu filmmaker, is always present, when filming my own. If I did not feel the weight of this responsibility the way I do, then I do not believe I can achieve the 'space'

necessary to film appropriately. When I have filmed, it has been with the pre-tense that it will one day be of benefit to my family and community, and what I have endeavored to achieve is to create a space in which they want to share their stories. It is the collective weaving of responsibility through whakapapa that is filtered into the way we might engage with the people we film, benefiting whānau, hapū, iwi and community for years to come.

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Filmography

Cunnamulla, 2000, Dennis O'Rouke, Australia, 82mins

Hei Tiki, 1930, Markey, USA, 73mins

Nanook of the North, 1922, Robert J. Flaherty, UK, 55mins

The Romance of Hine-moa, 1925, Gaumont, UK, 11mins

Glossary

Hapū	subtribe
Hokianga	geographical area in Northland, North Island, New Zealand
Iwi	tribe
kaumātua	elder
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kaupapa	topic, issue
kaupapa Māori	Māori issues / topic
kete	Māori flax basket
kōrero	talk, speech, narrative
kohanga reo	total immersion Māori pre school
kura kaupapa	total immersion Māori primary school
mana	pride, authority, power, influence, prestige
manuhiri	visitors, guest
manuhiri tūārangi	visitors from afar
Māori	name given to the indigenous people of New Zealand
mauri	individual life force
mātauranga	knowledge
mihimihi	greeting
Ngai Te Rangi	tribe in Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand
Ngāti Porou	tribe in East Coast of North Island, New Zealand
Ngāti Ranginui	tribe in Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand
Omāpere	town in Hokianga Harbour, North Island, New Zealand
Pākehā	a non Māori of European descent
papakainga	home stead
pohiri/ powhiri	welcoming ceremony
rangatahi	youth, young generation
rohe	tribal area

tapu	sacred, prohibited, restricted
tangata ki te tangata	person to person
tangata whenua	local people, host, people of the land
tangihanga	funeral
Tauiwi	person of different ethnicity
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Reo	the language
Te Whānau a Apanui	tribe in Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand
te taha kikokiko	physical aspects
tīpuna	ancestors, grandparents
tikanga	plan, customs, protocols
waiata	song, chant
wero	challenge
whaikōrero	speech, oratory
whakaaro	thoughts, ideas
whakapapa	geological table
whakataukī	cryptic saying, aphorism, proverbs
whānau	family
whānaungatanga	kinship, network, relationship