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**‘Thinking-Through-Complicity’ with  
Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti:  
Towards a Critical Use of Participatory  
Video for Research**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Geography  
at  
The University of Waikato  
by  
Sara L. Kindon**



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*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis explores some of the seductions and dangers of participatory video for research (PVR) involving Indigenous Māori and Pākehā research partners. The project within which PVR was used focused on exploring relationships between place, identity and social cohesion within ‘remote’ rural communities. It involved about 15 members of the Potaka whānau of Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti in the central Rangitīkei district of the North Island, Aotearoa New Zealand. A small group of iwi members, myself and an audiovisual specialist and trainer negotiated the project’s focus, process and ethics during 1998. A different group of iwi members were then trained in video production and community research methods later that year and supported to produce their own productions, and carry out video research interviews with other iwi members. The entire process of negotiation, training and collaborative research was filmed for archival and research purposes with everyone’s consent, and several collaborative publications and presentations have been produced since 1999.

The discursive space opened up by Ngāti Hauiti’s engagement with, and use of, video provides an opportunity to attend to the ‘cultural mediations’ that occurred throughout the research partnership and to inquire into the possible ‘empire building effects’ of visual technologies within participatory research more generally. The focus on PVR within a Māori context also prompts questions about the visual’s transformative potential within geographic research, and the implications of working through the use of a visual medium for rethinking disciplinary practices and knowledges, particularly when working cross-culturally.

In the thesis, I first review the evolution and attendant challenges associated with both the use of participation and video within research contexts. I trace their similar origins in modernist attempts to ‘know’ and ‘empower’ marginalised others, and highlight the ongoing marginalisation of Indigenous perspectives within mainstream debates. I then engage with conceptualisations of complicity and develop an analytical framework that expands on current

discursive and ideological discussions to also attend to its material, embodied and spatial dimensions.

Using this framework and a complementary autoethnographic and ‘hyper-self-reflexive’ approach, I track aspects of my own power, complicity and desire within my research practice in the PVR project during the period 1998-2001. This approach involves the development of a particular reading position to focus on critical incidents of my research practice and a means of grappling productively with the polyvalent nature of my audiovisual and other information sources. I discuss these critical incidents within three processes associated with the research: facilitation, production and reception, attending to the complex and multifaceted interplay of audiovisual texts, their producers and their audiences throughout.

Such a thesis is expedient given that powerful and often uncritical rhetoric that besets participatory research and development is fast taking hold within geography. It is also timely given the proliferation of affordable and accessible audiovisual technology and its increasing use within geography and other social sciences. As geographers respond to calls to embrace more visual, tactile and other methods, this thesis offers possibilities for the repoliticisation of participatory discourse within social geography, through a more considered engagement with participatory action research, Indigenous research practices and audiovisual media such as video. I offer cautionary insights into the ‘power-full’ effects of these ways of working.

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# DEDICATION

For Joyce and Kirsty

*Ngā wāhine tino māia.*

*He kokonga whare e kitea,  
He kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea.*

Adventurous and creative women.

The corner of the house can be seen,  
but not the corner of the heart.

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# GLOSSARY<sup>1</sup>

Āmine	Amen
Aotearoa	The Māori name for the North Island of New Zealand, frequently applied to the whole of the country
Aroha	Love, empathy
Atua	God
Awa	River
Awa Hīkoi	River journey
Hapū	Sub-tribe, family or district groups
Hui	Meeting, gathering
Iwi	Tribal group
Kaitiaki	Guardian
Kānohi ki kānohi	Face-to-face
Karakia	Blessing, prayer
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
Kaupapa taiao	Environmental Policy Statement
Kōhanga Reo	Māori early childhood language nest
Kuia	Respected elder woman
Māori	The Indigenous people of Aotearoa
Mahi Ngā tahi	Working together
Mana	Prestige, authority, status
Manāki	Tend to someone's needs (usually those of a guest)
Manākitanga	Hospitality
Manuhiri	Guest, outsider

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<sup>1</sup> All definitions are sourced from the online Māori dictionary <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz> (accessed 12 August 2011)

Marae	The open area in front of the wharenui or wharepuni (meeting house) where formal greetings and discussions take place; often used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.
Maunga	Mountain
Mihi mihi	Speech of greetings, tribute
Noa	Profane
Pā	Fortified site
Pākehā	Of European descent, non-Māori
Pōwhiri	Ritualised encounter or welcome
Rangitīkei	Rangitikei District and name of river running through it, central lower North Island of New Zealand
Rohe	Territorial area of tribal influence
Raro	Down, below, bottom (North)
Runga	Top, upwards, above (South)
Rūnanga	Tribal governing body
Take	Issue
Tamaraki	Youth
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Taonga	Highly prized possessions or holdings
Tapu	Sacred
Tauīwi	Outsider, other tribe
Te Ao Māori	The Māori World
Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti	The 'Tribe' of Ngāti Hauiti – people tracing their ancestry back to the ancestor, Hauiti, who settled what is now their territorial area of influence
Te Kōhanga Reo	'Language Nests' – a total immersion Māori language programme for children
Te Reo	Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, meaning

Tino Rangatiratanga	Translates as ‘chiefly authority’ or ‘chieftainship’ but the modern usage is sovereignty, self-determination
Tīpuna	Ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	‘Place to stand’, place where one has rights of residence and belonging
Urupā	Burial ground, graveyard, cemetery
Wāhine	Women
Waiata	Song
Wero	Challenge, typically part of the pōwhiri
Whānau	Family group or extended family; a familiar term for a number of people – in the modern context, this can include friends who may not have a kinship relation
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakawhanaungatanga	Kinship relationships
Wharepuni	Main house of a village, meeting house in marae complex
Whenua	Land, placenta

# PROLOGUE

The room was really dark. It felt unusual to be attending a conference in a cinema, even if its focus was on film and history. Not being able to see the audience's faces clearly was slightly disconcerting. Still, I stood at the front confident in my relationships with my co-presenters: Kirsty – a Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti collaborator on my right and Geoff – the project's audiovisual specialist and trainer on my left. I felt strong in the knowledge that we were talking about the positive outcomes of our work over the last two years. I also felt culturally-safe in that we were presenting as collaborators in our work, with Kirsty able to represent her whānau and iwi with her own voice.

Kirsty, Geoff and I were particularly excited about the opportunity to share our experiences with our audience because of the emotional resonance we had felt earlier that morning when listening to one of the keynote speakers, a renowned Māori filmmaker. In his speech, the filmmaker had talked about the importance of Māori telling their own stories through film and video. He had stressed the centrality of Indigenous ways of knowing and the politics of self-representation for formerly colonised peoples. He had also talked about the need for Māori to be involved in designing, planning, shooting, and editing their own work, not just appearing in other people's representations of them. I remember Kirsty leaning over to me as we listened to his words, nodding to indicate that what he was advocating was 'like we've been doing'. Geoff, Kirsty and I talked excitedly over lunch about the connections we felt to the messages of his speech and how we hoped he would be able to hear us talk.

In our presentation, Kirsty spoke about the project's evolution and the eight-month negotiation of relationships, project orientation and development of a Memorandum of Understanding to guide our work together. She emphasised the collaborative ownership of the process and outcomes. Geoff talked about the video training process he had facilitated and I talked about my role in the community research training process, and how through these a team of iwi members had produced a short training video exploring project themes. We

showed an edited video of aspects of our research process, video training workshops, production and post-production processes involving members of the Community Video Research Team. Geoff had originally prepared this edited video for a presentation I made to geography staff at Victoria University of Wellington at which Kirsty and Geoff had been present. It had been approved by iwi members designated as our Project Working Party. They were happy about the representation of our work together and the people within it.

It came as a huge shock therefore, when shortly after we'd finished presenting on our work, the keynote speaker with whom we had felt such a strong connection earlier in the day, stood up and denounced our project as "the worst kind of colonisation [he had] ever seen!" and threatened that he was "going to write to the Vice Chancellor [of my university] and demand that the project be stopped immediately!" He went on to imply that Ngāti Hauiti had been duped into a process, which was more about the University being able to extract and commodify knowledge, and about Geoff's production company being able to make money or gain some commercial advantage out of the relationship. He expressed his views very strongly, standing up, raising his voice and using his arms to point and gesture. He was clearly very agitated.

We were completely taken aback by the keynote speaker's outburst and at first didn't know quite how to respond. There was an uncomfortable silence in which I remember reeling and feeling slightly sick. Fortunately Kirsty rose to his challenge. She asked to be able to respond to his criticisms in her position as iwi representative, but the keynote speaker stormed out, shouting that he didn't want to hear it and that anyway, he'd heard it all before...

# CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Rationale, Purpose and Research Questions

The time is right for a critical reanalysis of participatory approaches (Clever 2001: 53).

Differences between researchers and research participants are an inevitable part of cross-cultural fieldwork. Historically these differences have been exploited to subjugate informants and their knowledge. However, increasingly they are being used to advance forms of responsible and scholar activism (Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010) within the formation of “active radical/critical geographies” (Fuller and Kitchin 2004: 17). The deployment of participatory methods and approaches has been one such attempt to work productively and respectfully with cultural difference.

Participatory methods and approaches alone, however, are not enough to avoid exploitation. Tensions remain associated with the inherent ambiguity in participation as both means and ends. The technocratic mechanistic application or incorporation of participation into chains of equivalence with other powerful words like empowerment, and poverty reduction, which often exclude more radical possibilities (Cornwall and Brock 2005).

Within Aotearoa New Zealand engagement with participation and participatory research has been incorporated and, to some degree, submerged within debates about cultural safety (Wepa 2005). Cultural safety is a concept developed here by nurses working with Indigenous Māori. It has filtered into other spheres of life, including research practice. It advocates self-reflective practice by professionals that attends to potential power relations/imbances, institutional discrimination and colonisation. Through such practice it is hoped that processes will be congruent with the cultural values and norms of participants/clients/patients resulting in better outcomes (Williams, R. 1999).

Cultural safety informs bi-cultural research approaches which give greater prominence to Indigenous research partners as active guardians and participants of a research process (Bishop 1992; Tolich and Davidson 1999). It also has synergies with Kaupapa Māori as a distinct research approach by, with and for Māori through which Māori authors also demand non-Māori researchers explicitly commit to working towards decolonisation in their research practice to minimise further abuses of power (Bishop 1992; Cram 2001; Smith, L. 1999; Wilson 2008).

Many of the principles and practices at the heart of these approaches within Aotearoa New Zealand stem from a direct engagement with Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) as the founding document of the nation state and from a desire to mobilise its principles (derived from Articles 2 and 3 particularly) in various ways to ensure and protect Māori participation, knowledge and outcomes. The Treaty of Waitangi represents an imperfect and highly contested agreement signed by representatives of the British Crown and iwi ('tribe') and hapu ('sub-tribe') in 1840. It is the founding document of the nation state of New Zealand and informs all dimensions of political, economic and social life. In this agreement, a partnership of trust and cooperation between British settlers and Indigenous Māori was desired, along with the protection of Māori resources and taonga (treasure) necessary for their ongoing self-determination under British governance. Ongoing differences in translation and interpretation of te reo Māori and English versions of the Treaty document continue to provide fertile ground for debate and innovation (Fleras and Spoonley 1999; Orange 2004).

Elswhere, Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors increasingly advocate for critical reflection on the contexts, events and relationships (workings of power), which set the conditions for participation, and through which information is generated and knowledge produced (Ball 2005; Fisher and Ball 2003; Gibbs 2001; Howitt and Stevens 2010; Kovach 2009; Kuokkanen 2004; Mosse 1994, 1995a, 1995b; Nelson and Wright 1995; Pottier 1992; Rigney 1999; Scoones and Thompson 1994; Wilson 2008).

For Ilan Kapoor (2005), such an investigation necessitates a focus on how academics, researchers and development practitioners wield and yield power throughout the process of their intervention in others' lives. For him, the imperative for this kind of work relates to the persistent pervasiveness of Eurocentricism in participation. Kapoor's central contention is that neo-imperial and inegalitarian relationships pervade participatory development (PD) because the promotion of the 'Other's' empowerment rests on the complicity and desire of academics, researchers and development practitioners with wider discourses associated with Orientalism, capitalism and colonialism, or what he terms 'empire'. This conceptualisation of empire complements the more traditionally-understood and structurally-defined forms of empire associated with geopolitics and socio-economics, and provides a useful lens through which to attend to the multifaceted dimensions of power I wish to examine here.

For example, within this thesis, I grapple with the recognition that my desire to use participatory methods, and my belief that they would facilitate a culturally-safe and empowering participatory research process with members of Ngāti Hauiti during 1998-2001, potentially involved overlooking my complicity in perpetuating the very inequalities I sought to challenge.

Complicity and desire are key concepts within postcolonial and psychoanalytic theory and focus on the relationship between self – other at the heart of most research and development practice. In what follows, I adopt and build on Kapoor's definitions and use of these terms as he derives them from the work of Slavoj Žižek, Gayatri Spivak and Edward Said (Kapoor 2005). For Kapoor, complicity relates to our tendency as academics, researchers and development practitioners to follow and endorse a particular ideology, while disavowing its negative implications: a tendency fuelled by our desire to believe in a reality that is untroubled and predictable.

In a sense then, this thesis engages calls for greater reflexivity within research encounters, an engagement with postcolonial politics, and a concern for the intersections of theory and practice for the production of more socially-just

and relevant research. Specifically, I explore some of the seductions and dangers of a development-oriented research practice involving the use of participatory video for research (PVR) with Indigenous Māori research partners from Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti.

To do this, I practice a form of *hyper*-self-reflexivity (Kapoor 2004) to ‘excavate’ (Kapoor 2005) my work and inquire into the delicate interplay of (primarily my) power, complicity, and desire throughout this practice. By producing this reflexive autoethnography I engage with recent critiques about the tyranny of participation and explore the potential for its repoliticisation within social geography.

Because of the project’s use of PVR as its central methodology, this thesis also attends to how the audiovisual (in the form of PVR) informed and constrained what was possible. As Sarah Pink (2001: 12-13) has noted:

Many researchers appear willing to scrutinize reflexively their own methods through explorations of how subjectivity, individual experience and negotiation with informants figure in the production of ethnographic knowledge. However, these developments are occurring at an uneven pace both between and within disciplines and not all are prepared to engage with the transformative potential of the visual for ethnographic research and representation. ... It has been suggested that photographic and video images can act as a force that has transformative potential for modern thought, culture and society, self-identity and memory and social science itself. Therefore by paying attention to images in ethnographic [read geographic] research and representation, it is possible that new ways of understanding individuals, cultures and research materials may emerge.

By considering how the promotion and adoption of PVR within the project with Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti enabled and/or challenged the deployment of local

elite and/or academic and other institutional hegemonies, I can begin to explore how it may have acted as a vehicle for the types of empire building troubling Kapoor (2005).

As such, the research questions addressed in this research are as follows:

- a) How was my complicity manifested in the project with Ngāti Hauiti?
- b) How might the use of PVR have acted as a vehicle for, or challenge to, empire building?
- c) What are some implications of this project for the repoliticisation of participatory discourse within social geography?

Such a thesis is expedient given that the powerful (and often uncritical) rhetoric that besets participatory research and development is fast taking hold within social geography (for critiques of this see Pain 2004; Pain and Kindon 2007). It is also timely given the proliferation of affordable and accessible audiovisual technology and its increasing use within geography and other social sciences (Garrett 2010; Pink 2007a). As geographers respond to calls to embrace more visual, tactile and other methods (Crang 2003, 2010; Garrett 2010), this thesis offers some cautionary insights into the ‘power-full’ effects of these ways of working.

More intimately, my personal and professional positions as a female, middle-class, English-born academic, attempting to practise research differently within the post-colonising context of Aotearoa New Zealand, enable a specific, located engagement with dominant metropolitan understandings of participatory work in both Anglo-American and ‘Third World’ contexts. Such an engagement is important if these particular hegemonic knowledges are to be contested and cultural difference is to be constructively negotiated in the field.

In sum, through this thesis I seek to excavate the power, complicity and desire inherent within my work from within the ideology of PD itself;<sup>2</sup> using the lens of my experiences using video in research with Ngāti Hauiti to illustrate my ‘findings’. In taking this approach, I engage the paradox that in order to ‘do participation’ effectively in future, I may have to come to terms with the realisation that participation may not be worth saving (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

## 1.2 Project Context, Focus and Ethics

As should now be apparent, the context and focus of this thesis rest in my experiences within a long-term PVR project with a group of members of Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti, a Māori iwi (‘tribe’) in the central North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. A relatively small iwi,<sup>3</sup> Ngāti Hauiti, like many others around the country, has been actively involved in the so-called ‘Māori Renaissance’ since the 1970s (Durie 1998; <http://www.teara.govt.nz>).<sup>4</sup> In their case, this revival, or ‘reawakening’ as Ngāti Hauiti refer to it, involved the emergence of a number of activities during the 1980s and early 1990s, which continue in some form today:

- the renovation of the wharepuni (meeting house) and marae (open area and complex of building around the meeting house) at Rātā, State Highway 1;
- the establishment of two Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nests) at Rātā

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<sup>2</sup> According to Slajov Žižek (1989) whose thinking informs the epistemological orientation to this thesis, the only possibility for critique is from within an ideology itself through becoming aware of its machinations and by tracking and identifying an ideology’s ‘Real’, then looking for its slips, disavowals, contradictions and ambiguities (Kapoor 2005). These are aspects I explore more fully in Chapter 4.

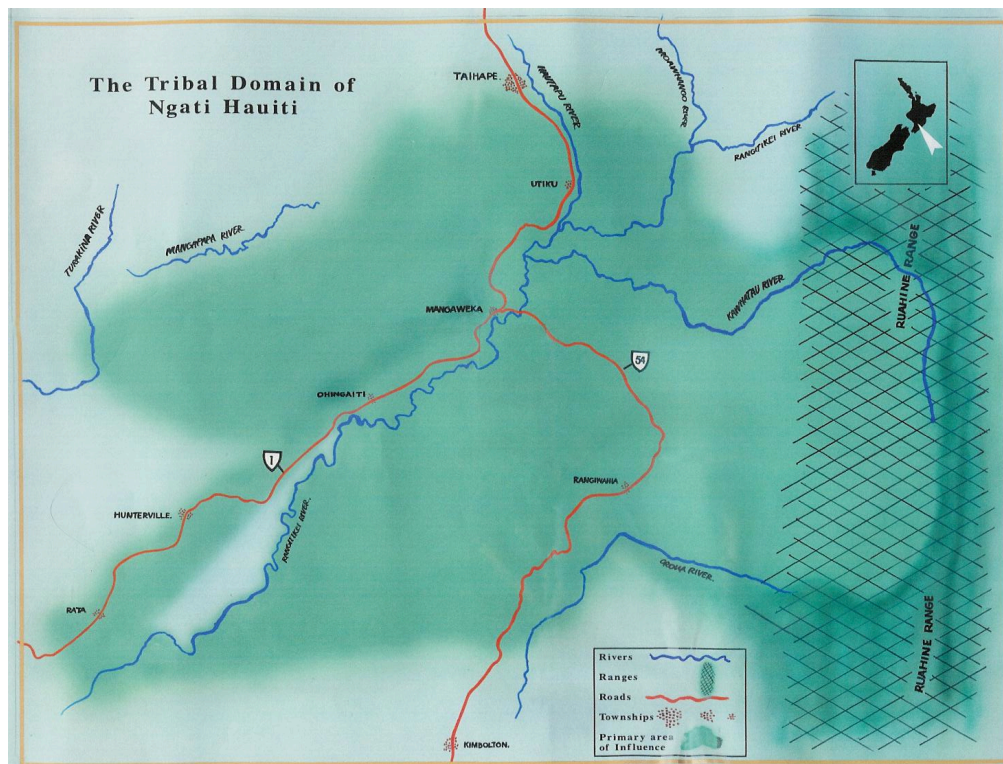
<sup>3</sup> In 1998, Ngāti Hauiti recorded approximately 800 members. By 2006, this had grown to 1000 people who identified officially as Ngāti Hauiti in the national census.

<sup>4</sup> The Māori Renaissance commonly refers to the rise of a new generation of leaders in the wake of the rapid urbanisation of Māori in the 1950s. These leaders called attention to the loss of land and culture that Māori had suffered as a result of colonisation. Their protests and calls for redress saw the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 through which some assets have been returned to iwi. In addition to land claim processes, the Renaissance involved the establishment of a Māori language education system and the development of Māori arts and enterprise (<http://www.teara.govt.nz>).

and Utiku providing early childhood care and education in the Māori language;

- the establishment of a Rūnanga (tribal governing body) which then supported the delivery of various iwi development programmes aimed at improving health, youth participation, income generation and social wellbeing;
- the facilitation of several cultural wānanga (forums for learning) to enhance iwi members' knowledge of their whakapapa (genealogy) and tikanga (customs and protocols); and
- the development of *Kaupapa Taiao* (1996) – an environmental policy statement – to inform and guide their relationships with the government and other external parties wishing to intervene in some of the natural resources within their rohe (territorial area of influence) (Plate 1.1).<sup>5</sup>

### PLATE 1.1 The Tribal Domain of Ngāti Hauiti



Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti (2011).

<sup>5</sup> This information was provided by two prominent iwi members as we were collectively preparing to meet with a Canadian researcher who wished to also work with Ngāti Hauiti (Potaka U. and Lomax N., 2 June 2006, pers. comm.).

Initial contact with members of Ngāti Hauiti occurred in 1996 when my co-researcher (fiancé and the eventual audiovisual ethnographic specialist on the project with Ngāti Hauiti) Geoff Hume-Cook and I were undertaking consultancy research in the Rangitīkei district for the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF).<sup>6</sup> As a result of our conversations about iwi development with members of the two resident iwi in the district – Ngāti Hauiti and Te Iwi o Ngāti Whitikaupeka – we worked together to apply for research funding in my name from Victoria University of Wellington for a project provisionally titled: “Reinventing Rural Communities: An investigation into relationships between place, identity and social cohesion within remote rural communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand”. Successful in our efforts, I was awarded NZ\$50,000 as Principal Investigator. In 1997, we returned to the iwi representatives we had met in 1996 and invited them to collaborate with us, stressing that we would establish the project’s principles, aims and design together and ensure all aspects were negotiated in culturally-appropriate ways.<sup>7</sup>

The approach informing our work was that of Participatory Action Research (PAR) which sought to undertake research *with* and *for*, rather than *on* participants (Pratt 2000; Kindon *et al.*, 2007). It was informed by our desire to do research differently in ways that integrated theory and practice, avoided essentialism and challenged oppressions. PAR involves a number of stages through which researcher and research participants work together to define, address and reconsider the issues facing them (Parkes and Panelli 2001). Such issues commonly include the lack of access to information or resources, the threat of removal of services or subsidies, or the need to respond to and mitigate further unanticipated events. The emphasis on this iterative cycle of action-reflection is one of the key distinguishing features of PAR (see Box 1.1).

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<sup>6</sup> The consulting contract focused on the social sustainability of rural farm families and Geoff and I were subcontracted to Business and Economic Research Limited, Wellington. For more details see Hume-Cook and Kindon (1997).

<sup>7</sup> Appendix A contains the information pack/project proposal Geoff and I presented to members of the iwi in early 1998. It provides a useful insight into our thinking at the time about how the project might work.

Specifically, we were keen to develop an innovative methodology adapted from applied community development practice involving a range of participatory methods for learning and action collectively known as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Appendix B) and video. I was familiar with PRA from previous research in Indonesia and video was a central focus of the methodology because iwi members expressed a strong interest in learning video skills, which Geoff was able to provide.

Available literature around that time indicated that participatory video (PV) – as the integration of video into PRA activities – was perceived to be an effective way of reaching and including those traditionally deemed to be lacking a voice in community development, as a means of increasing equitable outcomes (Braden and Mayo 1999; de Waal 1999; Kidd 1994; Matewa 2000; Ruiz 1994; Sateesh 1999; Tivell 1999; Zamaere 2000). It was also promoted as a vehicle for processes of public consultation, advocacy, community mobilisation and policy dialogue and to communicate the outcomes of PD processes within and between communities or to funding agencies (Braden 1998; Johansson *et al.*, 1999; Mayer 2000; Taylor 1993; Van Vlaenderen 1999).

### **Box 1.1. Key Phases of a Participatory Action Research Process**

#### ***Getting Started***

- Assess information sources.
- Scope problems and issues.
- Initiate contact with Researched Group (RG) and other stakeholders.
- Seek common understanding about perceived problems and issues.
- Establish a mutually agreeable and realistic timeframe.
- Establish a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU).

#### ***Reflection***

- On problem formulation, power relations, knowledge construction process.

#### ***Building Partnerships***

- Build relationships and negotiate ethics, roles and representation with RG and other stakeholders.
- Establish team of co-researchers from members of RG.
- Gain access to relevant data and information using appropriate techniques.
- Develop shared understanding about problems and issues.
- Design shared plans for research and action.

#### ***Reflection***

- Reformulation, reassessment of problems, issues, information requirements.

#### ***Working Together***

- Implement specific collaborative research projects.
- Establish ways of involving others and disseminating information.

#### ***Reflection***

- Evaluation, feedback, re-participation, re-planning for future iterations.

#### ***Looking Ahead***

- Options for further cycles of participation, research and action with or without researcher involvement.

(Sources: Parkes and Panelli 2001; Reason 1994; Thomas-Slayter 1995.)

As a methodological process PV was said to involve:

a scriptless video process, directed by a group of grassroots people,<sup>8</sup> moving forward in iterative cycles of shooting-reviewing. This process aims at creating video narratives that communicate what those who participate in the process really want to communicate, in a way they think is appropriate (Johansson *et al.*, 1999: 35).

In addition, PV was regarded as an effective tool for participatory research (Frost and Jones 1998; Mayer 2000). As Lars Johansson *et al.*, (1999: 36) commented, they:

cannot imagine a more effective method to quickly comprehend the often-complex perceptions and discourses of local people than to produce, watch, discuss and analyse PV material together with them.

Within Ngāti Hauiti kaumātua (elders) were keen to develop their members' capacity to use video for recording tribal history and research purposes. As such, they had a different orientation to the use of video from the 'problem-and-action focus' usually driving PV within the community development initiatives referred to above. As introduced earlier, the use of video within the project with Ngāti Hauiti was therefore what I have chosen to term 'Participatory Video for Research' (PVR), as the research component was central.

Most of 1998 was devoted to establishing collaborative relationships between members of Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti;<sup>9</sup> myself as the Project's Principal Investigator and representative of the Institute of Geography, VUW, and

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<sup>8</sup> This term referring to non-academics involved in project interventions reflects dominant thinking in international development discourse within which participatory video has mostly been practised. These aspects are discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>9</sup> For the period of fieldwork, a geography Masters student – Ben Hyslop – was also involved, but he later withdrew from academic study.

Geoff, as the project's audiovisual ethnographic specialist and video trainer representing his production company at the time, Encantado Communications Ltd. We also used this time to define the project's specific focus and kaupapa (orientation). A Working Party of four iwi members oversaw the entire project process. Collectively we negotiated ownership of results (transcripts, videos and publications produced) and gave the project a name in te reo Māori (the Māori language): Te Whakaohotanga o Ngāti Hauiti (The Reawakening of Ngāti Hauiti).

All negotiations and decisions were documented in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), which was signed in January 1999, before the start of community-based research with other members of the iwi. This document (Appendix C) specifies the relationships between all parties involved, the principles upon which our relationships are based, our rights and access to each other's information and the knowledge generated, as well as our rights associated with the presentation and publication of information arising from the project. It acts as the central responsibility structure of the project (McClellan *et al.*, 1997: 12) and embodies power-sharing as advocated by Māori, feminist and other post-positivist researchers (Bishop and Glynn 1999).

At the end of the project when analysis is complete, this thesis along with all video footage, research reports and academic papers will be lodged with Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti to become a resource for ongoing iwi development. The return of all audiovisual material to Ngāti Hauiti at the end of the project is an important one because, as Hannah Frith and colleagues (Frith *et al.*, 2005: 195) have indicated:

once visual materials are published and become part of the visual domain they can be reproduced and used in a variety of different ways, which are well beyond the control of either the researcher or the research participants depicted in the images.

Similar concerns exist in relation to the potential circulation and use of the audiovisual and written material contained in this thesis, especially since these are now digitally available worldwide and because the precise focus of this thesis was not agreed on explicitly at the outset of the project, but emerged seven years after the period of funded fieldwork had come to an end and after I read Kapoor's 2005 article on complicity. As a result, I sought advice about whether I needed to revisit iwi members to gain additional ethical approval to use their images and words in my work. Advice gained from Waikato University representatives was that my use of information for this thesis was covered by the provisions and understandings represented in the original MoU. This understanding was also supported and endorsed by members of Ngāti Hauiti.

Parallel to the development of the research focus and the MoU, video and research training activities took place with a fluctuating group of between seven and 15 people. Of this group, seven formed the Community Video Research Team (CVRT). They participated in 15 sessions (about 60 hours) of training in video production, which covered basic principles of audiovisual language, camera movements and shots, lighting, sound, direction and editing. The team covered both mainstream and critical perspectives associated with the use of the medium and sessions involved hands-on group work and practice with the camera equipment, lights and editing system. This CVRT were also involved in three sessions (about nine hours) on community research and interviewing focusing on issues of ethics, and the phrasing of questions and structure of interviews through exercises and role-plays. Throughout these training sessions, while skills were transferred and community capacity was built, information was also generated about the iwi and people's relationships with each other and the iwi's rohe (territorial area of influence).

Given the project's focus on relationships between place, identity and social cohesion, the CVRT brainstormed possible research and video topics. From the list of topics generated, they decided to focus on wāhi tapu (significant places) in the rohe as the subject for their training video. They recorded their

own stories and memories about these places before going out on location to capture relevant images. The process involved considerable teamwork, travel and the involvement of a kuia (respected older woman) who appeared in the video. It also involved editing the images to a waiata (song). Next, upon the request of two men within the Rūnanga, video interviews were carried out with 14 people living in one township in the rohe to find out more about their relationships to the township, the wider rohe and their community ties and activities, including their participation or otherwise in iwi affairs and events. After the interviews were complete, all videotapes and transcripts were returned and edited by the interviewees before they were used in any analysis.<sup>10</sup> Information from these interviews was later presented and triangulated at a community meeting using participatory techniques, which included a participatory mapping exercise of Utiku township and its inhabitants and significant features (see Chapter 7).

After the video interviews, there was a major event within the iwi: the inaugural five-day waka hoe, or awa hīkoi (river journey) as it is also known, along the Rangitīkei River. It involved 25 people from around the country in collective activities both on and off the river including the study of whakapapa and wāhi tapu along the way. While not initially part of the research activities negotiated with the CVRT, senior members of the Rūnanga requested that as ‘outside’ researchers (myself, Geoff and Ben), we record the event. The process involved ‘filming’ the group’s passage along the river, the oratory of the kaumātua, and the campsite activities. We also conducted video interviews with participants, when possible, to augment and triangulate other information gathered.

Since the awa hīkoi, project activities have included the analysis and dissemination of information about the research process and its products through presentations and screenings at iwi gatherings, research seminars and conferences.<sup>11</sup> We continue to collaborate on the production of an oral history

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<sup>10</sup> Interviewees were also given a copy of the video-interview recording for their own use.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix D provides a list of all presentations and publications arising from the project to date.

archive associated with the awa hīkoi and are completing the editing of a feature-length documentary about it for tribal research purposes in 2011.<sup>12</sup>

### **1.3 Thesis Orientation and Approach**

As a social geographer working with Indigenous people, a particular range of discourses and their associated practices inform my work. Dominant influences have been the discourses of PD, PAR and Indigenous (including Māori) research. These have been infused with feminist, post-colonial and post-structuralist theories as well as debates within visual ethnography, Indigenous media and an emerging body of work in participatory geographies.

Within current debates about PD and PAR worldwide, there are two main strands. One is concerned with ‘First’ – ‘Third World’ relations as they manifest primarily through development aid interventions. The other is concerned with the adaptation and development of participatory approaches within the context of ‘First World’ communities feeding into local government policy and planning. In both, the emphasis is on the participation of communities for social and environmental change, with varying degrees of emphasis being placed upon the community ownership and direction of that change (Kindon *et al.*, 2007). There has been concurrent attention paid to methodological innovations (particularly involving a shift towards visual techniques) and the role of facilitators in their effective implementation. The result has been a burgeoning literature of methodological tool kits and field manuals (Kumar 2002; Narayan and Srinivansan 1994; Pretty *et al.*, 2005; Slocum *et al.*, 1995).

Within this discourse, attention to and insights from, work within Indigenous and aboriginal communities in the so-called ‘Fourth World’ is marginal to these two strands, as is a critical re-evaluation of the role of the visual within participatory methodologies. Within this thesis, the integration of politics and

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<sup>12</sup> Appendix E includes a timeline of project and related activities.

praxis at the heart of Indigenous methodologies, including Kaupapa Māori research (Smith, L. 1999), provides a valuable means of bridging some of the tensions inherent within participatory development as both means and ends (Parfitt 2004). Explicit consideration of the use of PVR offers an opportunity to draw on work in Indigenous media to question the possible empire building effects of visual technologies within participatory research more generally. Furthermore, the focus on PVR within a post-colonising context such as Aotearoa enables questions to be raised about the visual's transformative potential within academic research, and the implications of working through the use of a visual medium for rethinking our disciplinary practices and knowledges (Pink 2007a).

Given my interest in hyper-self-reflexivity and the play of power, complicity and desire within this project with Ngāti Hauiti, it is perhaps not surprising that I have adopted an autoethnographic approach to the analysis for, and writing of, this thesis. Defined most simply, “autoethnography might be perceived as a first-person account of the research experience by the author to disrupt the dichotomy of self and other and to trouble conventions of representing culture” (Childers 2008: 300). As Deborah Reed-Danahay (1997: 2) has acknowledged, the ramifications of this commitment are quite profound:

The concept of autoethnography ... reflects a changing conception of both the self and society in the late twentieth century. It synthesizes both a postmodern ethnography, in which the realist conventions and objective observer position of standard ethnography have been called into question, and a postmodern autobiography, in which the notion of a coherent, individual self has been similarly called into question. The term has a double sense – referring whether to the ethnography of one's own group or to the autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest. Either a self (auto)ethnography or an autobiographical (auto)ethnography can be signaled by ‘autoethnography’.

For the purposes of this thesis I have adopted an autobiographical (auto)ethnographic approach, although given the collaborative nature of PAR work, such a definition is problematic (see also Section 1.4). My reflections and analysis inevitably involve my research partners and focus on our group's existence and history, so distinctions become blurred once more. This said, the approach complements PAR because it encourages me as the author to use my own experiences as a means of reflexively looking at self – other interactions. Moreover, such reflexive ethnography (as it is also commonly known) has within it a desire to generate change and “challenges accepted views about silent authorship” and the dominant realist representations of empirical research (Holt 2003: 2-3).

Such an inside perspective is challenging as John Hailey (2001: 98) has remarked, “researchers are frequently immersed in the very same discourses they are trying to uncover, as well as being involved in the detailed surveillance of all texts, conversations and actions, while still attempting to interpret meaning and apply judgment”. This observation certainly applies to my situation, but I have chosen to experiment with this approach because of my political commitment to confront “dominant forms of representation and power in an attempt to reclaim, through self-reflexive response, representational spaces that have marginalized those ... at the borders” (Tierney 1998, cited in Holt 2003: 6).

According to Pink (2001), the approach I have adopted to the analysis of the project's audiovisual texts could be seen as a ‘reflexive’ approach to the visual in geographic research. Opposing the dominant scientific realist approach in most social science disciplines, the reflexive approach recognises that the audiovisual has a contribution to make beyond its use as a recording method and support for word-based disciplines (Pink 2001). It is also a means of reflecting the interactive and dialogic process inherent within the project and its ongoing relationships.

In particular, I pay attention to the ways in which use of video was psychically and politically conditioned by the wider participatory research

and development regime of which it was a part, as well as more localised discourses associated with race relations, Indigenous research and decolonisation. As such then, my research questions seek to go beyond the “methodological revisionism” which has been prevalent within PD discourse (Cooke and Kothari 2001: 5-7) to engage the less palatable dimensions of participatory practice and ‘own up’ to a range of complicities within my own work (see Kapoor 2005).

That said, I also excavate those moments when using visual participatory methods and video offered potential for the kinds of resistance and transformative engagements with modern thought, culture and society, self-identity and memory, and social science that Pink (2007a) suggests are possible. In doing so I recognise that whatever desires I had, these were open to destabilisation and subversion by members of Ngāti Hauiti and Geoff as active collaborators in the process (see also Williams, G. 2004a, 2004b). I therefore actively seek out those moments of contestation, negotiation or amendment as these pertain to the negotiation of power and empire within the project.

Finally, given the recent critiques of participation within PD, and its almost simultaneous arrival within geography (Pain and Kindon 2007), I use this thesis as a means of contemplating the implications for the repoliticisation of participatory discourse in social geography.

## **1.4 Writing and Representation**

In light of the kaupapa of the project and our PAR orientation, I considered the role that my research partners (Ngāti Hauiti and Geoff) might play in this thesis. There are many examples – particularly within education – of PAR PhDs which do involve research collaborators in an ongoing discussion with the academic researcher as s/he is engaged in the ‘writing-in’ (Mansvelt and Berg 2010: 342) of his/her thesis, further destabilising ‘normal’ institutional

practices (Cahill and Torre 2007; Domosh 2003; mrs c kinpaisby-hill 2008).<sup>13</sup> I decided against this process, however, because the thesis was borne out of my concerns and preoccupations, rather than theirs and their greater involvement would inevitably lead to the exploration of different research questions to the ones I explore here.

What I did do to honour the terms of our MoU, the significance of our ongoing relationships and to practice a form of inter-personal reflexivity (Nicholls 2009) was seek responses to an earlier thesis draft from eight iwi members involved in various capacities as part of the CVRT, the Working Party overseeing the project, and the Rūnanga. I also sought Geoff's feedback as my most trusted research colleague and the project's audiovisual specialist and trainer.<sup>14</sup> I have, where possible, incorporated everyone's feedback and suggestions if changes were indicated. In some cases, this has meant altering what I initially wrote. In other cases, I have retained my original thoughts and incorporated specific individuals' comments alongside my own.

At this juncture, I also think it appropriate to raise the spectre of Geoff's 'absent presence' in this thesis. Researchers have increasingly written about aspects of being accompanied in the field (Butler and Turner 1987; Cupples and Kindon 2003; Flinn *et al.*, 1998; Oboler 1986), but I have not read any *one* work which analytically reflects on the challenges of occupying and negotiating multiple subject positions and relationships with one's intimate partner as co-researcher, employee and technical support person in participatory work. The relationships informing this thesis have therefore been of a different order of complexity and magnitude to many discussed in existing literature and deserve a little elaboration here.

First, Geoff and I were intimate partners – engaged to be married – prior to the start of the project with Ngāti Hauiti in 1998, having met at a University

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<sup>13</sup> For example see Burgess (2006); Gibbon (2002); and Maguire (1993, 1997). The journal *Action Research* frequently publishes articles from such theses. There are also books discussing how to go about a participatory or action research thesis (Herr and Anderson 2005; McNiff and Whitehead 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Outside of the project, I sought feedback from a VUW geography colleague with expertise in Participatory Geographic Information Systems (PYGIS).

of Melbourne-hosted ‘Decolonising Knowledges Summer School’ in late 1994. After Geoff had left his native Australia to come and live with me in Wellington in 1996 we carried out research in the Rangitūkei for MAF and initiated relationships with the resident iwi as noted earlier. Upon receiving VUW funding in 1998, I was then in a position – via a tendering process – to be able to hire Geoff as the project’s audiovisual ethnographic specialist and video trainer becoming his employer in the eyes of my own institutional employer. In reality, however, he was also effectively the (invisible) co-deviser of the project and the visible co-researcher with Ngāti Hauiti offering the highly desirable skill set and knowledge of video production. In 2000 – in the middle of the period under scrutiny in this thesis – we got married in a ceremony in the iwi rohe, to which many of the iwi were invited.

As such then, throughout the development and ongoing activities of the project with members of Ngāti Hauiti, as well as through the writing of this thesis, Geoff and my personal and professional knowledges have been intimately intertwined. It has been difficult at times to separate out the ‘I’ of Sara Kindon from the ‘we’ of ‘Sara and Geoff’, especially in relation to events, decisions and actions which took place in the project context many years ago.

The messiness of this situation has inevitably contributed to the length of time it has taken me to write this piece of work. Yet, I have felt compelled to write the thesis I have, in the way that I have, because there were certain questions about the wielding and yeilding of power within cross-cultural research contexts that I wanted to try and answer; and, in part, because of the institutional and disciplinary requirements for me to produce a sole-authored work.

In what follows, therefore, I have done my best to articulate clearly what I think ‘belongs’ rightly and appropriately to me and my experience, while simultaneously accepting that everything I write is inevitably the product of the relationships I had at the time – particularly with Geoff – and how they

have developed in the intervening years since the incidents discussed here happened.

While the ‘I’ or ‘my’ represented here is therefore porous, mutable and shifting, for the purposes of writing and advancing the theoretical and methodological arguments in this thesis, I have endeavoured to adopt a more bounded and coherent ‘self’. In some places this has been more straightforward than others – notably in Chapter 6, where I focus in detail on my own words and actions as facilitator of a project meeting.<sup>15</sup> In Chapters 7 and 8, the task was more challenging as the intersubjective nature of our combined process was more apparent.

Thus, I want to acknowledge at the outset that Geoff is inevitably implicated in the excavations of ‘my’ complicity associated with my interactions with members of Ngāti Hauiti throughout this thesis, but that my relationships with him or his role in my actions are not subjected to the same excavation I apply to myself. The complexity of attempting to write these dimensions in, along with the aspects I do attend to, was beyond the scope of this particular piece of work.

The thesis, therefore, speaks into current bodies of work which privilege the notion of an ‘individual researcher’ or teams of professionally-associated researchers within cross-cultural relationships, and as a result inevitably privileges aspects of ‘race’, class and urbanity, above the more intimate and potentially destabilising aspects of my gendered and sexual relationships with Geoff, which inevitably also infused my (and our) work with members of Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti.

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<sup>15</sup> Although even here, I am aware that my ‘self’ focus has only been possible because of how Geoff chose to record me on videotape, and so I am still, in effect, engaging with myself through how he framed and positioned me in the camera at the time the recording was made.

## 1.5 Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of nine chapters. This chapter has provided an introduction to the central research questions motivating this thesis and the key ideas and concepts with which I seek to engage. It has also outlined the context, focus and ethical considerations informing the project that is the source of empirical material for my inquiry. I also briefly described my theoretical orientation and methodological approach, as well as the direction I've taken to writing and representation in the thesis.

Following this chapter, **Chapter 2** positions the research in relation to participatory development and social geography. In it, I present a critical review of the rise and 'fall' of participation within international development theory and practice, and its recent ascendance within academic research, particularly in social geography in the form of PAR. I highlight concerns about participation's use of facilitators, visual methods and group work to foreground issues associated with its 'tyrannical' deployment of power, and consider what might be gained from attention to the intersections of participatory research and development and the emergence of Indigenous methodologies. I also note recent calls for participation's repoliticisation through a return to the orientation and values inherent within PAR.

In **Chapter 3** I review the increasing uses of video as a research tool within geography and other disciplines, focusing particularly on the recent rise of PV within a research context. I provide definitions for PV and identify three main uses internationally. I briefly review the historical origins of participatory video from within development, academic and Indigenous contexts. I then outline the somewhat different orientation developed in this project – what I have chosen to call Participatory Video for Research (PVR). I argue that if there is to be a repoliticisation of participatory discourse within social geography through increased use of audiovisual ways of working then Indigenous critiques must be taken much more seriously.

**Chapter 4** outlines the epistemological orientation within which I have chosen to frame and carry out the research for this thesis. The chapter engages specifically with the value and limitations of Kapoor's (2005) recent criticisms of PD and the aspects of postcolonial and psychoanalytic theory informing his work. I expand on his largely discursive approach by arguing the importance of materialising, corporealising and spatialising any excavation of power, complicity and desire. I also call attention to the limits of his pessimistic interpretations, by including an orientation to complicity as productive and necessary. Both aspects are important in efforts to grapple with the often paradoxical, messy and unpredictable aspects of participatory research.

In **Chapter 5** I discuss the practice and value of practitioner or autoethnographic research for geographers and link this with wider ethical debates within geography and participatory development associated with reflexivity. I explain how I have developed my hyper-self-reflexive approach to tracing complicity through a number of information sources associated with a range of key incidents in my practice. I outline my particular reading position which attempts to grapple productively with the polyvalent nature of my audiovisual and other information sources and attend to issues of ethics and representation associated with research partners in Ngāti Hauiti.

In **Chapter 6** I pay close attention to my subject position as facilitator and my use of particular techniques and methods. I explore myself and my performances in relation to Kapoor's criticisms of complicity within participatory research and the power invested in and exercised by facilitators. I also pay close attention to moments when my role as facilitator could be seen as tyrannical (Cooke and Kothari 2001) and contemplate the effects that this had in terms of perpetuating empire. I also explore moments where, through my facilitation, researcher – research subject relations were destabilised and participants from Ngāti Hauiti exercised their agency to resist my impositions.

**Chapter 7** argues that while many geographers engaging in participatory research are apparently open to scrutinising their own practice through explorations of how subjectivity, individual experience and negotiation with participants figure in the production of knowledge, few engage with how these explorations relate to the transformative potential of the visual for their research and its representation (Pink 2001). Such an absence is notable given participatory research's visual orientation and its emphasis on group work. In this chapter, I reflect on how the use of community mapping and 'filming' using video within the participatory research process both enabled the explicit negotiation of power, and reproduced and reinforced moments of dominance, control and manipulation.

In **Chapter 8**, I focus on the politics of reception working through key incidents from five presentations associated with the project with Ngāti Hauiti to excavate (Kapoor 2005) how power, complicity and desire both enabled and constrained the performance of particular subjectivities and how these subjectivities were contingent and shifting in relation to the use of video technology within different spaces associated with the research project. In particular, I consider the politics and effects associated with showing video clips or edited videos from the project to different audiences in different institutional spaces. I pay attention to the politics of reading and consumption of audiovisual texts to raise questions about the ethics and implications involved when PV products 'travel' in time and space.

**Chapter 9** returns to the central research questions posed at the start of this thesis. In response to them, I argue that while my experience of working with PVR at particular moments reconfigured power and value systems in ways that may have been exclusionary, if not tyrannical, there were also many instances of resistance, redeployment and transformation. I reflect on the value and limitations of the hyper-self-reflexive approach I adopted to the excavation of my complicity in the project with Ngāti Hauiti and argue that the active and ongoing process of 'thinking-through-complicity' offers a valuable contribution to the repoliticisation of participatory discourse within social geography. At the end of the thesis, I suggest how thinking through the

contours of my research may inform future research horizons for critical PVR as a means of decolonising the production of geographic knowledge.

# CHAPTER 2. PARTICIPATION, INDIGENOUS RESEARCH AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY<sup>16</sup>

## 2.1 Introduction

Participation can be thought of as a process through which academics, researchers and development practitioners engage people effectively and ethically in analysing structures, spaces, and decisions that affect their lives, working with them to achieve equitable and sustainable outcomes on their own terms. As both process and product, it connects intimately with social geography's focus on "the recognition and critique of social difference and the power relations that this involves" (Panelli 2004: xii). It also includes contesting dominant modes of academic enquiry and development practice.

For about 15 years, the discourse of participation has been both in vogue and in crisis. The interest in participation and use of participatory approaches within social geography has been growing enthusiastically (Breitbart 2003; Kindon *et al.*, 2007; Pain 2003, 2004; Pain and Kindon 2007; Kindon 2010; mrs c kinpaisby-hill 2011). This enthusiasm has been spurred on by academics concerned with the crisis of representation, questions about the 'relevance' of geography and growing unease about the corporatisation of higher education under neoliberalism (Castree and Sparke 2000; Staeheli and Mitchell 2005). It has also been a response to feminist, indigenous and community-level critiques arguing for greater democratisation of the research process, and calls to widen participation of non-mainstream epistemes within the academy (Kuokkanen 2004; Rose 1993; Smith, L. 1999). The use of participation in research can also be connected to various shifts in 'best teaching practice' that have emphasised community research-based teaching (Kindon and Elwood 2009; Savin-Baden and Wimpenny 2007). And lastly,

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<sup>16</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was published as Kindon 2010.

changes in priorities for research funding have stressed the importance of participation by emphasising the need for research to involve collaborative partnerships or to be policy and end-user driven (Cottrell and Parpart 2006; Taylor and Fransman 2003).

At the same time, concern has been mounting about how the newfound status of participation may effectively mask business as usual; strengthening hierarchical and elite forms of knowledge production rather than achieving its aim of opening them up to wider community priorities and accountability. At the centre of ongoing tensions about participation is the concern that it has been de-radicalised through its incorporation into mainstream research and practice, and its ascendance to hegemonic status within policy circles. Moreover, there is disquiet about how techniques often used within participatory work may actually produce the particular forms of knowledge desired by those in control of their use (Sanderson and Kindon 2004), and result in a kind of tyranny frequently replicating or worsening the very inequalities they sought to challenge because, as Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (2001:11) have noted, “[p]articipation is always constrained, and hides and at the same time perpetuates certain sets of power relations”.

There have been various moves to recuperate the benefits of participation and to acknowledge that participation – as a practice of power – can have both negative and positive effects (see for example, Hickey and Mohan 2004; Kesby 2007a). How and where participation is performed, and by whom with what effects, constitute important geographies worthy of consideration (Pain and Kindon 2007). Further, in an effort to reclaim participation, Giles Mohan (2001) and others (see for example, Cameron and Gibson 2005; Chatterton *et al.*, 2007; Kapoor 2005; Kindon *et al.*, 2007) propose a need to reengage Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR is a radical, yet still marginal approach to research, which has conscientisation and positive change at its core (Fals-Borda 2006a; Kindon *et al.*, 2009). It goes far beyond the application of participatory techniques (Kesby *et al.*, 2005).

Participation therefore offers an exciting, if not entirely unproblematic, means through which social geographers can deepen understandings of the social relations informing and being constituted by spatial difference, and simultaneously contribute to social action aimed at increasing social justice and wellbeing (see Box 2.1).

### **Box 2.1 The Value & Use of Participatory Research & Development**

Participation ideally seeks to facilitate “people in the processes of learning about their needs and opportunities, and in the *action* required to address them” [italics in the original] (*PLA Notes* 2003: i).

Specifically, it seeks to:

- a) make research and data collection more people-centered and democratic through negotiation, reciprocity and the development of research capacity and common goals;
- b) lessen hierarchies between researchers/facilitators and participants by fostering collaborative and emotional relationships to occur;
- c) provide accurate and reliable data using ethical and inclusive approaches (as opposed to ‘traditional’ extractive approaches to social science and anthropological research);
- d) develop processes through which people can more easily and equitably influence the agenda and outcomes of social research and development (Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Shaw 1995); and
- e) facilitate the expression and negotiation of social difference (between researchers/facilitators and participants, between and among participants, and between participants and other members of society or institutions).

This way of working usually takes place through the use of innovative visual and projective methods, and lots of talking! The benefits of such an approach include effecting meaningful change at a rate and scale that those involved can support through the:

- retrieval and sharing of social histories and personal stories normally absent from mainstream media and archives;
- challenge of stereotypes (of identity and of places);
- generation of possibilities for alternative or self-representation (by increasing people’s narrative authority); and
- use of these alternative representations to mobilise for change and a redistribution of resources.

(Source: Kindon 2010: 518)

In this chapter, I critically appraise participation’s relationship to social geography. In what follows, I review the recent rise and ‘fall’ of participation – particularly in ‘Third World development’ contexts, and in relation to the

rise of Indigenous research worldwide. I conclude by considering what some of the critiques imply for the practice of participation within academic research.

## **2.2 Participation's Rise**

The concept of participation points ... both to new forms of engagement with ... projects and to new benefits from such projects (Jupp 2007: 2832-33).

### **2.2.1 Participation in Research and Development Projects, versus Participatory Research and Development**

Within the field of international development, where the issue of participation first rose to prominence, much confusion exists about what the term means, how it is best practiced and whether it is a means towards an end, or should be an end in itself (Williams, G. 2004b). In a helpful review, Rosemary McGee (2002) differentiates between *participation in* development and *participatory* development. In simple terms, these can be viewed as 'top-down' versus 'ground-up' participation. In both participation in development and participatory development, participation may be sporadic, piecemeal and reinforce social hierarchies. Equally, and perhaps somewhat paradoxically, participation may promote new forms of social organisation, democratise decision-making and resource allocation, and mobilise people across personal differences and spatial scales.

People's *participation in* government and donor agency development plans and schemes is not new (Cornwall 2006). There are many examples of large-scale schemes within the colonial era associated with land-reform, education and taxation for example, which involved institutionalised processes of participation aimed at mobilising people's labour and resources to achieve the political aims of ruling elites (Chambers 1983). Currently, governments all

over the world are seeking greater participation of citizens, partly out of a desire to deliver development more efficiently, and partly in response to calls from civil society for greater accountability and transparency (Gaventa 2004). Processes such as participatory appraisal, stakeholder analysis and community forums are a common feature of attempts by local and regional government to engage their 'clients' and 'end-users' in policy and planning decisions that will affect their lives, and are often a requirement of international aid funding regimes. This form of participation is also most evident within programmes administered by the World Bank and Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, as well as other major donor organisations.

More radical ideas about participation as *participatory development* have been in circulation since the 1960s, arising out of ground-up political and social movements in both majority and minority worlds associated with feminism, environmentalism, anti-US imperialism, anti-racism, and post-colonialism. Within these more radical contexts, participation has been about people's conscious efforts to seek solutions to their own problems in locally-appropriate ways (Cornwall 2006; Miller 2008, pers. comm.). Increasingly, through non-governmental organisations and alliances with academic researchers, participation is closely aligned with advocacy and human rights agendas seeking social wellbeing and economic justice. In this context processes tend to be more organic, even haphazard. They rely on dialogue, alliance-building and other forms of solidarity, and activist-oriented change (Chatterton *et al.*, 2007). It is this understanding of participation that I have sought to work within my own practice since 1990.

By the early 1980s, participatory development involved a number of approaches developed by some Indian and African non-governmental organisations. Drawing on applied anthropology, agricultural extension and Participatory Action Research, approaches such as Rapid/Relaxed Rural Appraisal (RRA), then Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA) were developed. These approaches – under their combined acronym PLA (Participatory Learning and Action) – now

commonly involve a sequence of applied research techniques such as interviewing, participatory mapping, participatory diagramming, ranking and scoring chosen from a wide ‘tool-kit’ (for example Kumar 2002; Appendix B). These techniques are used to explore community development issues with participants so that they can develop a plan of action to address them. The techniques emphasise shared knowledge, shared learning, and flexible yet structured collaborative analysis (*PLA Notes* 2003) and, in theory, are adapted to the specific geographical and cultural contexts in which they are being used.

Within social geography research, these participatory techniques have been used in both ‘First’ and ‘Third World’ contexts to support groups traditionally marginalised by: disability (Chouinard 2000; Kitchin 2001), class (Fuller *et al.*, 2003), violence (Moser and McIlwaine 1999), gender and sexuality (Cieri 2003; Kesby 2000a), age and ethnicity (Cahill 2004; Cahill *et al.*, 2004; Cahill 2007a, 2007b, 2007c; Cahill *et al.*, 2008a), housing status (Pain and Francis 2003) and indigeneity (Kindon 2003; Smith, D. 2003). And, as Mike Kesby (2000b: 432) has argued, the wider adoption of participatory techniques in research is highly appropriate because of their scientific rigour and ability to “facilitate *in practice* participants’ own deconstruction/reconstruction of the categories and meanings that structure their lives” [*italics in original*].

In many respects, the use of these techniques has furthered the goals of social geography by providing new and exciting ways to build on the work of geographers such as Richard Peet (1969, 1977) and David Harvey (1972, 1973, 1974). Forty years ago, they argued for geographers to draw on radical theories and politics rooted in anarchism, Marxism and other critical movements to help solve social problems rather than just studying them (see also Berry 1972; White 1972).

In addition, social geographers have begun to draw on and experiment with the long tradition of Participatory Action Research (PAR) because, as Mike Kesby, Rachel Pain and I caution elsewhere (Kesby *et al.*, 2005), the adoption

of *participatory techniques* does not in itself constitute *participatory research*. Increasingly, participatory techniques are added into research which otherwise constitutes ‘business as usual’. Yet, without the participatory epistemology offered by PAR, they are unlikely to meet social geography’s interests in increasing social wellbeing and social justice, and may actively further the depoliticisation of participation mentioned previously.

### **2.2.2 Participatory (Action) Research**

Participatory Action Research (PAR) aims to be valuable to, and result in positive change for, those involved (Cameron and Gibson 2005; Cooke 2001; Pratt 2000; Kindon *et al.*, 2009). Put simply, it involves academic researchers in research, education and socio-political action with members of community groups, such as Ngāti Hauiti, as co-researchers and decision makers in their own right (Hall 1981; McTaggart 1997; Thomas-Slayter 1995). This is because participatory action researchers believe people who have been systemically excluded, oppressed or marginalised have particular and invaluable insights and understandings about unjust social arrangements (Fine 2008). It is an approach which values the process as much as the product, so that the ‘success’ of PAR rests not only on the quality of information generated, but also on the extent to which skills, knowledge and participants’ capacities are developed (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995; Kesby *et al.*, 2005; Maguire 1997). In short, PAR is not conducted *on* a group, but *with them* to achieve change that *they* desire (Pratt 2000).

There are many variants of PAR. They have evolved in different places at different times since the 1940s, and they all share an emphasis on dialogue, collaborative knowledge production and iterative cycles of action and reflection (Kindon 2005; Parkes and Panelli 2001). There are also many interpretations of PAR’s origins and history (Brydon-Miller 2001; Brydon-Miller *et al.*, 2003; Brydon-Miller *et al.*, 2004; Fals-Borda 2006a, 2006b; Hall 2005; Kindon *et al.*, 2007; McTaggart 1997; Park *et al.*, 1993), however, at the risk of over-simplifying here, it seems that there are two key strands in the

development of PAR, which have become woven together in different ways over time.

First, Action Research (AR), which was coined by Kurt Lewin in the post-war USA to describe a research process in which:

theory would be developed and tested by practical interventions and action; [where] there would be consistency between project means and desired ends; and that ends and means [would be] grounded in guidelines established by the host community (Stull and Schensul 1987, cited in Fox 2003: 88).

Lewin (1946) argued that the best way to know about something was to try and change it. Thus, AR involves the systematic collection and analysis of information on a specific topic for the purposes of social change and action (Barnsley and Ellis 1992). It may not necessarily be participatory in terms of involving marginalised others, and is frequently used as a form of practitioner-based research to inform and improve professional practice. Its orientation reflects its evolution within a positivistic research paradigm, and it is sometimes viewed as a scientific method (Shani and Basuray 1988, cited in Gatenby and Humphries 1996).

Second, ten to 20 years later in the ‘Third World’, a number of approaches emerged which came to be known loosely as Participatory Research (PR). These approaches sought to find alternatives to the ongoing legacies of colonisation, the post-war imperialism of the USA, and the newly emerging international division of labour associated with export-oriented production, the anti-Vietnam war protest, and the failures of development and scientific academic research (Miller 2008, pers. comm.).

In Brazil, educator Paulo Freire (1970) worked with poor and marginalised groups to facilitate a process of conscientisation (*conscientizacao*) about the forces informing their lives, which could inform political action for change

(Reason 1994, cited in Gatenby and Humphries 2000).<sup>17</sup> A similar process was founded in Colombia by sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda, who sought to decolonise and democratise research and orient it towards locally-relevant emancipatory action and social change (Lykes 2001).

In Tanzania, Canadian adult educators and Tanzanian development professionals developed what they called ‘participatory research’ processes in their efforts to integrate the knowledge and expertise of community members into development projects (Hall 2005). In India, scholars like Rajesh Tandon developed a similar approach, which he called ‘Community-based Research’ (Hall 1997; see also Brown and Tandon 1983). Within the USA, Sol Tax and William Foote Whyte experimented with ‘action anthropology’, which enabled local people in the USA to voice their concerns without the influence or mediation of a so-called outside expert (Grillo 2002). John Gaventa, Peter Park and others worked closely with impoverished communities on aspects of land tenure in Appalachia through the Highlander Research Center (Park *et al.*, 1993).

PR in its various forms demonstrated a commitment to liberationist movements (Reason 1994), which assumed that participants “can ... learn and theorise from concrete experiences in their everyday lives [and are] autonomous, responsible agents who participate actively in making their own histories and conditions of life” (Gatenby and Humphries 1996: 79). It therefore reflected more humanistic and critical epistemological orientations than action research. Further, within the USA, Whyte (1991) argued that PR, unlike AR, did not have to result in any external action towards change. For others, the emphasis has been most definitely upon change through the active involvement of participants in collective and democratic investigation and analysis (Participatory Research Network 1982, cited in Gatenby and Humphries 1996). Consequently, there has been something of a debate about

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<sup>17</sup> Processes of conscientisation “lead to people’s awareness of structural causes of poverty and help build consensus and action based on individual creativity and knowledge” (Thomas-Slayter 1995: 11). Freire’s work was revolutionary at the time because of the links it made between participation, knowledge and power, and because of its emphasis on working with people who research their own lives as the starting point for political action and social change (Tandon 1981).

the place of ‘action’ within PR, and Orlando Fals-Borda (2006a) has argued that Participatory (Action) Research is perhaps a more appropriate label which can signify that PR is already inherently action-oriented through its central commitment to dialogue and conscientisation.

While these subtle differences in terminology and orientation persist, action and participatory research approaches tend to inform one another and are often blurred under the umbrella term: Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Kindon *et al.*, 2007). Through their dialogic processes and other discursive practices, these discourses of participation aim to enable people to critically reflect on their lives and then work towards change on their own terms.

### **2.2.3 Participation and Social Geography**

Given that there is wide alliance amongst social geographers with many of the aspects outlined in Box 2.1, it is somewhat surprising that geographers have been slow to pick up on the methodological developments discussed above (Breitbart 2003; Kindon 2003; Kindon *et al.*, 2007; Pain and Francis 2003; Pain and Kindon 2007; Kindon *et al.*, 2009; mrs c kinpaisby-hill 2011).<sup>18</sup> Only in the last ten to 12 years has a more visible body of geographers begun to use and adapt participatory approaches and methods within their work (see disciplinary progress reports by Pain 2003, 2004, 2006). So noticeable has this trend been that seven years ago, Duncan Fuller and Rob Kitchin (2004) suggested we were witnessing a ‘participatory turn’ in human geography, which sought in part to rematerialise geography after the impact of the earlier cultural turn (Naylor *et al.*, 2000).

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<sup>18</sup> The first conference sessions discussing participatory approaches within geographic research took place at the International Geographical Congress (IGC) Conference in Glasgow in 2004 and the Association of American Geographers Conference in 2005. In 2006, the Canadian Association of Geographers Conference and International Geographical Union (IGU) in Brisbane incorporated a number of sessions on participatory research in geography. Since then all major conferences have included participatory geography sessions. In 2008, the inaugural international conference of participatory geographies was held at Durham University UK involving delegates from Europe, the USA, Canada, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Also in 2008, the Participatory Geographies Working Group (established in 2005) achieved Research Group status within the Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers in the UK.

In particular, social geographers working with young people and children have responded enthusiastically to calls to make research more inclusive and useful (Smith, F. 2004) and have seen the benefits that participatory techniques can bring to the immediacy and creative play required when working with children (Aitken 2001; see also van Blerk and Kesby 2008). Working through schools, youth groups and community centres, as well as out on the streets, geographers have engaged participatory approaches and techniques to explore young people's relationships to, and experiences of, particular spaces, services and communities. Most energy has focused on children and young people's engagements with urban spaces, particularly in the 'First World' (for example, Cahill 2004, 2007c; Cahill *et al.*, 2004; Cahill *et al.*, 2008a; Cope 2009; Cope and Halfhill 2003; Fuller *et al.*, 2003; Hart 1997; Herman and Mattingley 1999; Leavitt *et al.*, 1998; Nairn *et al.*, 2003; Young 2003; Young and Barrett 2001). However, rural spaces and children's experiences of rurality have also received attention (Leyshon 2002; McCormack 2000; Matthews *et al.*, 2000; Nairn *et al.*, 2003; Pain *et al.*, 2010; Punch 2001).

For many social geographers, a motivation for using participatory approaches has been to address current inequalities and to effect positive change within children's and young people's lives. As a result their work has focused on young people's participation in, or exclusion from, social services (Matthews 1995; Pain 2003), their experiences and negotiation of crime and violence (Gaskell 2002; McIntyre 2003; Pain 2003; Pain and Francis 2003), their experiences of economic change (Cahill 2007c) and adult-organised groups (Juckes Maxey 2004).

Within these approaches, a range of participatory techniques has been adapted to enable children and young people to tell their own stories and represent their experiences as they 'see' them. In particular drawing (Askins and Pain 2011; Young and Barrett 2001), mapping (Pain 2003, Young and Barrett 2001), craft (Cope 2009), photography (Aitken and Wingate 1993; McIntyre 2003; Young and Barrett 2001) and video (Matthews *et al.*, 2000) have been used to stimulate interest and participation, as well as to effect change.

Frequently, the geographers engaged in these processes comment upon the ability of these techniques to ‘reveal’ the multiple childhoods that exist in any locale, and the implications that these have if the planning and provision of services are to be effective and equitable. They have also highlighted the agency of children and young people in negotiating their life-worlds and adult-imposed structures, as well as producing meaning from their own lived experiences.

To date, most of this work has focused on documenting and reflecting upon the role that participatory methods play in destabilising hierarchies in research relationships. While children may participate in data generation in collaborative and creative ways, they are not always involved in designing the research, choosing what methods to use, or in the analysis, dissemination and actions that might result from the research (Kesby 2007b). As such, much of this work reflects what I might call children’s ‘participation in research’ rather than ‘participatory research with, by and for children’ (drawing on the earlier discussion from McGee 2002 about development). Such work is valuable, but may not result in the longer-term or deeper changes that might be needed if children’s or young people’s voices, power and influence are to be increased in decisions that intimately affect their lives.<sup>19</sup>

Participatory approaches have also been popular with feminist social geographers. The work of Patricia Maguire (1987) and Maria Mies (1983) raised questions about the masculinist bias of much participatory research, as well as the need for greater attention to be paid to the gendered nature of research processes and outcomes. These ideas have reverberated within feminist geography (Monk and Hanson 1982; Rose 1993). Working in ‘Third World’ contexts, feminist geographers have employed participatory approaches as a means of valuing gendered forms of knowledge and experience, and of supporting more gender-informed development interventions. Their work has involved attention to agricultural practices and

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<sup>19</sup> Although see the work of Caitlin Cahill and the Fed Up Honeys for an excellent example of longer term participatory research with young ‘womyn of color’ in New York (Cahill *et al.*, 2004; Cahill *et al.*, 2008a).

ecological justice (Rocheleau 1991, 1994, 1995; Rocheleau and Ross 1995; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997); sustainable development planning (Kindon 1993, 1998, and see Box 2.3; Momsen 2003); the negotiation of urban violence (Moser and McIlwaine 1999); responses to domestic violence and reproductive health (Peake 2000); livelihood strategies of rainforest settlers (Townsend *et al.*, 1995); sexual health and the impacts of HIV/AIDS (Kesby 2004); popular theatre as a community development strategy (Farrow 1995); environmental education programmes (Shaw 1995); alternative conceptions and practices of economic development (Robinson *et al.*, 2004); and the interconnections between spiritual faith and development (Sanderson 2007, 2010).

Through this work, feminist geographers have highlighted the range and diversity of women's agency within unequal gendered relations at different scales, and raised questions about the current theorisation of, and practices associated with, international development and economic change. For example, in my own work with a women's cooperative in Costa Rica in 1990, my colleague and I used a feminist participatory research approach to inform locally-appropriate change and to speak back to unrealistic conceptions of women in Women in Development theory and policy (Box 2.2).

Important work has also been carried out with women and communities in the 'First World' contending with rapid social and economic change (Gibson-Graham 1994; Cameron and Gibson 2005; Reed 2000), facing adjustment to a new culture as a result of migration (Kobayashi 2002; Mountz *et al.*, 2008; Pratt 1998; Pratt *et al.*, 2007), and changing labour practices and rights (Moss 1995). Jan Monk and colleagues (Monk *et al.*, 2003) have also bridged 'First' and 'Third Worlds' through a participatory project involving university academics, women's and non-governmental organisations in the USA and Mexico.

## Box 2.2 Feminist Participatory Research in Costa Rica

For four months in 1990, Carol Odell and I lived and worked with the Women's Association of Acosta in central Costa Rica. A national women's facilitator who knew the group facilitated our entry. She wished to support their efforts in providing employment for women in the production of jam and fruit drinks.

Through our work we adopted Maria Mies' (1983) approach of conscious partiality (rather than objective neutrality), a commitment to supporting an ongoing movement, and a process of research as conscientisation (also see Freire 1970). Practically, this meant living and working with the women who asked us to carry out a survey of all 52 members, which could act as a planning tool and help them to establish more income-generating enterprises. We worked with the 40 or so unemployed members to develop key ideas to inform the interview-survey before visiting every member to apply it. We then presented and checked findings through a participatory workshop to which all members were invited, and produced a report in cartoon-format that could be read by those women with low literacy. We brought the national women's facilitator back to run capacity building workshops designed to support their ongoing efforts.

For the unemployed members in the organisation, our approach worked well. It provided a vehicle for their histories with the association, their concerns, needs and their aspirations. For those already in positions of power within the organisation, however, it was a different story. Our approach, while endorsed and supported, produced an analysis that was very threatening because it raised critical questions about power relations in the organisation. The findings also called into question common assumptions at the time about women's roles in development and that women would 'naturally' work cooperatively together.

(Source: Adapted from Kindon 2010: 524)

In addition to the rising interest in participatory approaches within social geography, there has also been some interest in the effectiveness of arts and participatory communication initiatives for supporting social justice objectives. Participatory communication involves situations where people are not just recipients and consumers of messages, but also creators and transmitters of their own messages to one another (Mda 1993). For example, social geographers have explored the effects of popular theatre (Pratt and Kirby 2003; Shaw 1995), community art (Rose 1997b, 1997c) in community development and activist initiatives. Increasingly geographers employing these techniques as part of their own research agendas (see Askins and Pain 2011; Nelson 2007; Tolia-Kelly 2007 for public art; Cieri and McCauley 2007; Herman and Mattingley 1999; Mattingley 2001 for popular theatre; Aitken and Wingate 1993; Krieg and Roberts 2007; Leavitt *et al.*, 1998;

Leyshon 2002; McIntyre 2003; Young and Barrett 2001 for (auto)photography). Elsewhere, geographers have adapted Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technologies to be more participatory in both 'First' and 'Third World' contexts (Craig *et al.*, 2002; Elwood 2004, Stocks 2003; Williams and Dunn 2003) and in some cases GIS have been combined with other tools from arts and popular culture to create multi-layered cognitive maps reflecting the experiences of usually marginalised groups (for example Cieri 2003).

While the fascination with and creative deployment of participatory approaches and techniques continues, geographers have begun to think more broadly about the implications of doing participation geographically (Cahill 2007d; Kesby 2005, 2007a; Kindon and Pain 2006). They are grappling with the unique contributions that geography might make to theorising participatory practice (see Cahill 2007a; the special issue edited by Pain and Kindon 2007; Mohan 2007), and how a commitment to a participatory epistemology may inform all our professional practices and not be confined to our field research (for example Kindon 2008a; mrs kinpaisby 2008).

### **2.3 Participation's 'Fall': Questions of Power**

Despite the many positive aspects of participation discussed to this point, it is also not without its critics:

This is the trouble with participation – it can be passive, consultative, bought, interactive or mobilizing. It depends on what we want from a situation. Most professional agencies would probably like to keep things at the consultative ends of the spectrum, as it means controlling power (Pretty 2003: 171).

The first main criticism of participation concerns its representation as a benevolent process full of liberatory potential, capable of reversing biases in

development and research practice (for example Chambers 1983, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c). With greater time and reflection, it has become clear that despite the best of intentions the dominant way in which participation is conceived and practised still configures power and value systems in ways that end up being exclusionary (Green 2010; Guijt and Shah 1998; Kapoor 2002a; Korf 2010; Mosse 1994).

The second main criticism is that while current forms of participation frequently claim to be radical, they continue to exemplify a liberal populist approach which favours local and singular projects and frequently fails to address wider inequalities or the negative impacts of macroeconomic structures (Mohan and Stokke 2000). In both development and research contexts, it has proven challenging to situate and connect locally-specific projects within multi-sited, networked approaches to enable local agency to be adequately supported by wider structural changes (Greenwood 2007).

Both of these criticisms are discussed throughout the remainder of this thesis. In Chapters 6 and 7, I inquire into specific moments and incidents when, despite the best intentions, power and value systems within the project with Ngāti Hauiti resulted in exclusions, silences or the reassertion of unequal power relations. In Chapter 8, I reflect on how the project, like many other participatory projects, has not necessarily resulted in wider structural changes, but that it has enabled internal shifts for particular individuals resulting in the performance of new subjectivities and the production of different understandings. I argue that these dimensions are also necessary for constructive change to occur yet they have been largely overlooked by current analyses of participatory endeavours.

Informing these two main criticisms of participation are concerns about power. For Irene Guijt (2003: 85), there is a concern that power as a concept and area of theoretical understanding does not inform participatory practice enough “to enable the meaningful discussion of discrimination, oppression and difference”. For others like Ilan Kapoor (2005) – whose work has informed the central questions driving this thesis – much greater attention is

needed to how this power infuses academics', researchers' and practitioners' thinking and practice through their complicity with, and desire to enact, participatory discourse's hegemonic associations with notions of empowerment, democracy and transformation.

For Kapoor and other development studies academics engaging Foucauldian critiques, participation frequently operates as a new form of tyranny subjecting people to particular disciplinary forces – facilitation, participatory and visual methods and group analysis in public spaces - often reproducing the very power relations it was supposed to subvert (Cooke and Kothari 2001). These tyrannies are worth further discussion here given social geographers' interest in epistemology and methodology, and their tendency to carry out research with groups of people (Panelli 2004). They are also aspects of practice that I return to and theorise, through particular critical incidents from my own experience with members of Ngāti Hauiti.

The first tyranny concerns the role of facilitators. Participatory development and participatory research emphasise the need for facilitators/researchers to relinquish their power and control by adopting attitudes and behaviours such as transparency, honesty, humility, respect and patience (Kapoor 2005). These, it is thought, will enable them to “step out of their ‘expert’ role and become co-learners in projects” (White 2003: 45), “hand over the stick” to collaborators (Chambers 2002: 8; 1994a, 1994b, 1994c), and promote participants to carry out their own research, analysis and action (Freire 1970; Pretty *et al.*, 1995, Wadsworth 2001).

Yet, facilitators/researchers manage almost every part of a participatory process, from calling the initial meeting to facilitating the final action. Their apparent desire to be neutral and benevolent may be nothing more than a morally acceptable smokescreen, ‘hiding’ their desire and ability to exert influence and control (Kapoor 2005). Further, facilitation's emphasis upon building rapport as a basis for collaborative analysis does not necessarily ensure that understanding occurs. Rather it may represent a form of manipulation (some have called it ‘facipulation’) aimed at making “the

researcher feel good” (Lyons 2000: 5). Such complicity may be compounded by the rhetoric of equality and empowerment inherent within participatory research and development (Cornwall and Brock 2005). This rhetoric overlooks that subjects/participants frequently have their own understandings of what research or development involves, and what performances or appropriate subject positions they should adopt to secure benefits (Henkel and Stirrat 2001; Lyons 2000).

A challenging and potentially risky situation therefore exists (White 2003). As Jules Pretty observes (2003: 171): “Making participation really work means giving up personal and institutional power, and we all know that this is very difficult indeed.” How much power or control to exert ultimately depends upon the particular context within which participatory research or development is taking place (Sense 2006). Sometimes, particularly where co-researchers’ or participants’ time and resources are limited, it may be appropriate for a facilitator/researcher to initiate, mobilise and educate (Maguire 1993; Park *et al.*, 1993; Smith, S. *et al.*, 1997). At others, it may be vital that co-researchers and participants assume these roles. Such a state of affairs connects us to ideas about subjectivity, reflexivity, positionality and ethics relevant to social geography.

Within the current budgetary and time constraints of many research and development projects, participatory practice tends to privilege the reasonably ‘quick and dirty’ use of techniques such as participatory mapping, diagramming and ranking for data collection (Leurs 1996). In many ways, such privileging is understandable as these techniques/methods are very effective at engaging people on their own terms and can result in effective short-term action. Unfortunately, they are frequently applied in ways that subject participants to formulaic sequences rather than engage them in longer-term dialogue, negotiation and collaborative action (Green 2010). This standardisation of what was originally conceived to be diverse and locally-constituted practices means that while participation is becoming increasingly popular, not all researchers or development facilitators are doing it well or effectively (Kaul Shah 2003; Parnwell 2003). In many instances, hierarchies

between researcher – researched are reinforced and standard sequences of methods become ‘tyrannically’ applied (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Parkes and Panelli 2001; Wadsworth 1998).

The popularity of participatory techniques and methods and the desire to create and discuss innovative approaches has also resulted in what Cooke and Kothari (2001) have called ‘methodological fetishism’. This process has tended to exclude or devalue other complementary (more traditional) social research methods – such as participant observation and ethnography – and overlook wider epistemological issues associated with power and the construction of knowledge. For example, David Mosse (1994) reflected on what he perceived to be participation’s failure to address gender inequalities in projects in India. There he was concerned because project staff didn’t carry out deeper social analyses of the gendered power relations and structures informing their participatory work and this limited the possibilities for the gender-equitable participation and outcomes they were ultimately seeking. I came to a similar conclusion in my own work in Bali, Indonesia (Box 2.3).

More recently, the integration of video into participatory research and development has become popular as the size and costs of technology have reduced (Kindon 2009), and as practitioners recognise how showing the ‘realities’ of people’s lives and situations to distant others may raise awareness, funds or political solidarity. When applied within a participatory process, video is not immune to many of the criticisms already mentioned, and in fact, as this thesis illustrates, may even worsen them because of the assumed transparency of the medium.

Many writers have argued for the need to complement participatory techniques with more in-depth social (and where appropriate economic or ecological) research (Guijt and Cornwall 1995; Guijt and Kaul Shah 1998; Kesby 2000b; Lennie 1999). This growing awareness is good news for social geographers interested in participation. Their usually high awareness of epistemology and its impact on methodology and their interests in the interplay of social and spatial relationships and structures (Panelli 2004) can

strengthen participation's practice and its ability to contribute to meaningful theory-building.

**Box 2.3      Reflections on Using Participatory Rural Appraisal Techniques to Advance Gender Equitable Outcomes in Bali, Indonesia**

In 1991-92, I was employed by the Bali Sustainable Development Project (BSDP) to provide the gender dimensions of a sustainable development strategy for Bali. The BSDP was a Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) funded research consortium involving my Canadian university and two universities in Java and Bali.

Over the 14 months 'in the field', I worked with a Balinese counterpart – Putu Hermawati – using PRA techniques with disaggregated groups of women and men in six temple communities from two villages which represented two of the island's key agricultural zones. Through a series of participatory workshops with each group, we explored gender roles, relationships and needs within development. Our aims were to facilitate an empowering research process, challenge gender myths and assumptions and develop appropriate recommendations to improve gender equity informed by grassroots analysis. The findings and priority needs when communicated via presentations and reports resulted in the provision of technical training, funding for road improvements and the construction of a community health clinic (Kindon 1993, 1998).

At the time of doing this research and for a few years afterwards, I was an enthusiastic and largely uncritical proponent of PRA and its techniques. I was proud that a number of practical gender needs (Moser 1989) were met as a result of our work and that participants' perspectives were taken seriously by government decision makers. With time, and after two return visits to some of the communities with whom we worked, however, I became aware that there had been little or no change in the structures of gendered power and resource allocation as a result of people's participation.

This realisation was sobering, for without those deeper shifts in power relations, none of the gendered myths and assumptions, let alone their material manifestations, had been transformed (see also Mosse 1994). The spaces opened up through our workshops for women to analyse their lives; the dialogues which had taken place for the first time between women and men about their gendered division of labour; and the joint action planning to address women's and men's priorities had come to little.

I began to question the political effects of PRA within the context of short-term gender and development interventions, where decisions on timing, funding and outputs were pre-determined. I now consider my work in Bali to be a classic example of 'participation in development' (McGee 2002) rather than the participatory development for which I was aiming.

(Source: Adapted from Kindon 2010: 528)

In particular, informed by recent insights from post-structuralist conceptions of power and discourse, social geographers are in a stronger position to avoid the inherent dangers of empiricism associated with participation, which assume that participants speak for themselves and produce maps and diagrams that can be treated uncritically as factual truths. Rather they can bring useful skills to inquire about the contexts and discourses informing the production of these particular products (Cameron and Gibson 2005), and how they are received and read by different audiences in different spaces.

A related point on methodological tyranny is that while there has been an explosion of creative – specifically visual – techniques, which seek to democratise the production of knowledge, these practices can exclude forms of knowledge that are more difficult to codify in this way (Mosse 1994; Packard 2008), for example, emotional violence inhibiting women’s participation in community or income generation activities (Odell and Kindon 1990), or dimensions of spirituality informing voluntary work (Sanderson *et al.*, 2007). Not all knowledge can be represented visually. Further, local knowledge is frequently haptic (touch-based) and kinaesthetic rather than visual, produced through embedded practices and lived experiences (Katz 2004, Mohan 2001), or it is articulated orally and received aurally through songs, stories and proverbs. Indeed Mosse (1994: 520), drawing on the work of Maurice Bloch (1991), cautions us that, “knowledge which readily presents itself as explicit or codified should be treated especially cautiously, in that it suggests the workings of particularly powerful interests”.

Finally, and a point that relates to the second criticism above about localism, is that so much energy has been focused on participatory methods that the larger and longer-term participatory processes (Kaul Shah 2003) needed to upscale and affect changes “in economic structures, or reformed institutions, or access to resources” (Pretty 2003: 172) have been overlooked.

The third tyranny associated with participation is the emphasis on group work and analysis, which particularly within development contexts, tends to take place in public spaces. According to Patti Lather (1985 cited in Reinharz

1992), the most effective emancipatory approaches are interactive involving self-disclosure (of facilitators/researchers and participants), multiple interviews, group work and the negotiation of the interpretation of information generated. Similar processes are evident within participatory research and development and generally involve 'entire' communities, or smaller sub-groups thought to represent particular interests.

Depending upon the development or research agenda (and funding), these groups may meet for a few hours or a few days, or work together over the course of several weeks and months. Initially, people may be invited to form groups by external facilitators or researchers, or they are left to replicate groups or build upon existing associations within their communities. Most participatory research take place in groups because of a belief that group membership motivates individuals, enables the relatively quick production of solutions to problems and enables more effective learning for individuals than if they were working alone (Cooke 2001).

There are several concerns here. First, a person's inclusion in a group or their invitation to participate is always already imbued with existing power relations, and as Kye Askins (2008) has observed, the deployment of participatory techniques alone does not eradicate in-group power dynamics. Andrea Cornwall (2004) identifies the difference between what she calls 'invited' spaces and 'popular' or 'autonomous' spaces in terms of the power relations at work informing people's participation in groups. Often groups invited to participate by outsiders reinforce existing hierarchies and exclusions, and can impose foreign structures, which inhibit, constrain or domesticate people's participation. Sometimes it can be more effective to provide spaces within which people create their own vehicles for connection and representation (Williams 2004a); although no space is beyond the reach of power (Kesby 2007a).

Second, rather primitivist notions of 'the local' as being constituted by harmonious communities are often reflected in the ways in which

participatory research and development promotes consensus within group work (Green 2010; Korf 2010; Mohan 1999). Further, these ideas of harmony and consensus reflect tendencies to romanticise poor and rural communities, and to overlook their diversity and frequently hierarchical and gendered power relations (Guijt and Kaul Shah 1998; Mosse 1994). Such notions can clearly limit the representativeness and sustainability of interventions that aim at social change (Box 2.3).

Third, once in groups, Bill Cooke (2001) identifies four aspects of group dysfunction, which can limit the effectiveness of participatory activities:

- a) individuals may be inclined to take more risks when in a group decision-making context than when alone, often persuaded by a charismatic or dominant individual or sub-group;
- b) individuals may fail to communicate accurately their needs and desires, or may do the opposite because of certain fears or risk averse behaviours, leading to a collective misperception of group needs and desires followed by anxiety, frustration, anger and blame;
- c) individuals may experience a strong collective identity in opposition to another external group, which is rationalised through stereotyping, self-censorship and internal pressure to conform; and
- d) individuals may be convinced (some argue 'brainwashed') that the current situation they or their community face is no longer tolerable or sustainable and that there is no alternative but to change at an individual and collective level.

When combined, these aspects of group dysfunction can result in group-think and limit the possibility for independent critique or the negotiation and accommodation of difference.

A fourth and allied point is that much group work (at least in the 'Third World') takes place in public spaces. This spatial aspect of participatory work informs who is able to participate and therefore what knowledge is constructed (Brockington and Sullivan 2003; Cooke 2003; Mosse 1994;

Sanderson and Kindon 2004). As a result, this knowledge tends to reflect dominant societal power relations (Kothari 2001; Mohan 1999). This is most evident in the frequently limited participation of women or children, Indigenous groups, the landless and sexual minorities within public participation initiatives. Alternatively, in a desire to present a harmonious image of their 'community', group members may involve a wide range of people and feign consensus, thereby concealing conflicts and disagreements, which resurface later.

Finally, and despite the limitations expressed here, group work can generate useful information and can often be the catalyst for action. However, as Kesby (2007a) has reflected, it is often very difficult to extend the empowering effects of participatory work into other spaces and arenas in an effort to sustain change. While longer-term participatory projects may suspend 'normal' social relations enabling new subjectivities to emerge (see also Cahill 2007a; Cameron and Gibson 2005), the empowering effects of participation frequently remain embedded in place, and often require the identification of additional resources if their effects are to be spread over time and space (Kesby *et al.*, 2007).

Another way of thinking about this issue according to Benedikt Korf (2010: 709) is that the "provided spaces" of participatory research and development effectively "dislocate" potential political action from 'normal' politics and "redraw the boundaries of the political sphere for the sake of 'development'" or research. The project spaces within which participation takes place, in a sense therefore, "act as time-space containers for consensus building and collective decision making, [as] participants arrive at decisions and action plans to 'improve' their situations" (Korf 2010: 712). As such, participation is paradoxical in that "it appears as post-political container of deliberative democracy in a Mouffian sense, and is, at the same time, deeply political by playing into the project of 'development' and 'improvement'" (Korf 2010: 718). In sum, many of the so-called 'negative effects' of participatory approaches are synthesised in Box 2.4.

### **Box 2.4      Some So-called ‘Negative Effects’ of Participatory Approaches**

- De-legitimation of research methods that are *not* participatory.
- Production of participants as subjects *requiring* ‘research’/’development’.
- Production of suitably disciplined subjects as *participants* expected to perform appropriately within participatory processes.
- Retention of researchers’ control whilst presenting them as benign arbiters of neutral or benevolent processes.
- Re-authorisation of researchers as experts *in* participatory approaches.
- Romanticisation or marginalisation of local knowledge produced through participatory processes.
- Reinforcement of pre-existing power hierarchies among participating communities.
- Legitimation of elite local knowledge simply *because* it is produced through participatory processes.
- Legitimation of neoliberal programmes and institutions (such as the World Bank) that also deploy participatory approaches and/or techniques.

(Source: Kesby *et al.*, 2007: 21, italics in original.)

## **2.4      Indigenous Research**

Alongside the evolution of participatory discourse within development and academic circles, “the counter-colonial voices of Indigenous peoples are now well-articulated in ethics and methods literature” (Nicholls 2009: 117). For many, Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (1999) book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* paved the way for a plethora of writings by Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors seeking to critique the ongoing colonial legacies of much mainstream Western research, and to identify decolonising alternatives from within Indigenous cultural practices (for example Ball 2005; Cole 2002; de Ishtar 2005; Fisher and Ball 2003; Gibbs 2001; Graveline 2000; Harvey 2003; Kovach 2009; Kuokkanen 2004; Rigney 1999; Steinhauer 2002; Weber-Pillwax 2001; Wilson 2008).

Some common features, worth noting because they form an important critique of mainstream Western social science discourse and offer potential alternatives, are:

- concepts and practices of respect, reciprocity and relationality for those involved in the research thereby enabling a multifaceted understanding of complex social and environmental phenomena;
- practices of honesty, humility, sharing, love/kindness and a long-term commitment to the honouring of Indigenous perspectives and knowledges;
- an Indigenous worldview (which one obviously depends on the people and places involved), which understands knowledge to be multiple, embedded and relational, as well as something that should be harnessed for the benefit of all; and
- a political commitment to ensuring that both the process of knowledge generation and the actual knowledge generated bring benefits to those involved, for example, challenging persistent stereotypes, securing hitherto inaccessible resources or building skills and capacity.

These features share some similarities with those advocated by PAR and PD practitioners, yet little work has been done to date that explores their interconnections. The material explored in this thesis is one example of such work and as I will argue later, participation cannot hope to be repoliticised or decolonised without due engagement with Indigenous critiques and approaches.

Within geography since the beginning of this century, there has been a surge of interest and writings associated with Indigenous research perspectives and practices, as well as writings concerned with challenging discourses of whiteness or focused on how to decolonise the academy (for example Coombes *et al.*, 2011; Gibson 2006; Hodge and Lester 2006; Howitt and Suchet-Pearson 2006; Johnson *et al.*, 2007; Kobayashi and de Leeuw 2010; Louis 2007; Panelli 2008; Shaw *et al.*, 2006; Wright *et al.*, 2007; Tipa *et al.*,

2009). Some of these writings reflect the increased visibility and significance of Indigenous writings to mainstream non-Indigenous scholars. Others reflect a desire to materialise criticisms associated with the rise of feminist and postcolonial theory within the discipline.

More specifically, and most pertinent for this thesis, Māori research operates out of a Māori worldview in which to be Māori is considered to be ‘normal’ and through which knowledge generated has its origins in the Māori language and a Māori metaphysical base (Pihama *et al.*, 2002). Kaupapa Māori research was originally developed by Māori academics working in the field of education (for example, Bishop 1996, 1997; Irwin 1994), and has been extended into most fields of social inquiry (Cram 1997, 2001; Pihama *et al.*, 2002; Pipi *et al.*, 2004; Te Awekotuku 1991). It is predicated upon the assumption that to do Kaupapa Māori research, a researcher must identify as Māori.<sup>20</sup>

Currently, approaches to Māori research are generally represented as seven main practices (Box 2.5). These practices are embodied within sayings in te reo Māori which reflect core values and indicate the desired behaviours researchers (be they Māori or non-Māori) should adopt when working within a Māori context.

These practices place primary emphasis on the ‘three R’s’: Respect, Relationality and Reciprocity and in that regard, they are similar to other Indigenous research approaches which emphasise these dimensions within research practice. They also require researchers to be explicit about their positionality and motives highlighting the importance of honesty, humility and self-determination within the research relationship, particularly where research outcomes are concerned. These aspects have been identified as Mana Tangata (ensuring people’s dignity, safety and emphasising mutuality), Mana

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<sup>20</sup> Other research models have been developed to accommodate non-Māori researchers such as the kaitiaki model advocated by Graham Smith (1992) through which non-Māori researchers learn from and are guided by Māori research ‘guardians’.

Whakahaere (working collaboratively and sharing control) and Mana Motuhake (identifying beneficial outcomes for those involved) (Mead 2003).

### **Box 2.5 Guiding Principles for Māori Research**

- Aroha ki te Tangata – a respect for people – allowing people to define their own space and to meet on their own terms.
- He Kanohi Kitea – the importance of meeting people face-to-face – enabling trust to develop and a relationship to grow.
- Titiro, Whakarongo...Kōrero – looking and listening as a means from which to develop a place to speak, further building trust in relationship.
- Manāki ki te Tangata – taking a collaborative approach to research, research training and reciprocity. This recognises learning and expertise exist in both parties and that there is a responsibility to look after people during and after the research process.
- Kia Tupato – being politically astute, culturally safe and reflexive about our insider/outsider status, including observance of appropriate cultural protocols.
- Kaua e Takahia te Mana o te Tangata – sounding out ideas with people, disseminating research findings and community feedback to involve people in what is happening to their knowledge and to maintain relationships.
- Kia Ngakau Māhaki – being humble in our approach, sharing knowledge and using our position to benefit those with whom we work.

(Source: Adapted from Cram 2001; Pipi *et al.*, 2004; Smith, L. 2005)

In theory, Māori research, and Indigenous research approaches more widely, are compatible with participatory discourse, and have even informed them in some cases. They share a concern with collaborative knowledge production, the valuing of local knowledges and the self-determined generation of beneficial outcomes for those people involved. However, as summarised in Box 2.4, without considerable diligence on the part of academics, researchers or development practitioners, even participatory discourses can result in negative effects. Frequently it does so because these professionals assume their privilege or adopt standardised approaches that do not recognise that knowledge and the means of generating it need to be contextually- and culturally-embedded (Smith, L. 2005).

In this regard, ideas and values from Indigenous research, which conceptualise researchers as guests (Harvey 2003), research as ceremony (Wilson 2008) and knowledge as sacred (Smith, L. 1999) may help to reclaim some of participation's radical potential. These ideas and values emphasise what Richa Nagar (2003, cited in Nicholls 2009: 121) identifies as "a fissured space of fragile and fluid networks of connections and gaps" within which a researcher must reconceptualise their place in any participatory or collaborative endeavour. They remind us that the emphasis placed on positionality and relationality within Indigenous approaches keeps present the "always conditional relationship between" (Jones with Jenkins 2008, cited in Nicholls 2009: 121) that exists in any research or development undertaking. Remembering and working with this conditionality may provide geographers with a means of decolonising their research practice and the academy more generally.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

By creating spaces for alternative values, knowledges and relationships, participation and its various techniques challenge the traditional values of development, media and academic research practices (Bery 2003). In this regard, they are similar to forms of Indigenous research through their commitment to breaking down hierarchical practices of elite knowledge producers through collaboration at every stage of the research process, including dissemination and action. In particular, they can enable a shift from an insistence on quantifiable, objective knowledge as a means of accessing 'the truth', to a more subtle and nuanced engagement with shifting subjectivities and multiple truths (Guidi 2003). This engagement, its advocates hope, enables greater social justice outcomes for those involved. Hence, the recent growing interest in participatory research and methods within social geography.

Participation's 'fall' from grace – mostly within the literature rather than in actual practice – however, represents a growing awareness of "the politics

and manipulations of power that exist beneath [its] veneer” (McKinnon 2007: 776). Common to the criticisms advanced in this chapter is the concern that participation represents a mode of governance which may be linked to specific policy or research agendas, and which inevitably constitutes knowledge and citizenship in particular, usually quite conservative, ways (see also Jupp 2007). Increasingly this mode of governance – associated with ideas about devolution, user pays and local control and autonomy – perpetuates neoliberal agendas and reinforces existing power inequalities (see Box 2.4). It frequently represents a depoliticisation of participation’s once radical ideals.

Yet as Katharine McKinnon (2007) reminds us, participatory discourse (whether within research or development contexts) is always incomplete and imperfect, and represents but one intervention within a field of competing ideological formations. It is therefore important not to see participation as an endpoint within research or development agendas, but rather as part of an ongoing process of negotiation and politics. When viewed in this light, social geography can benefit from further consideration of recent debates and practices within the fields of participatory research and development in its efforts to contribute to greater social equity and justice.

Social geography must not stop there however. It would do well to more fully engage with the debates, concerns and principles found in Indigenous research. While these epistemologies and methodologies continue to be overlooked within discussions of participatory research and development, they are vitally important if researchers, like myself, are not to perpetuate the very inequalities we seek to challenge and overcome. They are also critically important if participation and social geography are to be decolonised.

Simultaneously, recent work engaging video as a research and community development tool offers possibilities to retheorise participation in helpful ways and to open up spaces for the transformation of oppressive and less self-reflexive forms of power. It is to this work that I now turn.

# CHAPTER 3. PARTICIPATORY VIDEO, INDIGENOUS MEDIA AND SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

## 3.1 Introduction

Audiovisual practice in geographic research is not new, yet it remains theoretically neglected and methodologically underdeveloped (Jewitt 2011). This state of affairs is somewhat surprising given that geography has almost as long a history of film and video use as anthropology, beginning with the filming of an ascent of Everest in 1922 (Garrett 2010). However, where in anthropology the use of film and video has flourished (albeit with much internal debate), in geography it has withered, until recently.<sup>21</sup>

Geographers, despite working in what is widely regarded as being a visual discipline (Driver 2003; Rogoff 2000; Rose 2001), have been far more skeptical about the value of film, and now video, as a research tool than anthropologists. Gillian Rose (2001: 238) for example, has expressed reservations about video because its use is “highly specialized and technically demanding”. Others have been deterred by its apparently high cost and necessity for large teams (Garrett 2010), or because it appears to perpetuate ocularcentricism (Macpherson 2005) for which geographers have been widely criticised. In addition, “video remains, strangely, drastically underutilized, spurned as a method of publication and dissemination in many instances” (Garrett 2010: 2).

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<sup>21</sup> In the literature reviewed for this chapter, a clear distinction between film and video was not always made by authors, yet each medium embodies very different material realities and informs different socio-historical practices (Hume-Cook, G., 23 May 2011, pers. comm.). I have chosen, therefore, to use film where there was a medium-specific reference, and ‘film’ when the term is being used less precisely to convey a more commonsense understanding. In this case, ‘film’ may refer to the process or product of either film or video audiovisual practice.

As a result, geographers' engagements with film and video have tended to focus on the analysis of others' productions in what has come to be known as the sub-discipline of filmic geography (see Aitken and Zonn 1994; Aitken and Dixon 2006; Kennedy and Lukinbeal 1997; Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006). There have also been some forays into the production of geographic films for popular audiences, but Bradley Garrett (2010) links the relatively low involvement of geographers in this area to the lack of bureaucratic support for such endeavours through audit mechanisms such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) in the United Kingdom (UK). These engagements reflect wider trends within the social sciences whereby the integration of video into social research has focused attention on visual materials in the form of films and videos produced by, or at the request of, the researcher, and secondly, through the analysis of visual materials produced by others (Aull Davies 2008).

Less common within geography have been engagements with video for data collection although this is changing. Increasingly, video is being used to record interviews or focus groups for academics' subsequent analysis (Byron 1993; Cameron 2000), or to record people's movements, practices and interactions in particular spaces and landscapes – as a form of naturalistic inquiry seeking to understand people's engagements with the world on their own terms (Ash 2010; Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2002; Johnston 1998; Laurier 2001; Laurier and Philo 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; Laurier *et al.*, 2006; Morton 2005; Simpson 2011; Spinney 2009; Tapsell *et al.*, 2001). These applications tend to use video as a form of visual note-taking (Pink 2007a), working with the visual and aural dimensions of life as recorded and retained through close study and multiple replays (Dant 2004, cited in Pink 2007a; see also Laurier's work).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Currently realist uses continue in social research practices which value video as a real-time sequential medium that “preserves the temporal and sequential structure which is so characteristic of interaction” (Knoblauch *et al.*, 2006: 19). Emphasis rests on using video data “as if” it stands for an event” (Jewitt 2011: 175), rather than a more reflexive use in which “things become visible because of how we see them, rather than simply because they are observable” (Pink 2006: 36).

Geographers have, albeit rather uncritically, also supported research participants to produce video diaries (Roe 2002), to carry out video tours (Smith, F. and Barker 2001; Trell and van Hoven 2010; Tucker and Matthews 2001) and to create dramas that are then videoed by researchers to stimulate group discussion (Waite and Conn 2010). While all of these uses involve and focus on bodies and interactions, Paul Simpson (2011) makes the point that few – with perhaps the exception of Jamie Lorimer’s (2010) work – realise the need for, or value of, an embodied video methodology, which brings video and the body as a research instrument into conversation.

Since 2003, some geographers have also begun to engage video production more critically and in a more embodied way through reflexive or collaborative filmmaking, including Participatory Video (PV). These geographers are mostly based in the UK and Europe, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. In the UK, for example, Hester Parr has worked with users of mental health services in Scotland on a collaborative filmmaking project to produce a video for public education and advocacy (Parr 2007). Elsewhere in the UK and more recently in South Africa, Pamela Richardson-Ngwenga has engaged young people in the production of video documentaries about important aspects of their lives with the aim of affecting social change (<http://vimeo.com/8890097>).

Young people have also been the key participants in a PV project with Guy Singleton and his colleagues from the Ngalia Aboriginal people in Western Australia. Combining video with interactive internet platforms, they are developing effective cultural heritage management strategies to protect their sacred places/sites and develop sustainable livelihood options for their community (Corbett *et al.*, 2009; Singleton 2008; Singleton *et al.*, 2009). Within Aotearoa New Zealand, the project under inquiry in this thesis represents the first documented use of PV in geographic research (see Appendix D for a list of publications associated with this project).

Other geographers’ projects – although again less critical and embodied – focus on working with affected communities in Africa and South America to

better understand and hopefully address some of the inequitable environmental and social issues associated with conservation and tourism (Moore [http://www.le.ac.uk/gg/staff/pg\\_moore.html](http://www.le.ac.uk/gg/staff/pg_moore.html)), recycling (Gutberlet 2008), rapid ecological change (Mistry and Berardi 2012), the international sugar trade (Richardson-Ngwenga 2009), and forced migration and resettlement (Richardson-Ngwenga <http://vimeo.com/10863477>). Jutta Gutberlet and Bruno de Oliveira Jayme (2010) have also used PV with informal recyclers (known as binners in Western Canada) to explore their perceptions of the stigma they suffer and explore ways to change their image.

There are therefore few geographic resources upon which to draw for my own analyses, and where publications do exist (Hume-Cook *et al.*, 2007; Kindon 2003; Mistry and Berardi 2012; Parr 2007), authors have tended to emphasise the benefits of working in this collaborative way for enabling participants' agency and for facilitating a more equitable research process (in addition, see Garrett 2010).

More critical reflections on PV in geographic research will no doubt emerge in the next few years as more geographers take up Garrett's (2010) call to embrace reflexive and collaborative filmmaking as a research method, Simpson's (2011) treaty to develop a specifically embodied video methodology, and as they grapple with the challenges I explore in this thesis. For now, I have had to venture further afield to understand the historical evolutions and potential power effects of PV within a research context.

Within this chapter, I privilege an engagement with PV in international development, visual anthropology/ethnography and Indigenous contexts because a) international development is where PV is gaining most purchase, b) anthropology is the academic discipline with the greatest investment in the visual as a process and medium for research, and c) Indigenous uses of video have most relevance to the research project with Ngāti Hauiti.

There are, of course, increasing participatory uses of video in social science research more generally (see the special issue of the *International Journal of*

*Social Research Methodology*, May 2011). For example, in sociology, some applications have involved children to explore their experiences of neighbourhood life (Lomax *et al.*, 2011). Others have been used to gain insights into phenomenological knowledges and practices (Hockey and Allen Collinson 2006), to narrate the experiences of migrant mothers (Hernandez-Albujar 2007), and to explore people's sexualities through video diaries (Holliday 2001, 2007).<sup>23</sup> In education, social work, public health and community research, video is being used to foster action-oriented research (see Chavez *et al.*, 2004; Haw 2008; Milne *et al.*, forthcoming). In the USA through university-community partnerships, Caitlin Cahill and her colleagues in the Growing Up in Salt Lake City project have involved young people in the production of video documentaries about racism in schools with the aim of repealing laws that unfairly disadvantage undocumented youth (Cahill *et al.*, 2007; Cahill *et al.*, 2008b).

In the UK and Canada, there are also various projects exploring the role of video in applied and action research: Visible Voice, [http://www.visiblevoice.info/Visible\\_Voice/Home.html](http://www.visiblevoice.info/Visible_Voice/Home.html); the Image and Identity Research Collective (IIRC) at McGill University, Canada, <http://www.iirc.mcgill.ca>; and the International Visual Methodologies for Social Change Project, also at McGill University, <http://www.ivmproject.ca/who-php>.<sup>24</sup> There is also a proposal to establish a Centre for Participatory Visual Methods at the Open University in the UK. This centre would, in part, further the work of various academics there and complement the ongoing work of the Participatory Video National Research Network (<https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A0=PV-NET-DISCUSS>) funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) to stimulate the use of PV within the UK social science community in 2007. With the exception of Cahill's work, the writing emerging out of these projects and collaborations is at the moment – like that in geography – less

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<sup>23</sup> (See also the International Visual Sociology Association <http://sjmc.cla.umn.edu/faculty/schwartz/ivsa/about.html>).

<sup>24</sup> See also the work of Communication for Change (C4C) <http://www.c4c.org/>; and the UK Development Research Centre <http://drc-citizenship.org/news%20and%20events/PV.htm>.

theoretically informed than work in anthropology and Indigenous media. It is therefore less instructive for my needs.

In the rest of the chapter, I present dominant definitions and practices of PV from within international community development discourse as they were influential on my own thinking for this thesis. They also appear to be shaping the current research applications of many geography colleagues (above) as these academics participate in PV-Net activities, or are trained by advocates of PV for international development: Insight in the UK (see Lunch and Lunch 2006).<sup>25</sup> I then trace the multiple and varied paths of PV's evolution within this discourse summarising its three dominant uses. The tracing reveals the lack of any reference to PV practice in academic (particularly anthropological) research and Indigenous contexts within international community development discourse.

In an attempt to address these gaps and disrupt the rather homogenous representations of PV practice within international development discourse at present, I trace the varied and contingent trajectories – or genealogies in Foucauldian terms – of PV use within visual anthropology and Indigenous media. I question the current lack of acknowledgement within PV for international development practice of anthropology's long association with film and video, particularly given applied anthropology's close association with development, and visual ethnography's focus on representations of 'Other', mainly 'Third World' cultures to 'First World' Western audiences. I also query the lack of attention paid to more recent Indigenous engagements with the medium, particularly given that in many development contexts it is Indigenous peoples who are being 'targeted' with PV interventions (Lunch 2004).

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<sup>25</sup> The Network has been developing research and capacity-building for the enhanced use of this methodology, through a series of public events and training workshops. Through these activities and in consultation with Insight, members have developed a training curriculum for the use of PV in academic research that will complement existing training for practice, and academic-based training in general research methods.

There is no neat linear history of PV's use, particularly as its practice has evolved in response to specific place-based conditions and disciplinary hegemonies, and this chapter does not claim to provide a comprehensive history. Rather it represents an indicative and purposeful weaving together of what I consider to be the most important diverse and disparate histories to highlight their continuities and disjunctions. Through this discursive context I position and distinguish the PVR process with Ngāti Hauiti that is under scrutiny in this thesis. Such historical and discursive positioning provides the fertile ground I need to inform the subsequent excavation of my own complicity in Chapters 6-8. It also opens up spaces for thinking more openly about the potential for PV, and PVR, to support the repoliticisation of participation generally, and social geography more specifically.

### **3.2 Defining PV**

Participatory Video (PV) – sometimes also known as ‘process video’ (Kawaja 1994; Kidd 1994) or ‘video-as dialog’ (Crocker 2003) – is primarily a process for individual, group and community development (White 2003). It is also growing in popularity as a method in action-oriented academic research, particularly with marginalised or hard-to-reach groups (Milne *et al.*, forthcoming). It comprises a set of techniques to involve people who would normally be the subjects of videos to become video producers – shaping and making their own ‘film’ (Lunch and Lunch 2006). Through the ‘filming’ and screening of images associated with key individuals and concerns, PV is promoted as a vehicle for raising awareness, sharing meaning systems, creating community and stimulating dialogue (for example see Sandercock and Attili 2010). These aspects can lead to deeper understanding and social change, so PV is also used to inform advocacy initiatives and campaigns.

Not surprisingly given the above, PV does not generally involve commercial production. In fact:

the move towards video as a community communication tool in the 1970s was partly as a result of growing disenchantment with private and state-owned mass media channels which often became tools for top-down information transfer by the state, development agencies or corporate groups (Varghese 2003: 346).

PV involves 'ordinary' people who are facilitated by external (usually non-community) trainers or academic researchers to be video directors, camera operators, interviewers and subjects (see for example the work of *manenomengi* in Tanzania, <http://www.maneno.net/pages/mmpv.html>). This way of working generally involves:

a scriptless video process, directed by a group of grassroots people,<sup>26</sup> moving forward in iterative cycles of shooting-reviewing. This process aims at creating video narratives that communicate what those who participate in the process really want to communicate, in a way they think is appropriate (Johansson *et al.*, 1999: 35).

The products are primarily oriented to those involved in the production and may not conform to standard Western (realist) audiovisual conventions, which utilise: continuity editing, cut-aways and continuous audio to construct the illusion of space and time as linear and sequential (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm.).<sup>27</sup> This doesn't matter however, as in many cases, it is the discussion of, and immediate feedback on, the video products, along with the sense of community and cooperation fostered through making the video that is considered most important (Guidi 2003). The use of dominant

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<sup>26</sup> This term referring to non-academics involved in project interventions reflects dominant thinking in international development discourse within which PV has mostly been practised.

<sup>27</sup> Such conventions were popularised by the techniques of classic Hollywood narrative cinema used in the late 1940s and early 1950s and came to permeate other audiovisual genres including, for example, news and natural history documentaries (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm.). There are of course, a myriad of genres within the West (and Soviet cinematic conventions are very different for example), but Hollywood narrative cinema conventions have become so pervasive that these are the aspects to which I refer when I use the terms 'Western' and 'realist' in this thesis. They are also prevalent within dominant uses of PV in international community development.

conventions may become more important if the goal is to use the video products within international development interventions, or for advocacy to communicate key issues to people in positions of power to lobby for change.

### **3.3 PV in (International) Community Development**

Within development communication and international development studies literature, the first participatory use of video is widely cited as occurring on Fogo Island, Newfoundland, Canada in the late 1960s (Lunch and Lunch 2006; Media Development 1989; Riano 1994; White 2003). It differed from much visual anthropology practice at the time because of the action-oriented and community development use to which the medium of video was put. I outline the process in some detail here because it has been so influential in terms of how PV in community development is defined and practised around the world.

The pioneering interactive use of film and video was developed by academic Donald Snowden<sup>28</sup> and filmmaker Colin Low and sought to address the urban and economic biases inherent within the Economic Council of Canada's 1965 '*Report on Poverty in Canada*'. The Fogo Process or 'Experiment', as it has become widely known, produced a series of 'films' to present how the people of Newfoundland felt about poverty and other issues to the Premier and his cabinet. They also wanted to show that poverty did not have to mean economic deprivation, but could also refer to isolation, and the inability to access information and communications media (Huber 1999).

The process involved participants from ten separate settlements on Fogo Island, which were going through an economic slump due to a decline in income from inshore fishing, and had little contact with each other, or any collective organisation to address the problem. Over 60 percent of the men were on welfare and the government's proposed solution – without

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<sup>28</sup> At the time, Snowden was Director of the Extension Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

community consultation – was to resettle families into mainland urban centres. As Bernhard Huber (1999: 11) notes: “Snowden believed the islanders could form a co-operative and become organised so that they could preserve their way of life”. With Low and a local extension worker, Fred Earle, they went to a meeting of the Fogo Improvement Committee and got agreement to run a project using ‘film’ to assist communities in coming to terms with some of their problems so they could move towards cooperation and development.

Low decided to screen the ‘films’ produced to local people as they were not comfortable talking about issues face to face. In total, the ‘films’ were screened 35 times on the island reaching 3,000 viewers (almost the entire island population). “By viewing the films, the islanders started to realise that all the communities were experiencing the same problems: they became more aware of these problems and what needed to be done to solve them” (Huber 1999: 11). Further, when government representatives viewed the ‘films’, the Minister of Fisheries responded by ‘making’ his own ‘film’, which was then shown to the islanders.<sup>29</sup> This brought about an, albeit brief, two-way flow of communication between distant rural communities and a centrally-located decision maker – something which had never happened before.

As a result of the Fogo Process, “the fishermen formed an island-wide producers’ cooperative which handled and processed large catches, enabling them to keep the profits on their island. Unemployment of able-bodied men disappeared, and the government directed their efforts into helping people to stay” (Huber 1999: 11). Through this success, Snowden was able to have the Fogo Process incorporated into the government’s Challenge for Change programme (Crocker 2003).

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<sup>29</sup> It is not clear from various accounts of the Fogo Process who actually made the film claimed as his own by the Minister of Fisheries. It is likely that he commissioned professionals (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm.).

The Challenge for Change programme was revolutionary in its desire to document and address social problems associated with poverty throughout Canada. It aimed at producing three kinds of ‘films’. First, those for government departments and the general public which explained a problem; second, those for social workers and change agents involved in the problem; and third, those planned and produced by the people affected by the problem.<sup>30</sup>

In terms of current practices of PV, it was the last type of ‘film’ that was most radical and influential. By putting community members behind as well as in front of the camera and by facilitating a process of community feedback (or dialogue) on the ‘films’ produced, Low and Snowden demonstrated that the *process* of production was often more important than the actual ‘films’ produced. Through the dialogic process, research participants became image and meaning makers who explored and worked to change their own ‘realities’ through the production and analysis of video products (Crocker 2003).

In this respect, their process has been applauded for increasing participants’ knowledge and confidence using video and editing equipment – enabling what Padma Guidi (2003) has referred to as ‘technical empowerment’ – and facilitating participants’ personal and community empowerment by showing their lives on screen and facilitating discussions about possible actions for change (Crocker 2003; Stuart and Bery 1996). The Fogo Process enabled individuals in isolated communities to connect with each other and distant others through the collective representations produced, and the resulting discussions about them and the lives they represented. These connections fostered a greater sense of imagined communities (Anderson 1991) and an image of their virtual community as reflected back to participants through watching themselves on screen. These aspects, in turn, promoted greater

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<sup>30</sup> Again here, the term ‘film’ is used imprecisely by commentators on the Fogo process. But, it is likely that the first kind of films were actual 16mm films and therefore of high production quality, the second may also have been 16mm films, but it’s unclear, and the third kind were likely to have been videos produced by fishing community members at significantly less cost and of lower production quality (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm.), but still requiring the expertise of a professional filmmaker and an extension worker (Ferreira *et al.*, nd).

social cohesion and action on the ground. The Fogo Experiment lasted for 18 months then moved elsewhere in Canada through the Challenge for Change programme for almost a decade.

In 1969, the first Indigenously-authored film was produced dealing with Treaty rights along the US-Canadian border. By the mid-1970s and early 1980s, the process was exported to the USA as well as parts of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Shirley White (2003) provides a range of examples from these continents over the past 20-30 years, and while generally evangelistic and positive in assertions that PV is transformative for those involved, the collection offers a very useful insight into the diversity of PV applications and the dominance of participatory development discourse.

Alongside the Fogo Process, Martha Stuart in the USA developed the Village Video Network of New York, which travelled to India in 1984 to work with the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in Ahmedabad. Since their initial training, SEWA have gone on to be one of the most well-known proponents of PV. They have involved hundreds of women in the process and produced more than 400 'films'. Through both the process and their products, they have achieved some major changes associated with labour and women's rights at various scales from household gender relations through to Indian state legislation. PV is also very popular throughout India. In 1994-5, David Booker, an academic at the University of Cornell, USA, visited 62 organisations in India to explore the obstacles, successes and insights they had experienced trying to use PV within communication and development initiatives (Booker 2003). The Deccan Development Society in Andhra Pradesh has also been working with over 4000 dalit rural women for the last 15 years using PV to support improvements to people's livelihood systems (Sateesh 1999/2000).

There have also been other influences on the emergence and practice of PV around the world, but these are rarely mentioned by Western development practitioners and academics like those mentioned above. These practitioners emphasise the relatively inexpensive and fast turn around time between shoot

and screen that video ushered in (a la Fogo), yet other influences included massively expensive film propaganda machinery. In Tanzania, for example, the organisation manenomengi attributes its PV practice to the inspiration of Soviet filmmaker Aleksander Medvedkin who in 1932 created and ran a ‘film-train’. This film-train consisted of three railway cars carrying a film crew, production equipment, projection room, laboratory, and film-printing machinery. It was a self-contained film studio that could stay on location for months at a time reaching remote communities to produce critical films on their conditions, which were shown locally to stimulate development.

Medvedkin’s work then inspired others, including French avant-garde filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard who lent his 16mm film camera to workers in a factory in Lyon in the 1960s.<sup>31</sup> He and others “in turn inspired video activists and the community television movement in the USA and Canada in the 1970s” ([http://www.maneno.net/pages/mmparticipatory\\_video.html](http://www.maneno.net/pages/mmparticipatory_video.html)) and, most recently, inspired international development workers.

Elsewhere in the global south – particularly Latin America where PV is prolific – organisations using PV tend to trace their influences back to work of Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire on critical literacy and conscientisation (Huber 1999; White 2003). Freire (1970: 70-71), writing in response to the paternalistic and non-participatory pedagogic practices of extension education in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s, argued that as people “develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation.” Through an emphasis on a dialogic pedagogy and the development of critical literacy he sought to find ways to enable people to take action against the oppressive aspects of their lives (Huber 1999). PV, when applied within this Freirian understanding, is thought to be a particularly effective means of enabling people to perceive

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<sup>31</sup> “In terms of process, it’s worth noting here that it’s not clear if the workers to whom Godard lent his camera received any training in production, or actually got to see or comment on the production once it was complete. Further, the work involved in making a production still required film development and processing before even the rushes (raw film) could be viewed, let alone edited or ‘finished’ in any useful sense” (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm.).

their world anew. In Guatemala, Indigenous Mayan women used video to enable them to reflect on and communicate issues facing them (see Guidi 2004). In Colombia, Mary Jo Dudley (2003) used PV with domestic workers to explore their personal stories and to challenge public stereotypes.

In the UK (and other Western or First World societies more generally), the roots of participatory film productions and community media initiatives began with the British documentary movement of John Grierson in the 1920s and 1930s. “Grierson positioned middle class film makers between conventional cinema and their working class subjects. This signalled a fundamental shift in attitude between filmmakers and their subject actors” (Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990: 141). Grierson was then invited by the Canadian government to research the country’s film production and recommended the establishment of a national commission, which went on to become the National Film Board responsible for supporting the Fogo process.

In the late 1960s, the emergence of more mobile synchronous sound 16mm film cameras like that used by Godard in France, meant that by the 1970s and early 1980s in the UK, many organisations such as Vera Media in Leeds began to shift their orientation to include more PVs alongside their documentary and drama productions for education and voluntary sector organisations (Garthwaite 2000). As noted earlier, the equipment was still rather cumbersome and in the 1970s, the portability of film and early video cameras were not so different. It was not really until video cameras were developed with an immediate playback function that participatory forms of production really took off (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm.).

With this more portable technology, Nick Lunch and Jenny Yeong established Right Angle Productions (RAP) in Oxford in 1996 to facilitate direct video exchanges between young people of disadvantaged backgrounds across the world. Lunch also facilitated PV workshops with a therapeutic orientation for mental health service users, refugees and homeless people in the UK. The first exchange involved screening a video from Yolmo youth in northern Nepal that Lunch and Yeong had produced with them in the

previous year, to a range of youth groups in Oxford. They then ran a series of PV workshops so that these young people could film their responses to the Nepalese video. The Oxfordshire youth used the technology as a catalyst for action within their own communities, and expanded the use of video to integrate music, dance and graffiti. RAP built networks with young people in Cuba, Zimbabwe and Mali to enable other media exchanges and offer “autonomy (and a voice) to kids that weren’t benefiting from statutory youth service providers” (*Insight News*, Feb 2008: 1).

Subsequently in 2003, Lunch (together with his brother Chris) used these experiences to launch an organisation dedicated to the promotion of PV. Their organisation – Insight – seeks to further the movement for a global citizens’ media through the creation and support of a global network of PV hubs (also known as community media resource centres) supported by a community of PV practitioners based in the ‘Third World’ or Global South trained by them (*Insight News*, Feb 2008: 1).

Currently, Insight are also regarded as the leading practitioners of PV within mainstream international development worldwide. They have published a free instruction manual, which outlines their philosophy and process (Insight 2006 [http://www.insightshare.org/training\\_book.html](http://www.insightshare.org/training_book.html)). They now have a team of ten senior trainers based in the UK, Canada, Peru, the Philippines and South Africa and publish a regular newsletter which promotes their activities. Members of Insight have worked on approximately 500 PV projects funded by large agencies like the World Bank, the United Nations and Oxfam since 1996, involving more than 10,000 participants. They also regularly run trainings for academic researchers through their association with the PV Network in the UK, and their style of PV has been taken up enthusiastically by a number of the geography academics referred to at the start of this chapter. The organisation’s prominence and reach over the last eight years is somewhat surprising given the much longer history and very prolific use of PV in Latin America as mentioned earlier, but perhaps Insight’s dominance reflects the Western hegemony of participatory development discourse, including video, within which the organisation is firmly positioned.

### 3.3.1 Dominant Uses of PV

In terms of current uses of PV within international community development, Huber (1999) identifies a useful typology of goals towards which PV is put – therapy, activism and empowerment.

In the first use, video is used for individual and group development with a greater orientation towards self-reflexivity and insights than towards collective political action or intervention.<sup>32</sup> Frequently this orientation involves the production of video journals for self-reflection and personal growth, but may also involve more collective endeavours such as storytelling and theatre. This use is reported to be highly successful with women and other disenfranchised or minority groups such as mental health users, people with disabilities and refugees. The ability to use a prestigious tool like a video camera or editing suite often acts as a key element in increasing self-esteem as people become technically empowered to use the equipment and produce their own representations (Shaw and Robertson 1997; Guidi 2003).

In the second use, PV is involved in a wide range of activities associated with activism, lobbying, campaigning and advocacy. Here, video is thought to be able to counter stereotypes and build intercultural understanding and solidarity more effectively than written text. Advocates argue that video used in this way can circumvent issues associated with literacy and reach diverse audiences to effect change. The mobilisation occurs because video elicits powerful emotional responses and connects audiences to the personal stories of those being represented (Gregory *et al.*, 2005). A number of organisations around the world now work effectively with this use of video. For example, see the work of: Appalshop: USA; CEFREC: Bolivia; Chiapas Media Project: Mexico; Drishti Media Collective: India; INSIST: Indonesia; Labor News Production: South Korea; Self-Employed Women's Association: India; and Undercurrents: the UK.

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<sup>32</sup> Video is also frequently used by individuals for all sorts of purposes that may be participatory within the confines of their own friendships, intimate or family relationships. However, these personal uses are outside of what constitutes mainstream understandings of PV.

Kathleen Gallagher and Isabelle Kim (2008: 105-106) also acknowledge the ways in which advocacy video can intersect with other forms of communication technologies for political effect listing, for example, the “combined uses of theatre education and live video screenings in India (see McDougall, 2003), Italy’s Telestreet (Renzi, 2006), Brazil’s TV Maxambomba (Halleck, 2002); the community-based approach of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (Canada), and Paper-Tiger Television and Deep Dish Satellite in the United States (see IBID)”.

Where the use of video advocacy differs from the other uses of PV is in the locus of decision-making and control (Huber 1999). In the majority of advocacy videos, production will be discussed with the people involved and their consent sought to record. However, many videos are also shot covertly because of the desire to expose human or environmental rights abuses (Harding 1997). Further, the subjects of advocacy videos are not usually their producers or editors. Rather, trained professionals, who through careful direction, ‘filming’ and editing, ensure that the video products can reach and be understood by their intended audiences to effect change. Of course, the subjects of the video may be empowered through the telling of their stories to change the conditions of their own lives, but this is often an indirect outcome of the work.

There is also a worldwide movement of radical alternative video journalism, which works with a form of PV. Since 2000, organisations the Guerrilla News Network and Guerrilla Video Productions (<http://www.guerillavideoproductions.com>) encourage people to shoot, edit and share their own footage on various digital sites as a form of activist resistance to the control of information and news by mainstream media conglomerates. These independent digital video producers or ‘diguerrillas’ tend to follow the ethic of: ‘use less money, less time, fewer tools and new rules’, and are more anarchic in their orientation than the aforementioned video advocacy organisations such as Appalshop and Drishti Media Collective. They are focused on the video product rather than the process of

the video's production. And, while they do often desire to effect wider social change, they do not generally work with a personal or community development orientation (Kindon 2009).

Huber (1999) identifies empowerment as the third use of PV, although he doesn't provide a clear definition of what he means by this term. In contrast, empowerment has been usefully defined by Hsiang-Ann Liao (2006: 107), drawing on the work of Edward Said (1978) in the area of feminist communications studies. She argues that it is the opposite of appropriation, where "the experiences of the colonized are interpreted by a more dominant group to sustain a particular representation or view of the 'other' as part of an ideological stance". Empowerment in this context is concerned with the transformation of the individual or of a group of people to enable their ability to recognise unequal power relations, analyse a situation and take social and political action to effect change. Empowerment is therefore about power generated from within people which provides the capacity for self-actualisation, self-definition and self-determination (Collins 1991).

For Huber (1999), empowerment uses of PV enable this kind of individual and social transformation by combining aspects of therapy and activism to collapse the boundaries between subject, producer and viewer. Community or group members work with a facilitator, academic researcher or development communicator in all aspects of the pre-, production, and post-production phases.

PV in this context is grounded in the field of participatory communication, which according to Shirley White (2003: 20) aims at the connection, conscientisation and liberation of people in 'powerless' positions "through a democratic process, characterized by dialog, creative and consensual thinking, and collective action". It is discussed as being a dialectical and dialogic process that can transform technological competencies and social behaviours for those involved (Nair 1994). It is most frequently used in ways that foster cultural identity and preservation, as well as to inform activities oriented

towards community education, political participation, self-determination and social change (Bery 2003; Braden 1998; Braden and Mayo 1999; Cahill *et al.*, 2008b; Frost and Jones 1998; Johanssen *et al.*, 1999; Mayer 2000; Van Vlaenderen 1999).

PV within this empowerment 'frame' is frequently discussed as being a "simple methodology designed to enable illiterate and uneducated people to share knowledge and stories from the heart" (*Insight News* 2008: 2). Barbara Seidl (2003: 194) also contends that PV:

is a means to tell a story, to share an experience, to provide insight, to reveal passion, to transport someone to another place – emotionally, spiritually and intellectually. It is a way to share the work of social change.

The idea of stories, and storytelling as a political act, is central to this form of PV as Renuka Bery (2003: 102) rather romantically comments:

without a storyteller, there is no story. Without listeners, who hears the story? And for the story to have meaning, people must be able to act. Participatory video is a special kind of storytelling that ideally involves the community in telling a story, listening to the story, interpreting the story through its own lens and being empowered to retell and change it to create a community – a political reality – that matches one's desired condition.

The focus on storytelling is particularly powerful if cultural preservation or identity construction is a goal. Storytelling in this way can contribute to visioning and planning processes within communities.

While there is clearly overlap between these three uses of PV within Huber's typology (therapy, activism and empowerment), what is striking is his lack of acknowledgement or attention to the use of PV for research purposes (action-

oriented or otherwise). Yet research of some kind is involved in all three orientations and, as noted earlier, there are growing numbers of academics practising participatory and action-oriented research, which includes the use of video.

Huber's lack of engagement with research-driven uses of PV is critically important to this thesis. By failing to attend to the history of its use in disciplines like anthropology, and more recently within Indigenous contexts, he has missed a valuable opportunity to explore the subtle epistemological and ontological influences of their particular ways of looking upon the relationships of power/knowledge produced within PV endeavours, especially those which claim to be empowering. If social geography, particularly participatory geography, is to avoid a similar fate, then understanding the histories and evolution of PV in both applied development and academic research contexts (particularly with Indigenous peoples) is central to being able to use PV in more productive and less colonising ways.

In the rest of this chapter, I therefore focus my attention on the uses of video attempting to be collaborative or participatory within anthropological research and Indigenous contexts. It is these orientations that have the greatest connections with my own work, and when viewed together, they enable a more critical reading of PV practices in terms of the perpetuation of empire and their complicity with (post)colonial desires inherent within participatory research and development practice.

### **3.4 Ethnographic Film, Participatory Cinema and Collaborative Video**

Within the context of academic research, anthropology has the longest association with film and video (Grimshaw 2001; Pink 2007a) but not all uses have been participatory. Video, and film before it, have generally been used in three ways: first, through the production of an ethnographic film by the

researcher;<sup>33</sup> second, through the production of a ‘film’ by the subjects of the ‘film’ themselves; and third, in the process of elicitation when material ‘filmed’ is shown to those who have been ‘filmed’ for their comments and interpretations (Aull Davies 2008). The second of these uses most closely aligns with PV. Therefore, in the following discussion, I focus on the different ways in which specific academics have sought to use film – then later video – in their research to enable participation by their subjects. These ways reflect the shifts in understanding outlined in Section 3.2 as well as concerns about the politics of representation as noted by Jay Ruby (2000: 221):

It is time for ethnographic filmmakers to stop being so concerned with making ‘important’ films and to become more interested in how their work affects the people they portray and those who view the images.

In East Africa, Keyan Tomaselli and Jeanne Prinsloo (1990) identify the Bantu Kinema Educational Experiment in the mid-1930s as an important initiative which attempted to “create a cinema produced by and for the peoples of East Africa” (Feldman 1977, cited in Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990: 141). In the 1940s, audiovisual techniques became more widespread within anthropology for research purposes (Aull Davies 2008; Gallagher and Kim 2008). Using realist documentary conventions such as those developed by Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov through his ‘cinema vérité’, anthropologists sought to ‘capture the reality’ of people and their activities in naturalistic settings on film for subsequent analysis, or representation to others through the production of visual ethnographies and documentaries (Grimshaw 2001).

Around the same time, with more of an action orientation, Margaret Mead promoted the practice of ‘salvage anthropology’ as a means to rescue marginal cultures at risk of social ‘extinction’ from historical oblivion by creating lasting records of them on film (Aull Davies 2008; Bateson and

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<sup>33</sup> American Robert Flaherty’s 1922 film *Nanook of the North* is generally acknowledged as being the first ethnographic film on record.

Mead 1942; Gallagher and Kim 2008). Her approach has been criticised for being – among other things – naïvely empiricist because of its emphasis on the medium’s “apparent immediacy and transparent factuality” (Aull Davies 2008: 130). Yet it was typical of many anthropologists and visual ethnographers’ attempts to ‘just’ record what was happening in different cultures, which failed to recognise that their approaches were already informed by Western perceptions of space and time (Hume-Cook, G., 9 June 2011, pers. comm).

In the 1950s, a number of technological developments aided the ability of researchers to use the medium in more reflexive ways, akin to the ‘process’ orientation of PV in international development presented in Section 3.3. The reduced size and portability of equipment and the ability to record synchronous sound and images in a range of lighting conditions made it possible for researchers to extend “the possibility for creating a feeling of immediacy and realism in ethnographic films” (Aull Davies 2008: 140), and extend the use of the equipment to ‘non-qualified’ others.

Jean Rouch is frequently identified as being “the most influential ethnographic film-maker in stimulating the development of the reflexive potential for filming” (Aull Davies 2008: 142; also see el Guindi 2004; Grimshaw 2001; Ruby 2000). In his work with the Hauka sect in West Africa, he worked consciously and metaphorically with the camera as an active agent of investigation, rather than as a passive recording instrument (Loizos 1993, cited in Aull Davies 2008: 142). As such, he made a radical move away from the use of ethnographic film for cultural documentation to using it as a means of ‘initiation’. This approach sought to recognise and work with the understanding that “ethnographic realities are produced in and through the ethnographic encounter itself” (Grimshaw 2001: 98).

Rouch (1995) also advocated the practice of ‘feedback’ in which the first rushes of a film were shown to the people who had been filmed. He invited their comments and incorporated their ideas into subsequent filming. He saw this as “an extraordinary technique ... [an] ‘audiovisual counter-gift’”

(Rouch 1995, cited in el Guindi 2004: 179), which could act as a stimulant for mutual understanding and dignity. Feedback, in his understanding, went beyond elicitation mentioned above. As such it was similar to the practice of participation within participant observation (el Guindi 2004), and went some way to move beyond the typically objective and extractive uses of film at the time.

Rouch's (1995: 98, cited in el Guindi 2004: 179) future vision for anthropology was yet more radical. It involved:

a 'participant' camera [that]... will pass ... into the hands of those who were, up to now, always in front of it. Then the anthropologist will no longer monopolize the observation of things. Instead, both he [sic] and his [sic] culture will be observed and recorded. In this way, ethnographic film will help us 'share' anthropology.

In 1966, Sol Worth and John Adair did pass the camera into the hands of others when they taught a group of seven Navajo men and women in Arizona to make and edit silent 16mm films. Worth and Adair wanted to understand 'how' the Navajos made their films and to analyse how their process could act as a window into their cultural meaning systems and worldview. Their objective was "to determine whether we could teach people with a culture different from our ours to make motion pictures depicting their culture and themselves as they saw fit" (Worth and Adair 1972, cited in el Guindi 2004: 140). Their work was foundational in the sub-discipline of the anthropology of visual communication. Their underlying assumption was that something of Navajo cognition and values that could not be accessed by verbal means would be revealed through this process. However, unlike the radical ethnographic approach of Rouch, their purpose remained firmly wedded to the notion of observational realism and the separation of researcher and subject. This was despite its collaborative orientation.

With pastoralist societies in Kenya, David and Judith MacDougall (MacDougall D 1975) refined a different reflexive orientation to that of Rouch (1995), or the approach of Worth and Adair (1972). The MacDougalls (MacDougall D 1975, 1998) developed a practice they termed ‘participatory cinema’ in which they sought to make the filmic encounter – the *process* of production – visible to audiences. For example, in the second of a trilogy on Turkana life, they included their negotiation of the film’s content with some Turkana women and footage of themselves shot by one of the women. They explicitly drew viewers’ attention to the “apparatus (for example, notebooks and cameras) and the relationships involved in the making of the film itself” (Grimshaw 2001: 136).

Their approach was in direct contrast to the Western or ‘privileged camera style’ of most ethnographic filmmaking of the time, which involved the invisible camera going beyond what was possible for a human camera operator to see naturally, to be anywhere within the scene (Grimshaw 2001). This use of the camera continues to be dominant in Hollywood narrative cinema-style productions. It is frequently used by documentary professionals (for human or natural history documentaries) to create a realistic narrative for audiences to consume as ‘reality’ (Hume-Cook, G. 9 June 2011, pers. comm.).

The questions of power inherent in this disembodied use of “the technology” (Grimshaw 2001: 138) concerned the MacDougalls. As a result, they always ‘wore’ their cameras on their bodies, enabling them to engage in spontaneous filming from their own position within any action, demonstrating the camera’s subjective qualities as well as its embodied view from ‘somewhere’.

Apart from their more situated use of the technology, the MacDougalls’ innovations also focused on the notion of ‘conversation’ with the subjects of their films, “in which voice, rather than vision, [was] the means for defining and understanding the world” (Grimshaw 2001: 101). This metaphysical shift from presence (associated with observational realist conventions of seeing into a pre-existing reality) to absence (associated with subjects speaking and calling “forth something new and potentially unrecognisable” (Grimshaw

2001: 140)) reflected their understandings of society as emergent, contested and shaped by the agency of real people.

Their understandings contrasted with Rouch's earlier work (see Rouch 1995), which privileged a somewhat romantic understanding of the transformative power of vision for both his films' participants and his audiences. It also moved beyond his notion of anthropology as something that could be 'shared' with non-academic 'others' through their participation in ethnographic films. By attending to 'voice' and a more self-reflexive and embodied practice, the MacDougalls recognised and worked with the subtle, but centrally important interplay of sight and sound, which Rouch's romantic focus on vision or 'the visual' often masked.

The MacDougalls processes of negotiation and collaboration with people involved in their films changed the heart of visual anthropological practice and became a core component of their 'participatory cinema'. These ideas were radical in anthropology at the time, but have been criticised for perpetuating a search for enlightenment via the incorporation of participants' voices and the MacDougalls' almost exhaustive attention to minute details of daily life (Grimshaw 2001). Their ideas are not dissimilar to those associated with the emphasis on storytelling within much empowerment-oriented PV practice as identified by Huber (1999), but any critical appraisal of this approach remains strangely absent within mainstream PV discourse.

In Australia around the same time as the MacDougalls' were conducting their research, Eric Michaels was taking Worth and Adair's (1972) approach in a more radical direction by integrating an action orientation to his work with the Walpiri people at Yuendumu in the Northern Territory (see O'Regan 1987; Ruby 2000). He worked to enable them to use it to tell their own stories on their own terms when considerable political and structural barriers existed. In particular, Michaels "investigated Warlpiri people's use of locally produced and broadcast television to represent their culture, social interactions and kinship networks" (Singleton *et al.*, 2009: 404; see also Michaels and Kelly 1984). At the conclusion of several years of collaborative

work, he argued that “remote Aborigines are capable and motivated to produce media on their own terms ... they can be acknowledged as the experts in the matter and that training, production and distribution assistance by Europeans be reduced to an ancillary role” (Michaels and Kelly 1984, cited in Ruby 2000: 236).

Today, Michaels’ work is still regarded as a model of good practice and, along with the MacDougalls’ work, marked the shift “from a realist approach to video as ‘objective’ reality to the idea of video as representation shaped by specific standpoints of its producers and viewers” (Pink 2007a: 116). It is in this shift that practices within visual anthropology and community development have found some rapprochement, and other anthropologists have sought to produce and interpret video collaboratively.

Pink (2004a) identifies four key ways in which video is being used collaboratively within anthropological research. First, informants or participants enable the researcher ‘to see’ as they do, or as Cristina Grasseni (2004) has termed it, they enable the ‘filmmaker’ to develop ‘skilled vision’. In this use of video, visual ethnographers apprentice themselves to informants and are guided by them in a process of learning to see as they do, with all the meaning systems that this entails. This process frequently involves informants and researchers in the recording and discussion of apparently mundane or everyday embodied activities – such as inspecting cattle (Grasseni 2004) or cleaning and housework (Pink 2004b, 2006). It may also involve forms of ‘video tours’ and interviews to enable a probing of informants’ embodied experiences, ways of seeing and meaning/value systems.

In the second use, informant participants use the video camera themselves in collaboration with the researcher. In some cases, this occurs spontaneously as research informants take the researcher’s camera to create “completely different visual itineraries of the same place” (Ferrandiz 1998, cited in Pink 2007a). In others it is a deliberate strategy to enhance communication and understanding between different groups involved in a research project (Chalfen and Rich 2004, cited in Pink 2007a). This second process can be

similar to the therapeutic uses of PV in development identified by Huber (1999), as participants often experience increased self-esteem and empowerment through the creation and sharing of video diaries and other products. However, the key difference is often that researchers also use the recordings as a form of data to triangulate other data sources (Chalfen and Rich 2004, cited in Pink 2007a), or to produce texts, which may enable participants and audiences to transcend cultural/political/religious differences (Falzone 2004). The videos produced do not just remain as sources of individual reflection and personal insight.

The third use is more consciously participatory or collaborative, and often has an applied or activist orientation. It attempts to reduce the distances between verbal analysis and visual representation as data, and between researcher and subject (Pink 2007a). It extends ideas and practices of the MacDougalls and Michaels discussed above. In this context, video is often cast as an empowering medium through which individuals or groups or communities challenge dominant media images of themselves and/or work towards political change in their lives (for example, see Flores 2004). Academically it is championed for enabling the construction and analysis of a 'constellation of meanings' (Barnes *et al.*, 1997) about social phenomena from participants' perspectives for collaborative analysis. It is often connected with poststructuralist-feminist approaches in this regard and their orientation to challenging positivistic notions of reality and 'truth', as well as hierarchical power relations within the research process (for example see Chaplin 1994). It is also most closely aligned to empowerment and advocacy uses of PV within community development discourse.

The final use involves employing video footage to engage informants and participants in elicitation and dialogue. In this way, knowledge is generated not only about the subject and images under investigation, but also about how the participants situate themselves as viewers of the footage, and how they refer to different discourses in their comments and discussion of it. In some research, this process of screenings and discussion of footage is used to enhance its subsequent contextualisation or interpretation by the researcher in

formal written ethnographic materials. This does not result in a participatory product and is most closely associated with realist forms of elicitation. In other cases, the process of discussing footage may change the direction of research, if a researcher is open to pursuing new questions about the nature of local meaning systems and media cultures raised by participants' responses (see Hoskins 1993, cited in Pink 2007a). For others, the process of feedback, discussion and participant editing is a central element of the production approach from the beginning. It enables participants to work with the researcher to negotiate and shape their representations within a critically reflexive final product (for example see the work of Zemirah Moffat 2006, discussed in Pink 2007a), as well as benefit from the insights gained along the way.

### **3.5 Indigenous Media**

Positioned as a critical response to the kinds of academic ethnographic filmmaking discussed above and the general absence of 'Fourth World' representations in mainstream mass media, Indigenous media can be defined as "forms of media expression conceptualised, produced and/or created by Indigenous peoples" (Wilson and Stewart 2008: 2). Its proliferation has coincided with the rise in human rights discourse since the Second World War, the civil rights movement, the reflexive turn in anthropology and other social sciences, and the availability of lightweight, portable and more affordable film cameras with synchronous sound (Wilson and Stewart 2008).

Indigenous media has been likened to the postcolonial move to 'write back' against colonial masters, whereby Indigenous peoples 'shoot back', "reversing the colonial gaze by constructing their own visual media, telling their own stories on their own terms" (Prins 2004: 518). Not surprisingly therefore, it aims to "heal disruptions in cultural knowledge" and "offers a possible means – social, cultural and political – for reproducing and transforming cultural identity among people who have experienced massive

political, geographic and economic disruption” (Ginsburg 2002, cited in Pink 2006: 90). As such, the “indigenization of visual media” (Prins 2004: 516) represents a particular form of cultural activism practised by people who have been dominated by ‘white eurocolonial settler populations’ (Kobayashi and de Leeuw 2010) in the USA, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, and encompassing settler states elsewhere in the world. It involves a specific political dynamic or intercultural negotiation which is implicated in the politics of identity and broader movements for cultural autonomy and political self-determination (Ginsburg 1995a; Pink 2006; Wilson and Stewart 2008). Today, such movements have achieved some success as evidenced by the presence of Indigenous filmmakers in international film circuits, and the operation of Inuit TV in northern Canada, Native American broadcasting in the USA, Aboriginal TV and radio in Australia (Ginsburg 1999). and most recently, Māori TV in Aotearoa New Zealand (Smith, J. and Abel 2008).

One of the earliest and most striking examples of Indigenous media use was by the Kayapo Indians in Brazil who used video to document historical encounters with Brazilian state power and internal political events. According to Terence Turner (2002, cited in Pink 2006: 90), their use of the technology “contributed to the transformation of Kayapo social consciousness, both by promoting a more objectified notion of social reality and by heightening their sense of control over the process of objectification itself.” Elsewhere in Latin America, the Chiapas Media Project/Promedios has enabled indigenous communities in Chiapas and Guerero to use video to great political effect to draw international attention to their plights and to challenge dominant media representations (Halkin 2008). Alexandra Halkin (2008: 178) notes that “Indigenous controlled video has the power to make connections in communities and to extend communications/information internationally to non-Indigenous people”.

In both cases, initial equipment and training was provided by outsiders who then supported community members to produce their own representations. An approach foreshadowed and encouraged by Rouch’s (1975/1995) concept of ‘shared anthropology’ and the MacDougalls’ (1975, 1998) notion of

‘participatory cinema’ as discussed above. Such an approach also has similarities with, and differences from, the work of Worth and Adair’s (1972) ‘native experiment’ with Navajo in 1966, Snowden and Lowe’s work with Indigenous groups along the US-Canadian border in 1969, and Michaels’ work with Walpiri people in the Northern Territory of Australia in the early 1980s.

Some writers consider Indigenous media to be completely different from ethnographic film and more like PV within community development because its audience is thought to be intercultural. However, Rouch (1995) argued that the primary audience of his ethnographic films was the people in them despite their subsequent screenings to audiences elsewhere in the West. Further, the Kayapo and Zapatistas as well as increasing numbers of development-applications of PV are aimed at both local and distant audiences in their efforts to effect change. The inter/intracultural binary is also blurred within many applications of PV within Indigenous media, where like the work of the MacDougalls and Rouch in visual ethnography and many participatory applications in community development, the films and videos produced are frequently oriented towards the *process* of identity construction and representation (Ginsburg 1995a) with a view to effecting change both within and beyond their communities of origin. Academics, researchers and development practitioners recognise that in these uses of PV the act of ‘filming’ simultaneously expresses and produces contemporary Indigenous subjectivities, and that Indigenous cultures and subjectivities are “emergent, processual and responsive” (Deger 2006: 46). Such processes highlight the contingent nature of current ‘realities’ and provide for possible shifts in consciousness and political action or empowerment.

Other writers distinguish Indigenous media according to who is in control of the technology and decision-making about representation. For example, ‘whitefella’ trainer Neil Turner working with the Aboriginal Anangu people of South Australia in the late 1980s and early 1990s applied the credo of ‘blackhands on cameras’ (Deger 2006) as a means of shifting the locus of decision making and control. “Some simply want to abandon or declare

‘colonist’ any attempt to film ‘the other’ since Indigenous media production makes it clear that ‘they’ are capable of representing themselves” (Ginsburg 1995a: 263).

Yet others argue that there is a role for ‘outsiders’ to play in transferring technology, training people, and creating appropriate infrastructure for Indigenous expression (Halkin 2008). Still others (both Indigenous and not) promote the important roles that outsiders have to play in documenting Indigenous understandings and uses of media, carving out ‘discursive space’ for the representation and activities of Indigenous media (Ginsburg 1994), and in “developing a body of knowledge and critical perspective to do with aesthetics and politics ... on representation of Aboriginal people and concerns in art, film, television or other media” (Langton 1982, cited in Ginsburg 1995a: 259).<sup>34</sup>

As such, Indigenous media has become more widely recognised within academia “as a specific kind of representational project” (Deger 2006: 47). In addition, outside academia “the defiant tone that infuses accounts of Indigenous empowerment through technology has proven to have widespread and ... a somewhat romantic appeal” (Deger 2006: 47). A similar tone and romantic appeal is evident within dominant representations of PV in community (international) development, particularly as promoted by Insight, (and geographers so far). It tends to result in rather naïve or uncritical uses of the medium, which do little to acknowledge the complexity of issues associated with the use of PV, particularly in contexts where there are large structural differences between academics, researchers, development practitioners and participants.

Within Indigenous media discourse, however, more explicit attention and acknowledgement is paid to the “highly charged intercultural dynamics” (Deger 2006: 45) associated with the politics of seeing, researching and representing using PV. Rachel Moore (1994: 129), for instance, has suggested

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<sup>34</sup> These arguments are similar to those put forward associated with the role (or otherwise) of outsiders in Indigenous research as discussed in Chapter 2.

that while traditional ethnographic projects in which academic researchers do the filming are problematic, handing over the camera to Indigenous peoples in a participatory move and assuming that this will provide an ‘authentic’ perspective free from power relations does little more than offer “a ‘fast theoretical and moral fix’ for a discipline in disarray.” As Jennifer Deger (2006: 43) also comments, the “premise (or is it the promise) of authentic or traditional culture as the grounds for empowerment makes Indigenous media a particularly powerful and problematic political project.”

This paradox arises because participation by Indigenous people in the production of their own visual media does not happen in a vacuum (Hamilton 2000). Indigenous media makers are frequently caught in what Faye Ginsburg (1991) has called ‘a Faustian dilemma’ whereby through the objectification and representation of their own culture (albeit for activist reasons) via the Western technologies of film, video or internet, they irrevocably change that culture. They cannot escape it seems “what has come before in a seemingly indelible history of [W]estern filmography” (Deger 2006: 48). James Weiner (1997, cited in Deger 2006) takes this point further to argue that Indigenous cultures are irrevocably changed as a result of using audiovisual media to represent themselves even if they ostensibly become empowered as a result.

He implies that taking up these technologies in such contexts is a kind of perverse self-inflicted form of media imperialism, whereby the act of using the technology – ostensibly for the cause of strengthening culture – produces instead an ontologically debased relationship with the world (Deger 2006: 55).

Further, he argues that Western scopopic technologies and regimes inflict a type of cultural violence through “the camera’s demand for the visible [which may be] at odds with culturally-specific forms of managing the exchange of information, and more profoundly, the nature of an indigenous being-in-the-world” (Weiner 1997, cited in Deger 2006: 53).

Such an argument is pertinent in the context of this thesis because it resonates with criticisms of participation associated with the subjectifying effects of PD's insistence on visual methods with groups in public spaces (see Chapter 2). However, and less helpfully, it also presupposes some kind of 'pre-cinematic' status among Indigenous peoples, which is increasingly rare or in the specific case of Māori, non-existent. Further it leaves "no room for the possibility that the complex and constitutive dynamic between culture and technology might, in Indigenous contexts, produce something other than a modern (that is, Western) subjectivity" (Deger 2006: 56).

Indigenous peoples around the world have been interacting with other 'scopic technologies and regimes' for years and their cultures are constantly changing and evolving as a result. The impacts of these regimes are never total or irreversible, and Indigenous peoples demonstrate considerable agency in their use of audiovisual technologies. David MacDougall (1998, 2005) for example, points to the ways that visceral (as well as audiovisual) knowledges may be produced by the camera and draws attention to the sensuous, embodied dimensions of 'filmic' meaning making in which Indigenous peoples (as well as others) are involved. In addition, Laura Marks (2000, cited in Deger 2006: 51) engages with the haptic qualities of cultural representation and 'filmic' experience to argue that "spaces of the intercultural are being actively (re)constituted in ways that differ from the representational tropes and practices that are characteristic of Western filmmaking".

Consequently, what these debates highlight is that within Indigenous, and participatory uses of video more generally, there exists "a complex and constitutive relationship between media technologies and the production of knowledge and subjectivity within the specificities of historical and cultural contexts" (Deger 2006: 59).<sup>35</sup> They provide salutary reminders of some of the colonial continuities at work even within more participatory engagements with video, but also raise questions about the possibilities that may be

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<sup>35</sup> This relationship also extends, in sometimes unpredictable ways, beyond the actual production process into the spaces or contexts of audience reception where audiences do the important work of meaning-making (see Chapter 8).

afforded by working with Indigenous perspectives and understandings for the repoliticisation of participation and social geography more generally.

### 3.6 PV: Process

[There is] no fixed way in which participatory video has to be done (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 11).

The applications of PV in community development, visual anthropology and Indigenous media discussed above are varied and intersect with either an emphasis on the video as process or product(s). Where emphasis is placed, depends on the purpose of people's involvement. If the purpose is to facilitate interaction, enable self-expression and achieve specific localised goals – that is, to privilege participation and political organisation – then the process associated with making and engaging with the video is paramount, and the videotape or digital recording produced may have little life outside of its immediate context, or even become irrelevant (Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990). If, however, the goal is to generate data for subsequent analysis, reach an external audience for educational purposes or to exert pressure to achieve an advocacy goal of wider development or change, then the videotape or digital recording becomes more important than the process of its production (Guidi 2003; White 2003).<sup>36</sup>

Whether more emphasis is placed on process or product is also connected to the kinds of relationships established and embodied between external video makers, academics, researchers or development practitioners and community participants. Keyan Tomaselli (1989) used the term 'subject-communities' for those self-constituted groups who engage video makers. This term acknowledges the power relationship between crew and participants by calling attention to the agency of non-professionals in the process. It also downplays their *subjectification* within the PV process where professionally

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<sup>36</sup> Tomaselli and Prinsloo (1990) note that without active audience engagement in video products, effective mass mobilisation does not occur.

trained ‘facilitators’ or crew often assume the power to determine the nature of the relationship and subsequent process (see Chapter 6).

As noted previously, PV is therefore “a contentious idea” (Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990: 140) because while there may be an ideological orientation to facilitate and enable non-trained ‘others’ to produce their own video texts:

conventional production categories and professional common sense ensure that subjects are denied access to production dimensions and technical skills. Professional ideology is scornful of narrow gauge film or non-broadcast video formats. Production is technologically complicated and should according to this logic, be entrusted solely to the trained and experienced (Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990: 140-141).

With the increased simplification and accessibility of video technology since these authors were writing, attitudes like these are shifting. But it is salient to remember that the different beliefs and goals of all involved do influence the precise form, orientation and process taken to PV’s use (Hume-Cook *et al.*, 2007).

As Tomaselli and Prinsloo (1990) also note, PV is saturated with power and this does not change with changes in technology and accessibility. The precise relationships established between subject-communities and outside video makers vary in their orientation, but all involve negotiations of power (Lomax *et al.*, 2011) (Table 3.1).

In general, PV follows a similar process to any video production process. The main difference is commitment (philosophy, time and energy) invested in the development of relationships with subject-community members (Box 3.1), and the kinds of video training in production and editing provided to self-represent.

**Table 3.1. Participation Continuum and Related Video Process**

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

(Source: Kindon 2009: 99)

### **Box 3.1. Generic Outline of a PV Process**

#### *Conceptualisation and Research*

- Contact and establishment of relationship between outsiders (academic and/or video producers) and community members.
- Negotiation of purpose, process and outcomes (this may include a Memorandum of Understanding covering copyright/ownership of media produced).

#### *Pre-production*

- Negotiation of access to equipment, resources and funding.
- Identification of, and negotiation with, participants to be trained.
- Production timeline and planning.
- Training of community members – increased familiarity and confidence with equipment, concepts and techniques.

#### *Production*

- ‘Filming’ of video footage by community members.

#### *Post-production*

- Training of community members.
- Editing of video footage with and by community members.

#### *Screening, Dialogue and Feedback*

- Footage screened (to participants and/or to wider community) and discussed.
- Learning and exchange facilitated.
- Possible change or action as a result of discussion.
- Management of video products (dissemination, storage, access).

#### *Then more Production, Post-production, Screening, and so on*

#### *Or Pre-production*

- Motivation to create more projects of benefit to the community.
- Liaison with outsiders about future and ongoing involvement and so forth.

(Source: Kindon 2009: 99)

PV within visual anthropology and other academic research and in particular within Indigenous contexts often involves extended field periods and participant observation before any ‘filming’ begins. Deger (2006) for example, was involved in a pre-production phase of 18 months before any ‘filming’ took place with her Aboriginal Yolgnu collaborators. The

production stage of the process may also be quite extended, evolving organically as participants take over control of the cameras in their own time, or through repetitive cycles of action and reflection in accordance with a PAR or Indigenous methodological orientation, local timeframes and agendas (as illustrated in Box 1.1).

In community development uses, however, much of the initial conceptualisation and pre-production work takes place between development agencies and the outside video makers so the timeframe is much shorter, sometimes only a few days or weeks. The production stage tends to be much shorter. Many of the facilitation tools and techniques common within PD processes, particularly Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) or Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) are used to quickly build participants' rapport with each other, develop their confidence with the equipment, establish a group identity, forge a commitment to shared research and analysis, and focus the use of video towards local level action planning goals (see Lunch and Lunch 2006 for details). For example, Insight trainings and production workshops are frequently carried out in only two weeks and involve the process outlined in Box 3.2.<sup>37</sup> However, if therapeutic benefits are sought (self-confidence and understanding, healing and so on) then longer projects and a more open agenda from funding agencies are needed (Lunch and Lunch 2006).

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<sup>37</sup> Insight Director Chris Lunch in the *Insight News* (2008: 7) describes aspects of the PV process he carried out with the Valley Trust, a community health organisation in South Africa in 2007. He trained 12 people – staff members and community participants aged 19-62 over 12 days. During this time, they worked in four teams each with their own camera and produced and edited seven short participatory videos. (See <http://insightshare.org/resources/article/valley-trust-and-insightshare-participatory-video-project> Accessed on August 24 2011).

**Box 3.2      Typical PV Process within International Community  
Development Applications**

- Local people rapidly learn how to use video equipment through games and exercises facilitated by outsiders.
- Facilitators help local groups to identify and analyse important issues in their community and to plan how to show this on video.
- Video messages are directed and ‘filmed’ by local groups.
- Footage is shown to the wider community at daily screenings, setting in motion a dynamic exchange of ideas and perceptions.
- Completed ‘films’ are used to promote awareness and exchange within the same community and within other communities.
- Completed ‘films’ may be used for lobbying and advocacy by showing them to policymakers at the local, national or even international level.

(Source: Adapted from Lunch 2004: 1-2)

The post-production stage can also be short – if integrated into ongoing screenings, feedback and dialogue (as per the Fogo Experiment and most Insight applications) – or long, if collaborative editing is involved to produce ethnographic films or research documentaries. It may also involve training in interactive internet platforms or social networking sites to enable affordable and effective distribution (see for example Pink *et al.*, 2004; Singleton *et al.*, 2009). The process also varies in length depending upon how much time is spent in enabling subject-communities to develop their own cultural codes of representation (Ruby 2000), rather than adopting Western or mainstream media and filmic conventions.

Interestingly, the most recently documented account of process appears to have integrated ideas from Insight and other more rapid community development processes into an academic research context. Helen Lomax and colleagues (Lomax *et al.*, 2011) worked with nine children over three days using PV as the primary tool to explore their conceptions of childhood and experiences of a deprived neighbourhood in one UK town (Box 3.3).

### **Box 3.3      An Example of PV in Sociological Research with Children**

#### *Day 1*

- Build relationships between the children & the research team.
- Explain the project.
- Listen to ideas and experiences (particularly of friendship & moving into the area).
- Decide on the format of the project output (documentary ‘film’).

#### *Day 2*

- Children conduct ‘filming’ using two cameras to capture scenes from different angles (& thereby record the PV process).
- Children interview residents.
- Children take photographs of themselves, residents & scenes and objects on the estate.
- Four hours of ‘film’ footage & over 600 photographs generated.

#### *Day 3*

- Research team & children work in small groups to review the ‘film’ footage & photographs.
- Edit materials.
- Identification of additional images needed for the ‘film’s’ narrative.
- More ‘film’, photographs & art work to include in the narrative.

(Source: Adapted from Lomax *et al.*, 2011: 235).

While attempting to highlight the complicated dynamics of PV and highlight that participation is not neutral, their focus rests firmly on the value of this rapid use of PV for generating research insights into children as social actors, and into the contexts of their everyday lives. They pay scant attention to the power dynamics and relationships between the outside academic researchers and the children, or who controlled the process of training, editing and post-production.

#### **3.6.1      The Process with Te Iwi o Ngāti Hauiti**

The process and practices under scrutiny in this thesis differed from the ‘problem-and-action focus’ usually driving PV within community

development. They also differed from mainstream ethnographic approaches to film and video within visual anthropology, and the research use of PV by Lomax *et al.*, (2011) above. Instead, video was used in the context of participatory research to enable ‘co-operatively produced’ or ‘subject-generated’ films (see Ruby 2000 for more discussion) that engaged members of Ngāti Hauiti as the ‘subject-community’ (to use Tomaselli’s term) in all stages of pre-, production and post-production, including elicitation, shooting, discussion and analysis, editing, presentation and dissemination.

The complex challenge of negotiating ethics as multiple and contested is a central part of participatory processes (Cahill *et al.*, 2007) and represents ‘tricky ground’ (Smith, L. 2005) for researchers to traverse. This is particularly the case for non-Indigenous researchers who desire to engage collaboratively with Indigenous peoples. Some writers have drawn attention to the limitations of university ethics boards and guidelines for protecting Indigenous participants or being able to accommodate the lived reality of non-Indigenous–Indigenous partnerships (Kovach 2009; Kuokannen 2004; Rigney 1999; Schnarch 2004; Smith, L. 1999; Wilson 2008). Others have advocated for a more contextualised, negotiated and embedded approach to ethical considerations and decisions made between non-Indigenous researchers and Indigenous collaborators (Ball 2005; Gibbs 2001; Nicholls 2009; Somerville and Perkins 2003). Geographers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have been active in these debates (Briggs and Sharp 2004; Dyck and Kearns 1995; Hodge and Lester 2006; Howitt 1998; Howitt *et al.*, 1990; Howitt and Stevens 2010; Indigenous People’s Speciality Group (IPSG) of the Association of American Geographers (AAG) (2010); Johnson *et al.*, 2007; Kearns 1997; Kondon and Latham 2002; Louis 2007; McLean *et al.*, 1997; Panelli 2008; Shaw *et al.*, 2006; Tipa *et al.*, 2009; Wright *et al.*, 2007).

Within the relationship at the heart of this thesis, ethics were taken very seriously and informed by the work of various Māori authors (Bishop 1996; Cram 1997, 2001; Irwin 1994; Smith, L. 1999; Te Awekotuku 1991; Teariki *et al.*, 1992). They were also negotiated within the embedded nature of evolving research relationships within the project. This meant, as mentioned

in Chapter 1, that various members of Ngāti Hauiti, myself and Geoff, spent eight months during 1998 negotiating the nature of our working relationship, the project kaupapa, as well as the name of the project and process, including the treatment of intellectual property generated through the collaboration. Out of this process, Ngāti Hauiti members established a Project Working Party (PWP) who oversaw the process of the project, and together we developed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU – see Appendix C) which served as the project’s responsibility structure (McLean *et al.*, 1997) as advocated by Gayatri Spivak (1996). Richie Howitt and Stan Stevens (2010: 47) discuss the importance of such local research authorisation, community supervision and the negotiation of appropriate cultural protocols if cross-cultural research is “to foster decolonising in multiple, interactive ways”. This was certainly the intent informing this relational approach. In addition, Sarah Pink (2001) supports the use of an MoU within research projects involving visual media because it enables shared agency and a more equitable negotiated process to emerge. It also encourages the explicit negotiation of ownership of images produced.

Collectively, great emphasis was placed on the framing or establishment phase of the working relationship. This is something that is frequently overlooked within published accounts of PV applications such as that by Lomax *et al.*, (2011) above, yet has been identified as critically important within Indigenous research (Kovach 2009; Nicholls 2009; Wilson 2008) and, more specifically in Māori research by Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (Smith, L. 1999). Getting the purpose of the collaboration ‘right’, and sustaining constructive working relationships was more important than focusing on quickly generating lots of video products. As a consequence, and as outlined in Chapter 1, almost eight months were taken to negotiate the working relationship and to scope the project before any training or community research occurred.

During a two to three month period of fieldwork in 1998-1999 when Geoff and I lived in the rohe and carried out most training and production work, participating iwi members were supported to increase their skills and capacity

with video cameras so that they could make their own films and carry out research they had determined would be useful to their ongoing development efforts. All participants – with their explicit agreement – as well as Geoff and myself were ‘filmed’ in the process so as to produce audiovisual documentation of our attempts to do research differently, and to provide a record for anyone else in the iwi interested in learning about video and research techniques. Since 2000, a smaller group of Wellington-based iwi members have been working on a documentary of the iwi’s 1999 inaugural awa hikoi with Geoff and myself.

Early on in our deliberations, Working Party members, Geoff and myself discussed the value or otherwise of audiovisually recording our discussions and evolving relationships. All agreed that because one of the project goals was to document the process as well as any products, then having an audiovisual archive would be valuable to future generations. It was also recognised that it would be useful to inform my PhD research, which was at that stage, loosely focused on our process of working together. Finally, we talked about the potential benefits of using excerpts of footage to inform research methods courses I was involved in at the university. Members of Ngāti Hauiti were keen to share the learnings of our work together with anyone who was interested.

Ngāti Hauiti members gave verbal permission to be filmed and understood that the video camera(s) would be a regular feature of our work together. They also understood that at the end of the project, all video and audio tapes connected with the project would be returned to the iwi for their management and further use. In a sense then, being videoed became part of the ‘mundane’, everyday, or ‘known’ parts of our work together (Frith *et al.*, 2005) particularly as Geoff and I also regularly put ourselves in front of the camera. In one respect, the cameras’ presence perhaps enabled a more honest acknowledgement of the negotiated nature of our relationships. Their mundanity, however, may also have meant that issues of consent at times became less clear-cut than may have been ideal, as participants forgot that the cameras were there or that they were recording our conversations.

As a means to address this issue, we collectively decided that anyone was free to request that the cameras be turned off at any time during a discussion, meeting or training session. No one ever requested to do this however, despite there being some tense interactions in a few of the meetings. In fact, the only time when filming was not permitted was during the initial pōwhiri where Geoff, Ben and myself were officially welcomed onto the iwi marae.<sup>38</sup> In some respects, this was ironic given the hugely significant role that the pōwhiri plays in connecting distinct groups of people into one for the purposes of future interests (McClintock *et al.*, 2012). However, our inability to film this foundational event was related to the central principle of our emerging relationship – respect. For myself, Geoff and Ben as the parties being welcomed, it was essential that we were not involved in any other activity such as filming, which might have distracted us from fully embracing the spiritual beginning of our relationship with members of Ngāti Hauiti and the project. Through the process of the pōwhiri and in particular, through the hongi (the mutual sharing of breath through the touching of noses of tāngata whenua and manuwhiri – guests or researchers) at the end of the pōwhiri, life was effectively breathed into our new collaborative relationship and the project itself.

Respect for this process – as embodied in the te reo Māori phrase – ‘kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata’, or do not trample over the authority of the person/people, and respect for the people involved – as communicated in the te reo Māori phrase – ‘aroha ki te tangata’, or respect for the person/people, were therefore paramount (see also Box 2.5). Moreover, because we were not allowed onto the marae complex before being officially invited through a karanga (call of invitation), we were unable to set up the video equipment that in other circumstances would have enabled us to record our entrance and welcome. A further aspect of our respect, therefore, extended to the sanctity of the space into which we were about to enter, as this was in and of itself an extension of the people with whom we were about to start building relationships.

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<sup>38</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 1, between late 1998 and early 1999 an MA student, Ben Hyslop, was involved in the project.

VUW ethics approval was sought to collectively carry out PV interviews with residents of Utiku township in January 1999. The other iwi members interviewed were provided with information sheets and asked to give their consent to participate in the research. All did, but two requested that their interviews only be recorded aurally. Copies of the video interviews were returned to participants for ‘member-checking’ and any aspects that they wished deleted were done so when two final copies were made. One of the final copies was then returned to participants for their personal use and the other was kept as part of the audiovisual archive of material associated with the overall project to be returned to the iwi at the end of the collaboration.

The orientation and process presented here could perhaps be categorised between Co-Learning and Collective Action in the participatory continuum (Table 3.1). However, as introduced in Chapter 1, I’ve chosen to name our process Participatory Video for Research (PVR) to distinguish it from these mainstream uses of PV, and the increasing adoption of PV into research by other academics. I think that this distinct nomenclature is important to avoid confusion with other operating modes and to highlight the collaborative research dimension at the heart of this particular project.

The approach developed with Ngāti Hauiti has also been similar to that taken by A Buen Comun – an interdisciplinary Spanish ethnographic ‘filmmaking’ unit – who view social science and ‘film’ as instruments of social transformation that “do not ignore the shadows and incoherencies that surround us” (Camas-Baena *et al.*, 2004: 132). A Buen Comun’s acknowledgement of “the shadows and incoherencies” is important because it contrasts most of the empowerment rhetoric within PV in community development discourse. And, for this thesis, it connects directly to the work of Slavoj Žižek (1989) on ‘the Real’ within the workings of ideology as discussed in the next chapter.

### 3.7 Conclusion

PV as a research methodology has only recently arrived within geography, yet it has diverse and varied roots in radical filmmaking and salvage anthropology beginning almost 100 years ago. These origins have been adapted and shaped in many ways within different contexts around the world to enable ‘ordinary’ people to become involved in the production of audiovisual texts about their lives, and to affect change at different scales.

Currently, the distinction between the uses of PV in research, development or advocacy is less clear-cut than it was even ten years ago. Visual anthropology has for some time now been grappling with the ethical dilemmas associated with the crisis of representation, which has required a re-negotiation of the relationships between vision, voice and what it considers to be authoritative knowledge. Its practice has moved towards more collaborative and participatory uses of the medium. Simultaneously, as Indigenous media and participatory development practice have become more mainstreamed, so too have approaches which engage non-academic people in research about their own lives, increasingly using video to communicate their findings and perspectives to both close and distant others.

Within this context, it is particularly significant that in the UK, Insight has been making recent institutional interventions into academic research training. As alluded to earlier, Insight has become the leading proponent of the practice and evaluation of PV processes within academia in the UK through their association with an ESRC-funded Participatory Video National Research Network hosted through the Open University (<https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A0=PV-NET-DISCUSS>). They have trained many academics in their version of PV including at least two geographers who have recently worked collaboratively with them in their research projects in Africa and Latin America (see Section 3.1). Their influence upon academic research practices looks set to grow.

While Garrett (2010: 9-10), whose work I drew on to open this chapter, argues that the primary value to geographers of working with PV is that it “gives agency to your project participants” and “exposes the wiring of the method” so that a shift can occur which bridges “the gaps between informants and researchers by undermining notions of academic authority”, I have serious concerns about the possibilities for the repoliticisation of social geography at the heart of this thesis if international development practices of PV (most specifically in the form of the Insight model or that developed by Lomax *et al.*, 2011) are promulgated more widely within geographic research practice.

As noted above, PV within (international) community development work tends to be couched within the ideological rhetoric of participatory development. This rhetoric includes an “enduring positivist belief that the camera produces a ‘window’ on reality ... as opposed to a creative tool in the service of a new signifying practice” (Ginsburg 1991: 93). It also fails to acknowledge the presence of the romantic and enlightenment ideals associated with vision and voice so central to visual anthropology. Their ‘absent presence’ is telling and points towards PV as a technology of imperial power and therefore potentially tyrannous, even as its users espouse its liberatory, empowering and postcolonial ideology.

Such a state of affairs raises concerns about geography’s current and future engagements with PV as an ‘innovative’ methodology, with which to destabilise academic authority and generate more ‘authentic’ and useful knowledges, particularly if Insight remains the dominant proponent of this methodology within the (UK) academic community, and the wisdom and knowledge present within Indigenous media discourse continues to be marginalised.

In conclusion, therefore, I would like to suggest that if social geographers like myself, as well as others more widely in the discipline, are to use PV in ways that do not further perpetuate some of the colonial continuities and cultural violence previously discussed in visual anthropology and community

development, then we must critically engage with Indigenous media discourse and be willing to turn the camera on ourselves to think productively through our inevitable complicities as facilitating researchers. The following chapters provide an orientation and approach for doing just this.

# **CHAPTER 4. ORIENTATION: CONCEPTUALISING COMPLICITY**

## **4.1 Introduction**

[T]here is no responsibility without the troubling and enabling moment of complicity (Sanders 2002: 18).

Complicity as the concept and practice at the heart of this thesis is not something to which researchers – especially those informed by emancipatory ideals – like to admit. It does not sit well with our self-image as critical thinkers and/or practitioners who seek to challenge wrongdoings, not commit them. It also provokes ambiguity about our actions or inactions, most frequently resulting in ‘quietism’ or avoidance (Schaffer 2004). Often we are unaware of our complicity even as we enact it. As Gillian Rose (1997a) has discussed, transparent self-reflexivity is impossible and sometimes our actions inadvertently perpetuate the kinds of power imbalances we seek to challenge.

In other cases, we may have an inkling or even evidence that our practice is reinforcing hegemonic understandings and performances, but change little. Such resistance or refusal to acknowledge our own complicity/ies within our research or development work itself compounds the situation. Such resistance often colludes with hegemonic aspirations for neutrality and objectivity within research and development practice, and reinforces an illusion that knowledge somehow exists ‘out there’, independent of our relationships with those involved in our work. It may also overlook and replicate the very inequalities we seek to transform. It is important, therefore, to think about what constitutes complicity in its many guises, how it manifests within different spaces at different times, what enables or constrains its effects, and

how it may be both essential and something to work against within socially-just research.

In this chapter I argue for the value of ‘thinking-through-complicity’ by attending to its embodied, materialised and spatial dimensions. Like power, it can manifest as “an action, behaviour or imagination brought into being in a specific context as the result of the interplay of various communicative and material resources” (Kesby *et al.*, 2007: 20 drawing on Allen 2003 and Foucault 1980). Frequently, these resources are thought of in rather clear-cut ways in terms of who may be enabled to speak in what spaces or command ‘the pen’ or ‘the stick’ (see Chambers 1983). However, such communicative or material resources may include shared understandings about particular ‘Thirds’, which infuse and inform a research relationship and the actions that participants within it take. ‘Thirds’ in this context refer to any specific sites through which researchers and their research collaborators become complicit in a way that enables a productive working relationship to occur (adapted from Marcus 1998). These sites may be proximate to the actual location of the research, such as te Tiriti o Waitangi in the case of the project with members of Ngāti Hauiti, or they may be apparently distant such as the notion of ‘helping’ prevalent within (Christian-informed) international development discourse (Heron 2007).

Often complicity is conceived of in negative terms, but it is also essential for constructive social change. Consequently, working through the effects of complicity – particularly within socially-just oriented research – is important to provide a productive means of confronting academic researchers’ positive and negative entanglements with power. And, in the specific case of this thesis, of providing a productive means of repoliticising participatory discourse within social geography.

In what follows, I draw on the work of a range of scholars both inside and outside geography interested in the role of the intellectual and researcher in social justice and socially-just research respectively to establish a framework for subsequent analysis and interpretation of key incidents of my practice. The chapter begins with a discussion of complicity and the productive tension that exists between its more and less positive manifestations for thinking about researcher/intellectual responsibility, ethics and social justice. I then go on to outline an approach as detailed by Kapoor (2005) to track the workings of complicity within Participatory Development (PD). This approach has been the catalyst for my thesis and my expansion of his ideas within the context of the Participatory Video for Research (PVR) project with members of Ngāti Hauiti. Kapoor's use of a psychoanalytical frame, inspired by the works of Slavoj Žižek and Jacques Lacan, provides a helpful orientation to the excavation of my complicity within the project, but there are limitations. The feminist materialist work of Sara Mills (2005) provides a complementary lens through which to also consider how complicity is bound up in processes of subjectification and racialisation associated with the ongoing gendered and raced legacies of colonialism manifest within social science research. By combining these two orientations, I have been able to expand upon Kapoor's initial approach to consider the ways in which my complicity has been materialised, embodied and spatialised. These additional dimensions are pertinent given social geography's recent engagements with matter, the body and scale (Johnston and Longhurst 2010; Del Casino *et al.*, 2011). They are also relevant for thinking through the more productive or enabling aspects of complicity as evidenced by the presence of 'Thirds' within any research relationship.

## 4.2 Defining Complicity

### Box 4.1 Common Dictionary Definitions of Complicity

**Com-plic-i-ty *n***

- Involvement with another in doing something illegal or wrong
- Involvement in a crime or some activity that is wrong
- Involvement as an accomplice in some questionable act or crime
- Guilt as an accomplice in a crime or offence

Synonyms

- Collusion, conspiracy, connivance, abetment

And also:

- Involvement, responsibility, collaboration, participation and support

(Sources: *I-Mac Dictionary*; *Collins Essential English Dictionary*, *WordNet* 3.)

Complicity appears to be a ‘dirty’ word, loaded with references to crime and wrongdoing, conspiracy and guilt. It is not surprising that until recently, there has been no full-scale philosophical exposition of it and its implications in relation to the role of academics and intellectuals in public life. Yet, it also has constructive dimensions that are necessary for the practices of responsibility, collaboration and participation.

Yasmin Gunaratnam (2003) draws out this tension between complicity as a form of necessary ‘complex and involved’ connection or affinity (a neutral or productive reading) and as ‘partnership in an evil action’ (a more negative reading). This tension produces a morally charged and ethically complicated landscape for researchers to navigate. It is the subtle interplay between these dimensions which is critically important for my work, and which resonates with the work of Rose (1993) on the paradoxical spaces frequently occupied by feminist researchers in their encounters with differently positioned others.

Helpfully Mark Sanders (2002) (drawing from incidental remarks by Jacques Derrida and others) has developed a conception of complicity that makes it

possible to think of collaboration and resistance as interrelated, and to explore the problem of complicity without either simply accusing or excusing the parties involved. His ‘both/and’, rather than ‘either/or’ approach opens up possibilities to explore both narrow or quotidian acts of complicity, and their connections to more general ideologies and discourses, which reinforce privilege and inequality. It is also helpful as a means of excavating moments of choice within research encounters, and the historical and historicised exigencies that led to them and their consequences (see also Mills 2005). Such a politics of inquiry is important because it enables a questioning of what other choices were not made and why, as well as what alternative possibilities might exist in similar situations in future (Denzin 2004, 2008).

In each moment where choice exists about whether or how to act and with what intention, there is ambiguity. This ambiguity can prompt one of three modes of action or inaction (adapting Schaffer 2004: 70-71):

1. Sheer quietism – we do nothing because we cannot deal with the ambiguity presented by the situation (a blind faith response);
2. Non-engagement/action – we fear the potential harm that our action might do to those we seek to help and so do nothing; and
3. Engagement/action – we embrace the potential harm we might do (in spite of the consequences) because of a belief in some higher priority or moral good.

At first glance, it might appear that the third mode of action is the most ethical and least implicated in complicity because at least it seeks to do *something*. This is certainly the mode that has greatest resonance with the approaches to research and representation discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Yet it too is riddled with complicity. For as Sanders (2002: 7) notes: “When opposition takes the form of a demarcation *from* something, it cannot, it follows, be untouched by that to which it opposes itself. Opposition takes its first steps from a footing in complicity”. Or in other words, whenever one attempts to invoke justice, there is always the risk of doing injustice (Sanders 2002).

Implicit within these sentiments is the idea of responsibility – of the academic, researcher or development practitioner – and the necessity of seriously reflecting on one’s position, choices and actions throughout the course of one’s work, “in order to assume responsibility for what is done in one’s name without simply distancing oneself from the deed” (Sanders 2002: 4). Here “[r]esponsibility unites with a will not to be complicit in an injustice [which] emerges from a sense of complicity ... of one whose silence could allow their crime to go undiscovered” (Sanders 2002: 4).<sup>39</sup>

For Sanders, this aspect of personal responsibility enables a focus not only on large-scale politically mandated actions (such as world wars), but aspects of the everyday and the mundane such as those in development interventions or cross-cultural research projects. Such ideas sit well with feminist and psychoanalytic engagements and there are resonances with Hannah Arendt’s (2006) notion of the ‘banality of evil’ and the associated idea that there is a ‘little perpetrator’ inside all of us that contributes to the workings of injustice at a range of scales. She argued that such contributions frequently occur through acts of thoughtlessness and the tendency of people to conform to hegemonic discourses without critically thinking about the results of their action or inaction, rather than through their specifically or explicitly devised unjust acts. Such ideas encourage an interspatial or multi-sited engagement (Gunaratnam 2003) and provide the potential to connect seemingly inconsequential moments in a research relationship with much wider structures and ideologies to reveal the workings of desire and power; a point I return to later.

Bringing attention to complicity inevitably involves self-reflection and the potential ‘confession’ of wrongdoing in research encounters – the identification and analysis of ‘acting-in-complicity’ through the writing of self-implicating performance (after Sanders 2002). Alone, however, such attention has the potential to lead to the narrowness (verging on narcissism) apparent in current self-acclaimed accounts of ‘self-critical epistemology’ in

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<sup>39</sup> This desire not to be complicit in an injustice as well as an ongoing sense of complicity is certainly a large motivation for my own writing of this thesis.

PD (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Instead I'm interested in the possibilities offered by a simultaneous scrutiny into the self and moments of 'acting-in-complicity', with a wider curious inquiry and anxiety about how, in attempting to avoid 'acting-in-complicity', a larger complicity – etymologically – becomes enacted. As Sanders (2002: 5) notes, this larger complicity usually “takes place *on behalf of another* whose otherness is scripted by racism”, and takes shape as various forms of 'advocacy'; or, in my case, as Participatory Action Research (PAR) oriented towards a decolonising research practice involving video. In effect, therefore, I am curious about how a desire not to be complicit in racism (or ongoing colonialism or imperialism), results at least tacitly, in the acceptance and affirmation of a larger complicity – “a folded-together-ness (com-plic-ity) in human-being (or the being of being human)”, and what some of the implications of this may be for my ongoing practice as a researcher.<sup>40</sup>

This larger complicity, referred to as 'responsibility-in-complicity' (Sanders 2002), is something Sanders connects to the role of intellectuals in society. Yet its practice is fraught. The “difficulty of entering into a relation with the other that does not imply the domination or marginalization that limit its realization as reciprocal foldedness in human being” (Sanders 2002: 93) raises huge questions about ethics, methodology and representation. Moreover, the very complicity of foldedness in human being troubles those who would preserve and celebrate difference, or at the very least find ways to negotiate, rather than deny it. It also raises questions about motives, desire and intention.

Having good intentions and desiring to 'help' do not necessarily ensure ethical outcomes (Haggis and Schech 2000). For these to occur we must take into account the historical and historicised dimensions informing and impacting on our thinking and action (Haggis and Schech 2000; Heron 2007). First, it is important to consider the motivations underlying our desire to work

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<sup>40</sup> Generally, “complicity – the foldedness or 'contamination' of oppositional pairs – has been a key concern of deconstruction” (Sanders 2002: 7) from the beginning of Derrida's work.

with differently positioned others to challenge domination or marginalisation.

For Scott Schaffer (2004: 72):

the question of the *directionality* of our orientation<sup>41</sup> – that is, to whom we orient as the bearers of our ethical intention – becomes an important one for the formation of the project [of resisting ethics]. While we are free to intend any project as a result of our desire or perception of a lack (for us) in the world, that project and the resulting *praxis* implicate us in a charged and potentially conflict-laden set of social relations.

Within participatory research (including PVR), there is a strong desire to democratise the practice of research because of the perceived lack of respect and recognition of non-academics' knowledges, and to contribute to social justice imperatives through both the process and products of research. While apparently noble in intent, Schaffer's comments remind us that any praxis has political dimensions, which can result in conflict. These ideas resonate with those from psychoanalytic theories explored later in this chapter (see also Kapoor 2005).

Second, academics such as myself need to take into account the situation's impact upon our intentions (Schaffer 2004). This may include considering the historical forces constructing the situation, the discourses in circulation, as well as the 'practico-inert structures',<sup>42</sup> which both constrain and enable our apparent choices, and our subsequent actions, in-actions or quietism as mentioned earlier. Mills (2005) – whose ideas I return to later – makes a

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<sup>41</sup> For me, this question of directionality began in 1994 – my first year in Aotearoa New Zealand – when I asked the late Dame Evelyn Stokes, then Professor at the University of Waikato, about the politics of working with Māori. I was curious to learn more about the 'Other' in this new country but concerned not to further ongoing colonisation as another tauīwi or white settler. Dame Stokes cautioned me to be very clear about my motivations and about the commitment I was willing to make to an iwi. She indicated that unless I was prepared to offer a lifetime assurance to work with an iwi, then I shouldn't bother. It was with these thoughts and commitment that I approached representatives of Ngāti Hauiti in 1998, and one of the key reasons why I continue to work with the iwi today.

<sup>42</sup> For Schaffer, practico-inert structures are "that residuum of past praxis and past projects that create the meaning system from which we draw to develop our own projects today and obstacles to the enactment of our existential freedom" (2004: 79). They are therefore both enabling and constraining of current action.

similar point, and argues for a feminist materialist analysis which can consider how social structure and political ideologies translate into individual experiences, and how, in turn, these experiences have effects on the ways in which social spaces and subjectivities are constituted.

Third, being aware of the historical aspects of our intentionality demands that we confront the effects of our actions, even when they run in direct contradiction to our intention (Schaffer 2004). Such a confrontation involves accepting responsibility for our choices and actions by being able to distinguish between those which seemed politically more productive and those that perpetuated inequality, domination or persecution. Being able to distinguish the effects of our choices and actions requires us to engage in the practice of self-critical reflexivity, or hyper-self-reflexivity (Spivak 1990), in our research relations, and to be able, and willing, to change and ‘unlearn’ our thinking and behaviours as a result of our reflections.

Within the realm of PD, there have been recent criticisms of the negative power effects of participation despite its liberatory intentions. It has been suggested that it has become a form of tyranny (Cooke and Kothari 2001) and should be avoided or transformed (Hickey and Mohan 2004). Mike Kesby (2005 and Kesby *et al.*, 2007), however, has argued the value of thinking through the power effects of participatory interventions. Drawing on John Allen’s (2003) conceptualisation of power’s various modalities, he reminds us that (externally-facilitated) participation can not only effect domination, coercion, inducement, seduction, manipulation and authority, but may also effect resistance, negotiation, persuasion, authority (among participants) and empowerment (Kesby *et al.*, 2007). The effects of power are unavoidable and should be worked with and attended to whenever and wherever they occur. Attention to these various modalities is compatible with Sanders (2002) approach above to conceiving of complicity as both collaboration and collusion. He and the other scholars reviewed in this section invite academics like myself to follow power and complicity to explore their effects and to use these explorations to better inform the choices we make as intellectuals, researchers and/or development practitioners in future.

### 4.3 Tracking Complicity

A scholar who has taken this exploratory path is Kapoor. In Kapoor's 2005 paper 'Participatory Development, Complicity and Desire', he attempts to rethink PD in terms of empire by engaging a postcolonial and psychoanalytic reading of it. By empire he refers to the persistence of neo-imperial and inegalitarian relationships within PD practice "because even as it promotes the Other's empowerment, it hinges crucially on our complicity and desire" and "because disavowing such complicity and desire is a technology of power" (Kapoor 2005: 1204). He argues that, "complicity and desire are written into PD, making it prone to an exclusionary, Western-centric and inegalitarian politics" (Kapoor 2005: 1204).

Within his work, Kapoor draws on the 'depth psychology' of Slavoj Žižek (1989, 1999) to track the complicities and desires to which postcolonial scholars such as Edward Said (1978) and Gayatri Spivak (1988) alert others. Their work concerning the representation and subordination of the 'Third World' by Western intellectual and geopolitical interests has demanded that we (as academics, researchers or development practitioners) engage more reflexively with our own positionings as part of institutions that "have their own class, gendered, cultural and/or organizational demands" (Kapoor 2005: 1205). The writings of these scholars have prompted me to work reflexively with the powerful effects of my positionings as a middle-class, female, geography lecturer and social researcher of English decent.

Their work has also demonstrated how intimately our unconscious desires to civilise, help, improve and understand the 'Other' manifest within the ideologies of development practice and social science research. In a similar vein, Barbara Heron (2007) in her work analysing the intersections of desire, gender and race with Canadian women development volunteers to Africa, uses the term 'colonial continuities' to identify these kinds of patterns of thought in the present which have attendant relationships that reflect, in their similarities, historical ideas associated with colonialism and processes of

colonisation. For me, at the time of the PVR project, the patterns of thought that were present were heavily influenced by my Masters' degree education in Canada which focused on international development studies and development geography, as well as my aspirations to gain future employment within international development in Africa. I have, therefore, engaged primarily international, rather than Māori, critiques of postcolonialism and development in this thesis for they were the dominant understandings and frames of reference with which I entered into the research project with Geoff and members of Ngāti Hauti in 1998.

In particular, I have chosen to engage and build on Kapoor's approach to excavation within PD and apply it to excavate my own complicities and desires within the PVR project with members of Ngāti Hauti. In the rest of this section, I outline his approach and its relevance for my own work, before identifying some of its limitations. The remaining sections then discuss how I have built upon and expanded his approach to take into account material, embodied and spatial dimensions of my complicity.

As stated earlier, Kapoor (2005) mobilises primarily the work of Žižek. In turn, Žižek relies on and extends the psychoanalytic work of Jacques Lacan and his understandings of reality, the 'Real' and their relationships to the concept of 'lack'. Simply put, 'lack' in Lacanian terms emerges with an infant's separation from its mother during and shortly after birth. It is equated with an unconscious lingering and unattainable desire to once more experience wholeness and harmony with another that is then mapped onto other relationships and dimensions of human existence (Belsey 2005). For both Lacan and Žižek, human beings' experiences of this lack – referred to as 'the Real' or a state of incompleteness and the impossibility of wholeness and closure – is so horrific, that we seek refuge in our internally constructed fantasies and socially-constructed ideologies of reality, in which we misrecognise and strive to achieve fullness and wholeness.

According to Žižek, "reality is opposed to but goes hand in hand with 'the Real'" (1989 and 1999 cited in Kapoor 2005: 1205). Our fantasies

(individualised or internalised psychic phenomena) along with our ideologies (collectivised psychic phenomena) interpellate us and provide frameworks that foreclose “the Real in order to make reality smooth and consistent” (Kapoor 2005: 1205). In other words, our fantasies and ideologies as they take form in reality help us to disavow the pain and discomfort associated with ‘the Real’, by providing more palatable, even pleasurable, vehicles for our desires and hopes.

Within development and applied research contexts, our unconscious fear of ‘the Real’ has manifested in an almost constant search for, and associated belief in, various ideologies about the state of the world. These have then been materialised through the construction and implementation of policies and practices/methods aimed at achieving various forms of future utopias. In Žižekian terms, PD, PAR and PVR represent some of these ideologies, which have been externalised and built into our socio-political and educational institutions and practices. The same could be said of ideologies associated with colonialism, which persist within and alongside these apparently more progressive approaches.

Importantly, ideology in Žižek’s thinking, is not a mask or veil covering the real situation or false consciousness. It is not an illusion. Rather it is a reality itself, which is already ideological (Žižek 1989, cited in Kapoor 2005). It can therefore only be critiqued from within, by tracking and identifying each ideology’s ‘Real’; its slips, disavowals, contradictions and ambiguities. In the case of PD, Kapoor’s (2005) excavation of such slips, disavowals, contradictions and ambiguities manifest through:

- a) its images of magnanimity and benevolence – PD is often presented as empowerment or development with a clear conscience, but may centre more on the self-aggrandisement and self-glorification of the ‘providers of development’ than meaningful outcomes for community members;
- b) its practices of narcissistic samaritanism and transference – facilitators of PD wield power and may work through their own political idealism,

but present as self-effacing and neutral arbiters of the community development process; and

- c) its fantasy of consensus – PD can overlook or simplify the issues most difficult to address within a community through an emphasis on the use of particular methods, a privileging of ideas about the ‘common good’, and a desire for linear development plans.

These aspects of complicity, power and desire depend upon propagators or convenors, who as Kapoor (2005) notes, tend to be academics, researchers and development practitioners positioned as members of elites and institutions in both the ‘First’ and ‘Third World’. They are also institutionalised through PD’s packaging and branding, its disciplining mechanisms, and its neoliberal conditionalities. The managerialism and marketing of PD as a progressive brand of development reflect institutional complicities and aggrandisement. Disciplinary practices such as participatory techniques, public meetings, external facilitation, monitoring and evaluation result in surveillance, panopticism and the reinforcement of dominant power and social relations. And, acquiescence to participatory practice may be made a condition of development assistance by powerful transnational organisations (Kapoor 2005).

Finally, he identifies three implications of these contaminations (that is, ‘the Real’) in PD as an ideology (in the Žižekian meaning of the term). First, “the disavowal of complicity and desire is a technology of power, as a result of which participation can easily turn into its opposite – coercion, exclusion, panopticism, disciplinarity” (Kapoor 2005: 1214-1215). Such ideas abound in the ‘participation as tyranny’ literature. Second, PD is a means of empire building – institutional, geopolitical, socioeconomic, cultural, personal (Kapoor 2005) – where empire is understood to be “a decentred and deterritorializing apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers” (Hardt and Negri 2000, cited in Kapoor 2005: 1215). Such empire building is commonly driven consciously or unconsciously by Western interests, but may also reflect local hegemonies associated with class, ethnicity and gender. It implicates all of us

in different ways as our interests and desires are developed, amended and transferred in accordance with the hegemony of PD (Kapoor 2005). Third, “participatory development perpetuates the treatment of the ‘Third World’ as object and resource” (Kapoor 2005: 1215). As object, the ‘Third World’ and communities within it become ‘pawns’ in the benevolent play of participatory interventions. As resource, they yield “‘field data’ for our research and disciplinary/managerial needs” (Kapoor 2005: 1216) and according to Spivak (1990, cited in Kapoor 2005), produce the possibility of the cultural self-representation of the ‘First World’.

I see many parallels between the findings of Kapoor and my own experiences of attempting to apply PVR within the post-colonising context of Aotearoa New Zealand. As noted previously, my orientation upon entering into the research partnership with members of Ngāti Hauiti was heavily informed by my prior academic training and fieldwork experiences using PD methods in Indonesia, my reading and teaching in development studies at Victoria University of Wellington, and by my desires to return, at some point, to also work in international development as a project facilitator. While nominally carrying out PVR and attempting to engage with more localised debates about cultural safety (Wepa 2005), kaupapa Māori research (Smith, L. 1999), my practice was contaminated with colonial forms of indirect rule (Cooke 2003) and more closely reflected the ideology of PD, with its attendant complicities and desires. I have therefore found Kapoor’s approach to the excavation of PD to be catalytic and relevant for my own reflections on my academic research practice within the project with members of Ngāti Hauiti.

Of particular interest to me as a geographer is that Kapoor is also concerned with how complicities and desires play out within what he calls the ‘internal spaces of a development’ intervention, and how these negotiations of power reflect and reinforce wider institutional inequalities in which they are embedded. He makes a case against fetishising the ‘inside space’ of PD projects (and for me this case is transposed into the inside space of the PVR

project), which often happens when methods and methodological innovations become the main focus of this work.

Andrea Cornwall (2004) has also discussed the politics and differences as she perceives them between ‘invited’ spaces of participatory projects and other more ‘open’ spaces elsewhere. In concert with this case, Kapoor (2005: 1217) stresses that we must not ignore “the unmanageable ‘outside’” of socio-economic structures and political forces. To do so he argues depoliticises participatory engagements and furthers the complicities and desires of external facilitators and researchers. Within geography, Kesby (2005, 2007a) and others (Kesby *et al.*, 2007) have made similar arguments regarding the practice of participatory research. Kesby (2007a) refers to the need to spread the empowering effects of participatory interventions beyond the internal spaces of the project, to effect change in other spaces and spheres of society. Others in development studies and education research have also referred to this as the need to ‘scale up’ impacts in an effort to sustain locally-defined initiatives (Chambers 1998; Fine and Torre 2005).

I am appreciative of Kapoor’s critique and have used it to spur the development of an interspatial and interscalar dimension to my own analysis. However, Kapoor’s work, while inspirational and confronting, is not without its limitations. His calls to pay more attention to what he terms the ‘unmanageable outside spaces’ of development, the political economy and broad democratic movements as means by which PD (and by extension participatory research approaches) can be repoliticised, appear to reflect hegemonic emphases within development thought more generally. The privileging of aspects of fantasy, stereotype and imagery within his work also tends to overlook the historicised contingencies and embodied and material specificities of PD in particular places at particular times. As a result, his critique has the potential to be read as a disembodied, and highly negative grand narrative.

Kapoor does not take into adequate consideration feminist and Indigenous critiques of development and research. These argue for, among other things, the centrality of the personal and interpersonal in considerations of what constitutes the political, as well as an increasing recognition of importance of relationships with the non-human world (Smith, S. *et al.*, 2010; Wilson 2008). These relational and embedded understandings of agency foreshadow possibilities for forms of complicity which are very different to those advanced by Kapoor; forms that are constructive and productive, such as collaboration, responsibility and support. I have, therefore, sought to engage with and extend Kapoor's approach by also attending to the embodied, material and spatial dimensions of my own complicity and desire within the project with members of Ngāti Hauiti. By doing so, I acknowledge the ambivalent and contradictory nature of complicity, and aim to preserve the multifaceted and messy outcomes of participatory research. I introduce these aspects in the following section.

#### **4.4 Materialising and Embodying Complicity**

Paying attention to the role of objects in social relations is important to understand how they may positively and creatively mediate dominant and exclusionary constructions and the power imbalances attached to these imaginaries regarding Self and Other (Askins and Pain, 2011: 816).

As many authors have noted (for example see Hinchcliffe 2007), objects act as conduits through which social relations and subjectivities become enacted.<sup>43</sup> Consideration of the deployment of matter as well as the embodied material practices associated with it can yield insights into the workings of complicity, power and desire within participatory research.

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<sup>43</sup> In this case, the objects to which I will be referring include the video camera and boom microphone as well as paper, marker pens and pencils. I also include attention to the maps or diagrams produced during the research process, as well as two of the video products – a short training video on wāhi tapu, and a short 'making of' documentary of the training process and production of the training video (see Chapters 6-8).

Here work associated with the recent ‘materialist turn’ in geography and elsewhere (for example Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004; Appadurai 1986; Hinchcliffe 2007; Jackson 2000; Latour 2004) has been helpful for thinking about these connections between materiality and complicity. Dominant social and power relations frequently manifest through people’s use and control of objects, because of the meanings ascribed to them.

In this case, by attending to the deployment of the audiovisual technology as well as more commonplace objects associated with participatory research activities (such as pens and paper and so on), I have sought to illustrate how aspects of my complicity, power and desire were enacted through the use of and interaction with these objects. I also consider how they were woven through different embodied understandings of ‘appropriate’ material practices and behaviours (Mills 2005) for members of Ngāti Hauiti and myself.

Michel Foucault’s conceptualisation of power has been useful to support my orientation (Foucault 1980). His insistence on an interscalar or ascending analysis of power has enabled me to pay attention to what others may regard as the inconsequential, micro-movements and mechanisms of interpersonal interactions within and beyond the immediate contexts (spaces) of the project. These “infinitesimal mechanisms” are important as Heron (2007: 11) notes because:

each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and ... continue to be – invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended etc., by ever-more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination.

My interest in these impacts or power effects connects back to the centrality of the heterogeneous and multiple workings of race and gender within cross-cultural interventions. It connects with the growing body of work on corporeality and embodiment in geography (for example Kenworthy Teather 1999; Longhurst 2000, 2008; McFarlane and Hansen 2007) and is congruent

with a feminist materialist analysis informed by postcolonial psychoanalytic perspectives. Such an orientation to analysis questions the tendencies of postcolonial and psychoanalytic models to essentialise racial differences and polarise and homogenise cultures. Mills (2005) for example, calls for a redefinition and *reinflection* of particular terms and images to enable a more materialist analysis of contemporary discourses of race, class and gender. Such a call sits well with a Žižekian interest in ‘the Real’, and enables explicit attention to dimensions of my embodied complicity within the project with Ngāti Hauiti.

In particular, Mills argues that rather than focus merely on processes of Othering, which has been the focus of most post-colonial theorising, it is important to examine processes of racialisation. Gunaratnam (2003) also draws attention to processes of ‘minoritization’, rather than the pre-existence of ethnic minorities. She contends that ‘minoritization’ reflects an active process of racialisation at work. Racialisation occurs when phenomena are classified and controlled according to race-based beliefs (Panelli 2004). These beliefs may be conscious/explicit or unconscious/implicit. For example, they may be present in our worldviews and desires as manifest through the epistemological or methodological orientations we adopt in our roles and responsibilities as researchers and intellectuals (see Heron 2007). These in turn may affect people’s access to, and control over, resources,<sup>44</sup> and understandings and constructions of place and space generally, as well as within the context of our research relationships.

Further, Gunarathnam (2003) notes that researchers’ bodies in and of themselves can represent continuities to often distant ‘Thirds’ through their specific gendered, raced and other characteristics, and/or the practices our bodies adopt within the research process. In this regard, she argues that as researchers, we need to recognise that we are always travelling markers of

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<sup>44</sup> In the case of this thesis, resources are most clearly identifiable as the objects of the audiovisual technology and participatory activities such as pens and paper, but could also refer to people’s knowledges.

‘outsideness’ (2003: 193; see also Haggis and Schech 2000; Longhurst *et al.*, 2008), and to work with this productively within our research relationships.

## 4.5 Spatialising Complicity

By paying close attention to the organisation of space, researchers may be able to notice the inscribed meanings of past actions, and how these meanings are invoked through the activities of specific subjects (Mills 2005). In particular, by paying attention to spatial relations at different scales, it may be possible to gain an understanding of the workings of power, complicity and desire and their ‘colonial continuities’ and departures (Heron 2007).

Mills (2005) reminds us that a range of activities, in both public and private spheres, produce knowledge and spatial frameworks that generally affirm, naturalise and modify an imperial presence. It is therefore crucial to consider how social structures and political ideologies enabling this imperial presence and the existence of colonial continuities are translated into individual experiences, and how, in turn, these experiences have effects on the ways in which social spaces and particularly subjectivities are constituted. Of course these social spaces may be far from one another geographically, but connected through what Doreen Massey (1991) has termed ‘stretched out’ social relations and power geometries, or they may be negotiated within one geographical place and time. In the latter situation, there may be conflict or tension as the hierarchical relations associated with various spatial frameworks collide and jockey for dominance.<sup>45</sup>

Part of my work in the chapters that follow therefore is to explore the heterogeneous and irreducible sets of relations (Mills 2005) that constituted and were constituted by particular spaces associated with the project with Ngāti Hauiti as the means through which to excavate my complicity, power

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<sup>45</sup> For this reason, Mills (2005) finds Michel Foucault’s emphasis on ‘general description’ (a dispersive approach) rather than ‘total description’ (which seeks to tie all things neatly together) more helpful.

and desire. These spaces include the internal spaces (as referred to by Kapoor 2005) of project planning meetings and video training, as well as the external spaces associated with seminar and conference presentations about the project. However, as no spaces are discreet or bounded, I have also sought to engage Massey's understanding of stretched social relations to attend to how the specific activities, narratives and practices within the research relationship might be related to "great and little events happening elsewhere" (Marcus 1998, cited in Gunurathnam 2003: 193).

For this interspatial, scalar or multi-sited engagement, I have found ideas within a feminist materialist analysis informed by Foucauldian discourse theory (Mills 2005) to be complementary to Kapoor's (2005) engagement with Žižek's thinking on 'the Real' discussed earlier. They broaden the tendency of postcolonial psychoanalytical models to be individualistic and focused on the realms of stereotype and fantasy (McEwan 2009), to consider the specific material conditions wrought by different kinds of colonial structures and ideologies in different places across time (see also Ahmed 2000). Together these orientations provide a means of tracing the complicity, power and desire inherent within the participatory research and video ideologies informing the project with Ngāti Hauiti by calling attention to their material practices, embodied effects and spatial relations.<sup>46</sup>

In practice, such an orientation to excavation has meant working with an understanding that all encounters within the 'contact zone' (Pratt 1992) of the project with members of Ngāti Hauiti were infused with colonial and current ideological understandings associated with various 'Thirds'. 'Thirds' in this context refer to any specific sites elsewhere that affected my interactions with Ngāti Hauiti members, and made us complicit in a way that made our fieldwork relationship effective (adapted from Marcus 1998).<sup>47</sup> These sites

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<sup>46</sup> In a complementary conceptualisation, Kathleen Gallagher (2008) proposes that there are three critical aspects of research methodology: contexts; relationships; and bodies, which I relate to the spatial, material and embodied aspects of my analysis.

<sup>47</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, I intentionally limit my considerations to my own experiences of my practice and its effects on members of Ngāti Hauiti with whom I was working, even as I recognise that Geoff's presence and practices also informed our fieldwork relationships and complicity.

may be relatively close or proximate, or apparently distant and ‘global’ in reach.

For example, one ‘Third’ informing my spatialised engagement with complicity was the prevalent worldview about Western subjects’ “entitlement and obligation to intervene for the ‘betterment’ of the Other wherever he or she resides” (Heron 2007: 7). Such a worldview has been the foundation upon which the development industry has grown, and also informs participatory research interventions at local, national and international scales. It frequently enables “deeply racialized, interrelated constructs of thought [which] have circulated from the era of empire, and today remain integral to the discursive production of bourgeois identity” (Heron 2007: 6-7). Such constructs are based on relations of comparison between different racialised groups such as Māori and Pākehā, which originated in wider discourses about the significance of subjects’ positions and locations in the global world order (Heron 2007). In many instances, the result of this ‘Third’ is quite negative, however, without it, I would never have travelled from Wellington to the Rangitīkei with Geoff to approach Ngāti Hauiti to work with us, and the range of constructive outcomes detailed throughout this thesis would not have eventuated. As such, within the specific context of the research relationships under scrutiny here, complicity with this ‘Third’ was both problematic and productive.

Other prominent ‘Thirds’ that circulated around and through the research relationships were that of te Tiriti o Waitangi and its influence upon the discourse and practices associated with cultural safety and Kaupapa Māori research. While an explicitly Kaupapa Māori research approach was not central in the project, ideas associated with Māori sovereignty and culturally-safe research permeated the early negotiations of the research relationships and made their way into the Memorandum of Understanding which framed the ongoing work together and its outputs. Our ability to reach consensus on this MoU, in part reflected our collective complicity with particular understandings of what constituted the rights and obligations of each party (myself/VUW, Geoff/ECL and members of Ngāti Hauiti) under te Tiriti, and

what these meant for collaborative research. Such negotiations reflected the working through of a localised spatiality within the context of the wider worldview mentioned above.

Perhaps a final example that might be helpful to advancing this notion of ‘Thirds’ is that of the idea of mainstream, extractive Western social science research, which circulated through many project meetings and activities. Within the collaborative research partnership with members of Ngāti Hauiti, I, and then participants from Ngāti Hauiti, positioned the kind of research involved in the project in opposition to this ‘Third’, in order to establish and reassert a different basis for our collaboration. In these cases, representations of mainstream or ‘Pakeehā’ social science research were promoted as being synonymous with extractive, objectifying and culturally-harmful research, when of course, examples exist to the contrary. Such representations, however, helpfully stimulated a sense of innovation in relation to the project and helped to sustain participants’ motivation to be involved. So simultaneously, our complicity with these shared (if stereotypical) understandings was productive and enabling of our collaborative action and desire to demonstrate that research could be done differently to external audiences.

By attending to these spatialised dimensions of complicity, not only in terms of what happens where, but also in terms of how action coalesces around particular ‘Thirds’, it is clear that complicity, as mentioned in Section 4.2, can be both enabling and constraining; in a similar way to more recent conceptualisations of power. In sum, I contend that complicity in research is unavoidable and is always important to think *through*.

In the next chapter, I discuss how I have used these theoretical ideas and orientation to develop a hyper-self-reflexive autoethnographic approach to trace the contours of complicity within my practice in the project with members of Ngāti Hauiti from 1998 - 2001.

# CHAPTER 5. APPROACH: TRACING COMPLICITY THROUGH HYPER- SELF-REFLEXIVITY

## 5.1 Introduction

Geographers rarely refer to themselves as research-practitioners.<sup>48</sup> There are entrenched hierarchies between research and action, theory and practice in the discipline: the former of each pair generally being valued more highly within neoliberal assessment measures and being seen to inform the latter in a linear, rather than cyclical relationship. With the growth of participatory geographies, however, there is an opportunity for geographers to reconceive of research as practice, and researchers as practitioners. Participatory Action Research (PAR) emphasises iterative cycles of action and reflection (Box 1.1) and understands that theory and practice are intertwined within the concept of praxis (Freire 1972). Attention to praxis can generate insights about the workings of power in applied research and prompt the asking of new questions and the expression of different knowledges.

The importance given to the role of researcher *as facilitator* within participatory approaches also demands attention to aspects of practice. Facilitators are responsible for working effectively to enable productive self-other relationships which stretch across difference and foster equitable change. The concept of the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt, M. L. 1992) as a “politically and intellectually charged space” (Torre *et al.*, 2008: 24) is useful here as a frame for engaging the intersubjective dimensions of social, particularly collaborative, research (Askins and Pain 2011; Monk *et al.*, 2003; Somerville and Perkins 2003). It also enables more explicit reflection upon the power/knowledge and performances of the researcher/facilitator.

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<sup>48</sup> Although this may be soon about to change. As I prepare to submit this thesis, there has been a call for papers for a session on ‘Theories of Practice and Geography’ from Matthias Lahr and Matt Watson at the RGS/IBG Conference 2011.

Within qualitative, feminist and critical geography scholarship, there has been increasing attention paid to issues associated with the intersubjective nature of research since the early 1990s (see for example, Bondi *et al.*, 2002). Many authors reflect on the impacts of their power, positionality and subjectivity on the research process and outcomes (Chacko 2004; Moss 2004; Nast 1994; see also Kindon 2003; Hume-Cook *et al.*, 2007).). These accounts commonly focus on how the researcher practised reflexivity – recognising their own influence, and the influence of their social and cultural contexts on the type of knowledge they were able to create, and the way they created it (Fook 1999b, cited in Fook and Askeland 2006). Authors privilege discussions of how they practised ‘reflection-*in-action*’ (after Schön 1983) to demonstrate the rigour and credibility of their work.

This emphasis on reflexivity is a response to calls from many feminist, postcolonial and indigenous scholars for researchers to turn “our anthropological gaze upon ourselves before we investigate the Other” (Kapoor 2005: 1204), and to reflect on our own geopolitical and institutional positionings (Kapoor 2004; Smith 1999). Yet as Gillian Rose (1997a: 309) points out, “[t]his emphasis on the conscious analysis of situatedness suggests that the researcher’s self is understood as transparently visible to analysis, since apparently nothing need remain hidden”. Such ‘transparent reflexivity’ as Rose terms it, is problematic because it assumes the possibility of the researcher as coherent, static all-knowing subject and provides no space to understand across differences between researcher and researched. As a ‘situating technology’ (Rose 1997a: 308), it risks reinforcing the ‘God-trick’ of an all-seeing view-from-nowhere criticised by Donna Haraway (1991), and of positioning the researcher outside of power rather than constituted by it. It also sets an almost impossible demand on the researcher to understand the full context of his/her research, rather than acknowledging that research is messy, uncertain and often not fully knowable or representable (Gibson-Graham 1994; Rose 1997a).

In light of this critique, I have adopted a more performative engagement with reflexivity, which understands the self as opaque: “a unique ensemble of contradictory and shifting subjectivities” (Gibson-Graham 1994, cited in Rose 1997a: 316), made through the complex process and relations of research (Rose 1997a). My inquiries in the following chapters, therefore, offer a situated, partial and incomplete reading of my own performances as a research-practitioner – a means of ‘reflection-*on*-action’ (after Schön 1983).

This approach differs from the usual processes of reflexivity and reflection-*in*-action documented in much feminist geographic work because it is explicitly revisionist. It engages memories as well as audiovisual, audio and written records of my research practice or performances associated with events that happened between 1998-2001 to explore the contingencies of these events and how they could have been different. It seeks to establish a retrospective conversation with myself through particular events, and the texts associated with them, as a means of negotiating my performances as a researcher then and now. This is a creative and interactive, rather than revelatory, process (see also Gibson-Graham 1994). Through it, I pay attention to cognitive, affective and values dimensions (Thompson and Thompson 2008) of my practice whilst simultaneously recognising that I am always a part of a web of discursive interpretations and the significance of what I have done does not rest entirely within my own hands (Rose 1997a).

In this chapter therefore, I briefly review ideas about critically reflective practice from the fields of education, nursing and social work. These act as a useful frame through which to retrospectively explore some performative aspects of my own power, complicity and desire within the participatory video for research project with members of Ngāti Hauiti. I draw on writings about autoethnography in humanities research and hyper-self-reflexivity as advanced by Kapoor (2004) from within sub-altern studies and postcolonial development, to develop my approach to tracking complicity through my work. I discuss how I selected (and by implication excluded) key incidents for excavation and how I worked with a range of information sources

intertextually. I pay particular attention to how I approached the reading and interpretation of audiovisual texts, as this is a fledgling area within geographic research at present. I bring the chapter to a close by reflecting on the importance of multi-sited or interscalar analyses for autoethnographic work.

## **5.2 Critically Reflective Practice**

As implied in the introduction, I regard the research I do – and have done – very much as a ‘practice’ and myself as a ‘practitioner’. Yet, social geographers do not commonly describe their research in such terms, even if working within an emancipatory epistemology to inform change. There remains a discursive hierarchy between notions of ‘research’ and ‘practice’ (Mrs Kinpaisby 2008), despite evidence from other fields, which stresses the connections (and disconnections) between ‘knowing’ and ‘doing’. A focus on practice can shed light on current debates about the role of participatory research in social geography and social geographers in society, points I return to towards the end of this thesis (see also Mrs C Kinpaisby-Hill 2011).

By focusing on my practice, I have sought to become a more ‘knowledgeable doer’ – a term widely used in nursing education – with a view to changing and strengthening my future reflective research practice. Such an orientation has involved paying attention to the subtle interplay and intimate relationships between what Sue Thompson and Neil Thompson (2008: 23) call ‘open’ and ‘closed’ knowledges. Open knowledge is defined as the explicit knowledge we draw on informed by theory and experiential learning by doing. For example, knowledge I connect to aspects of my university education and learning of theory about how to carry out feminist or participatory research combined with experiences I gain from actually doing it. These forms of knowledge are open to challenge and scrutiny, enabling flaws or limitations to be identified and addressed, and my knowledge base to increase and shift. Closed knowledge is more implicit. It relates to things I

might have thought or done in the course of my research, but for which I cannot directly trace theoretical or experiential origins. It is not open to the same level of scrutiny or challenge as explicit knowledge, so it often happens unconsciously and is less able to inform future knowledge and practice.

The relationship between theory and practice (praxis) is thus formal (taught and learned explicitly) and informal (absorbed, assumed, implicit). It requires a critical orientation to questioning which does not take anything for granted in order to i) look beneath the surface of any situation or interaction to see what assumptions and forms of reasoning are influencing the circumstances (critical depth), and ii) locate any situation or interaction in its wider social and political context by connecting micro and macro social analyses (critical breadth). In addition, critically reflective practice attends to three dimensions within its depth and breadth: the cognitive, the affective and aspects of value.

The cognitive dimension is sometimes referred to as ‘surfacing’ or making the implicit, explicit (Thompson and Thompson 2008). It involves aspects of ‘wonder’ associated with seeing or understanding something in a new way or the experience of the familiar as unfamiliar. It also involves analytical and creative thinking as a means to question taken-for-granted assumptions and explore alternative possibilities (Thompson and Thompson 2008). This dimension can never be complete as ‘transparent’ reflexivity (Rose 1997a) is impossible. However, it can help researchers to “question the authority of academic knowledge” by becoming aware of “gaps that give space to, and are affected by other knowledges” (Rose 1997a: 315).

From a more deconstructivist orientation, such a dimension is compatible with the questioning of grand narratives and attention to the contingency of power/knowledge within particular discursive regimes. It connects well to ideas introduced in Chapter 4 associated with poststructuralist and psychoanalytic engagements with ideologies of participatory development. It also links with Kapoor’s (2004) discussion of hyper-self-reflexivity, which I introduce in the next section, and offers a solution to the criticisms often

leveled at autoethnographic researchers using themselves as their primary source of information. Finally, it enables a reconception of the role of objects within social relations of research through its emphasis on positioning the familiar as unfamiliar.

The affective dimension recognises that feeling and emotions are also an important part of knowing and doing – a point that is increasingly being recognised within social geography (see for example Davidson *et al.*, 2007). Here the complex interplay of feelings like empathy, sympathy, anxiety, uncertainty, joy and grief are worth exploring for what they may help to reveal about the power relations at work within research relationships. Attention to emotions inevitably involves a consideration of how they are communicated through researchers' bodies, and how particular bodies or aspects of corporeality may generate emotions in others. It engages a form of sensuous or visceral scholarship and ideas about the body as an instrument of research (Longhurst *et al.*, 2009), which can highlight the subtle interconnections between gender, race and culture within the research process.

Finally, the values dimension is important as a means of reflecting upon the ideological orientation of theory and practice – dominant discourses about participation, empowerment, equality and social justice – and how they play out in the interactions with differently positioned others. Specifically this means examining how processes of discrimination become institutionalised even in ideologies and approaches that seek to be emancipatory and decolonising. It also serves as a useful device to facilitate a multi-sited engagement, which attends to the spatial dimensions of complicity, power and desire and the influence of 'Thirds' (see Chapter 4) within apparently insignificant moments of the research process.

To support this multi-layered and multi-dimensional orientation to critically reflective practice concerning my own power, complicity and desire within the research with Ngāti Hauiti, I have drawn on writing about

autoethnography in humanities literature and about hyper-self-reflexivity as advocated by Kapoor (2004) in response to the work of Gayatri Spivak (1988, 1990, 1993).

### 5.2.1 Autoethnography and Hyper-Self-Reflexivity

Defined most simply, autoethnography makes an explicit commitment to a self-reflexive way of knowing (Moss 2001). This approach has encouraged me as the author to use my own experiences as a means of reflexively re-examining self – other interactions. Moreover, such reflexive ethnography (as it is also commonly known) has within it a desire to generate change in readers’ understandings of the social processes under investigation, as well as researchers’ involvement in research processes (Gaitan 2000). Finally, it “challenges accepted views about silent authorship” and the dominant representations of empirical research (Holt 2003: 2-3).

Complementary to this autoethnographic orientation are calls from Spivak (1988, 1990, 1993) for what Kapoor (2004) has termed the practice of ‘hyper-self-reflexivity’. Kapoor (2004) has added the prefix – hyper – to widely accepted ideas of self-reflexivity to indicate the extra vigilance demanded by Spivak from researchers and other professionals (like myself) who would work with ‘the sub-altern’ – those people marginalised by various structures and ideologies of inequality.<sup>49</sup> For Spivak, such vigilance is necessary if we are not to continue to perpetuate the workings of empire.

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<sup>49</sup> Claiming that Māori are ‘sub-altern’ may be regarded as problematic given their different positioning within colonial and post-colonial relations from other groups in places like India (where sub-altern studies emerged). However, if we take Ranjhit Guha’s (1988: 35) definition of the sub-altern as groups subordinated or marginalised based on “class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way”, then perhaps such an appellation may be useful. Māori have been undeniably subordinated and marginalised by colonial structures and processes of colonisation associated with British and subsequent settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand. The concept of the sub-altern and Spivak’s ideas are therefore helpful to inform my consideration of how more ethical and equitable geographies can occur in Aotearoa New Zealand, and more broadly with indigenous groups in other settler societies (see also McLean *et al.*, 1997 for a discussion of ‘responsible geographies’ informed by Spivak’s (1996) work, and more recent papers exploring the productive tensions between subalternity and indigeneity (Byrd and Rothberg 2011; Warrior 2011).

Spivak's work in postcolonial literary criticism is insightful and inspiring, and Kapoor's detailed reading of her work generates a useful guiding framework of five key actions for researchers to follow which collectively enable the practice of hyper-self-reflexivity:

1. intimately inhabit and negotiate discourse;
2. acknowledge complicity;
3. unlearn one's privilege as loss;
4. learn to learn from below; and
5. work 'without guarantees'.

When taken together, these actions constitute "a deconstructivist position, followed by a process of self-implication, which yields the possibility of an ethical encounter with the subaltern" (Kapoor 2004: 640).

Kapoor is also critical of Spivak's thinking in two ways. First, he argues that her attention to complicity is inadequately layered, that is, it does not appear to distinguish between varying degrees of complicity and lacks a mechanism for deciding between "greater goods and lesser evils" (Kapoor 2004: 643). Second, he criticises her for neglecting the institutional implications of ethical encounters with the subaltern when she privileges face-to-face and one-on-one interactions between elites and sub-alterns as the most ethical way forward. She fails to offer ways in which her approach can translate to larger scales and institutional processes, and could be guilty of romanticising the micro and the personal (Kapoor 2004).

As a result of these criticisms, I have adapted Kapoor's hyper-self-reflexivity to suit the focus of my thesis in the context of my research practice with members of Ngāti Hauiti. First, because my work's primary focus is complicity, I have woven the aforementioned points into the overarching aim of acknowledging complicity and have attempted to bear them in mind during the reading and interpretation of my practice. In particular, I consider the cognitive, affective and values dimensions identified by Thompson and Thompson (2008) within the multi-layered approach I have taken to tracking

complicity following Kapoor (2005). Second, I have linked these aspects to concerns about materiality, embodiment and space, critiquing and expanding Kapoor's original approach. Third, I have endeavoured to differentiate between my complicities and desires and their power effects, highlighting greater or lesser impacts. Fourth, I have attended to the constructive power effects of complicity as affinity or foldedness in being, rather than only its destructive or negative dimensions as advanced by Kapoor (2005). Finally, I have worked to develop a multi-sited, interspatial or multi-scalar (Howitt and Stevens 2010) engagement, which is able to position the small-scale actions within my own practice, within wider discourses.

Rose (1997a) is critical of feminist researchers who adopt a tactic of organising through scale when attending to reflexivity in their research because she argues that it presupposes a landscape of power and notions of conscious agency that are visible and knowable to the analyst. However, I have chosen to experiment with a more tentative and uncertain reading, which acknowledges and explores the interconnections between some discourses and their effects across time and space without claiming to be able to recognise or work through all the contingencies and continuities at play. By situating my specific experiences in relation to significant 'Thirds' as mentioned above, I aim to trouble apparently benign moments and actions in my research performances, as well as illustrate the sometimes positive and unlikely effects of my complicity.

With these points in mind, the process I have taken to the inquiry into the power, complicity and desire in my practice with members of Ngāti Hauiti generally involved four steps. I briefly outline them here, before discussing each step in turn in the following sections:

1. remember particular moments, which hint at or articulate aspects of my own complicity, desire and power that could be potentially rich for further inquiry;
2. identify available coverage of them (on video and in fieldnotes and so on), which can be subject to scrutiny and read inter-textually;

3. excavate the workings of my power, complicity and desire in these moments attending to their material, embodied and spatial dimensions; and
4. develop a multi-sited engagement by tracing connections between the micro-politics of my own practice and various discourses and ideologies regarding participatory video and participatory approaches to research and development.

Throughout I work towards speaking back to my discipline and academic institutions in ways that will further the re-politicisation of participatory research and social geography.

### **5.3 Working From the ‘Sting’ of Memory: Identifying Key Incidents**

Increasingly writers within feminist geography begin their methodologically-oriented texts by relaying a moment or incident within their research practice that caused them pause for thought. Authors use their memories to identify and explore the significance of uncertainty, tension or conflict within their research process reflecting what Norman Denzin (2004: np, 2008) has called writing from “the sting of memory, the insult, the slur” or “the moment of epiphany, the misidentification, the use of coded words”.

For example, in Rose’s (1997a) article about reflexivity discussed above, she remembered an interview with one of her research subjects when he made a joke that she didn’t understand. She used this moment to reflect on the limits of her own knowledge of her research context and her actions within it, thereby questioning the possibility of reflexivity.

Similarly, other geographers have explored memories of failed research relationships (England 1994) or methods (Jupp 2007) to raise questions about positionality, power relations and assumptions about access to non-academic

knowledges. In addition, Caitlin Cahill in her work with the Fed-up Honeys<sup>50</sup> (2004, 2007a, 2007b) remembered difficult and emotionally tense moments of collaborative work, particularly the role that anger, resistance and frustration played in prompting action or inaction by herself and her collaborators: aspects centrally-important to action-oriented scholarship.

These authors and others (for example Gibson-Graham 1994; McDowell 1992; Moss 2001; Nast 1994; Pratt *et al.*, 2007) have established a rich tradition of memory-work within feminist and critical geography, even if it is not ‘officially’ identified as such. Ironically they also use memory unproblematically. Sara Ahmed (1998: 193-194) notes that “the act of remembering is ... critical, affirmative and selective”. It “places boundaries and edges around [a] story, giving it its seeming internal coherence”. It also entails its own elisions, figurations, forgettings and re-writing because “[o]ne can only begin an ending by complicating the supposed discreteness of such events” (Ahmed 1998: 193-194).

Within my own use of memory therefore, I have attempted to acknowledge that by remembering, selecting, questioning and making new sense of key incidents from my now-historical practice, my work is also about forgetting and eliding.<sup>51</sup> What I remember and share here is inevitably influenced by the purpose to which the memory is being put and represents a partial rather than complete story of what happened. I have also tried to recognise that, “Events that move us, move away from us. They don’t stay in the place where we give them life as signifiers” (Ahmed 1998: 193-194). They are like a montage or series of blurred photographs, a sequence of images, scenes, that we reclaim, rather than a seamless continuous or transparent whole (Denzin 2004, 2008).

As such, the memories that I have chosen to narrate in subsequent chapters as vignettes need to be read and questioned with regard to “both past and present

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<sup>50</sup> The Fed-up-Honeys are a group of young, urban womyn-of-color from New York, USA who carried out PAR with researcher Caitlin Cahill into the stereotypes that affected their lives. More information can be found at their website: <http://www.fed-up-honeys.org/mainpage.htm>.

<sup>51</sup> Most particularly, in my privileging of my interactions with my collaborators in Ngāti Hauiti, those of and with Geoff have been omitted as discussed in Chapter 1.

social contexts, my specific biography, and in relation to the production of evolving, contradictory and partial ‘fictions’ of who I was, who I have become, and who I might be” (Gunaratnam 2003: viii). My voice and experiences represented here remain embedded within the complex web of relations I have with others as well as my evolving sense of my own self(ves). They do not represent ‘ethnographic truths’ even as they relate to factual moments in time.

In addition to the above points, my work with memories is significantly different to that of others before me because of my access to audiovisual or audio recordings of many of the events or moments I have chosen to remember. These texts while not identical to my memories have prompted me to remember additional details and to notice things that I didn’t at the time they occurred. As John Berger (1992, cited in Samuels 2007: 216) remarks, “The thrill found in a [video] comes from the onrush of memory. This is obvious when it’s a [moving] picture of something we once knew. ... Memory is a strange faculty. The sharper and more isolated the stimulus memory receives, the more it remembers”.

Thus along with my own memories of how something happened or how I performed in a particular situation, I also have parallel records that show another version of the event and/or my actions. The interplay between these sources of information has helped to destabilise my desire to establish a singular authoritative account. It has also provided spaces or gaps (Rose 1997a) into which readers of my work can insert their interpretations and readings of my practice, and against which they can assess my own interpretations and conclusions.

#### **5.4 Purposeful Sampling and Intertextuality: Selecting Key Incidents**

Gordon Waitt (2010) argues that the number of incidents or texts used by a researcher depends on what will be useful and what is meaningful in the

context of their particular research. He also explains that what matters is the richness of textual detail. In this thesis, I have selected key incidents for excavation based on their textual richness and their significance in my memory or the collective memory of my research collaborators and myself. The significance of these incidents in my/our memory/ies comes from the lasting emotional or political effects (the affect) they provoked or produced in one or more of us, rather than from their actual duration in time when they took place. Sometimes these incidents appeared to be inconsequential or insignificant to me at the time they occurred, but produced a ‘sting’ later when I reconceived of them in light of key ideas within my reading for this thesis. Other incidents – like the one described in the Prologue to the thesis – had a significant impact on research partners in Ngāti Hauiti, myself and/or Geoff at the time they occurred and have continued to reverberate through our relationships and work.

For each of these textually-rich and purposefully-sampled incidents, I wrote out my memories of them into a vignette that could be accessible to outside readers, before looking at the original audiovisual tapes. I then sourced the corresponding footage of myself in those incidents where it existed. In total, there are over 300 hours of footage on VHS, DVCam, Mini DV tapes, Audiotape and Minidisc tapes (120 objects in total) associated with the project over a 12-year period. This footage covers research planning and review meetings, research and video training sessions, applied production and research work, and shared conference presentations. I worked with the small selection of relevant footage inter-textually, drawing also on pertinent material from other sources to inform my excavations. These texts included audio recordings and written documentation associated with the project (see Table 5.1).<sup>52</sup>

I sometimes drew on a particular incident or text more than once depending upon the context in which it was being used or the purpose to which it was being put. These multiple engagements and interpretations highlight the

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<sup>52</sup> See Appendix D for a full list of all outputs from the research partnership.

polyvalent character of all texts and memories, and their ability to be read in many ways. I also incorporated additional memories as they arose during the process, provoked by the texts with which I was engaging. In writing, these were kept separate from the original vignettes and were woven into my excavation with relevant ideas from theory and literatures covered in previous chapters.

The sources of information upon which I drew were therefore multiple and varied, produced from different moments, forms, technologies and authors. Such variety offered me the potential to approach each incident from multiple angles, working with the polyvalent character of all texts, and highlighting the contingency of the readings I present in subsequent chapters. I detail this multi-layered process in the next section.

**Table 5.1 Sources of Information For Key Incident Analysis**

<b>Key Incident</b>	<b>Memory</b>	<b>Audiovisual Footage</b>	<b>Fieldnotes</b>	<b>Iwi Produced Material</b>	<b>Discussed in Chapter</b>
Sitting on floor to facilitate first research meeting	Yes	Yes	Yes		6
Rewriting of Joyce's mind map	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	6
Use of participatory techniques – community map	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7
Use of video camera – on location	Yes	Yes	Yes		7
International Geographical Union Conference Presentation	Yes	Yes (of me reporting on event, not of the event itself)			8
Geography Research Seminar, VUW	Yes	Yes (as above)			8
New Zealand Geographical Society Conference Presentation	Yes	Yes (as above)			8
NZ Film and History Conference Presentation	Yes	Yes (as above)			8
International Community Development Conference Presentation	Yes	Yes (as above)			8

## 5.5 Reading and Interpretation: Excavating Key Incidents

Qualitative researchers generally work inductively with their information. Using various coding procedures, they identify the most frequent or dominant themes or absences which they then illustrate with descriptions of salient moments or participant quotations. I decided against this approach because it could have oriented my analysis towards claims of representativeness, which I wanted to work against. It has not been my intention or interest to analyse the dominant or most frequent ways in which I have exercised my power, complicity and desire within the work with members of Ngāti Hauiti. Rather I have chosen to pursue a more intuitive and embodied approach as advocated by Denzin (2004, 2008) in the previous section to work from ‘the sting of memory’. I have also mobilised a range of information sources to excavate the micro-politics at work in a few key incidents, often of seemingly inconsequential actions, utterances or silences.

By revisiting these incidents from my practice, I have attempted to relocate myself in history and reappropriate it, working to critique it from the present while exploring how conditions in the past enabled each moment. For example, thinking through some of the profound influences (or ‘practico-inert structures’ in Jean-Paul Sartre’s terminology – see Schaffer 2004) of New Zealand’s colonial past upon the research relationships in the project with Ngāti Hauiti, the more recent history of academic/Māori research encounters, as well as more the personal (psychoanalytic) dimensions of my own history and belief systems have been important for my subsequent analysis. These practico-inert structures are the “residuum of past praxis and past projects that create the meaning system from which we draw to develop our own projects today” (Schaffer 2004: 79). Or, in Gramscian and Foucauldian terms, I might also refer to these aspects as hegemonic discourses in circulation, which both enabled and constrained the performance of particular subjectivities and the legitimation or otherwise of particular knowledges. In this way, I have sought to be guided by Denzin’s (2008) call to question the historical moment; to challenge and interrupt that political space and explore how it could have

been different. Through these acts of excavation and rearticulation, I have attempted to “make a corridor to empower others and empower ourselves to stop [injustice] happening next time” (Denzin 2004: np).

Throughout this work I have attempted to “retrace the history and itinerary of [my] prejudices and learned habits (from racism, sexism and classism to academic elitism and ethnocentrism), [to] stop thinking of oneself as better or fitter, and unlearn dominant systems of knowledge and representation” (Kapoor 2004: 641). In particular, I have used this point as a prompt to critically re-evaluate how I framed the research and relationships with members of Ngāti Hauiti, then later how I facilitated collaborative research processes based on preconceived assumptions associated with my position as an academic.

Unlearning my privilege as loss has therefore been an ethical imperative because I want to keep working alongside differently positioned others in my research. Spivak calls such an undertaking the ‘transformation of consciousness’ and others like Fanon link it to the ‘process of decolonisation’, Freire to ‘conscientisation’ and Haraway to ‘accountable positioning’ (all referred to in Kapoor 2004: 641). Whether I can claim a transformation of consciousness or claim to be a ‘knowledgeable doer’ at the end of this process is debatable, but I am confident that it has enabled me to engage with some of the limits and effects of my privilege as a white, English-born, Western-educated, female, middle-class academic, and to be more aware of what I don’t know from this position.

Within much participatory research and development literature emphasis is placed upon the importance of outsiders and facilitators ‘learning from below’ that is, learning from people who are usually in less structurally-powerful positions (see for example, Chambers 1994a and b). As I discussed earlier, methodologies like Participatory Video (PV) are promoted as vehicles that enable such learning to occur. Yet such methodologies frequently reinforce

the structural hierarchies they seek to challenge.<sup>53</sup> So Spivak goes further and advocates the need for outsiders to first “learn to learn”, which includes suspending the belief that they are needed, better, superior or have solutions for the people with whom they work.

Within my approach, I have taken this point as a reminder to look for moments within my practice when I consciously or unconsciously wanted “to correct, teach, theorise, develop, colonise, appropriate, use, record, inscribe, enlighten” research partners in Ngāti Hauiti (Kapoor 2004: 642). In such moments, I looked for how I may have reinforced my prejudices or failed to clear space for others to speak or act on their own terms. However, also engaging with ideas from Foucault and Denzin introduced above, I have used this point to look for moments when I *was* able to learn to learn and my complicity was constructive and enabled more imaginative or respons-able relationships to occur (Gunaratnam 2007).

The last aspect of Kapoor’s grounding of Spivak’s call for hyper-self-reflexivity is working without guarantees, which translates into accepting the unknowability of the self and the other while still attempting to productively grapple with their difference (see also Rose 1997a). For my approach, this has meant “becoming aware of the vulnerabilities and blind spots of [my] power and representational systems ... accepting failure, or put positively, seeing failure as success” (Kapoor 2004: 644). It has also involved paying attention to the “various silences [of research partners in Ngāti Hauiti] as forms of resistance and agency – reticences, equivocations, lies, secrets, refusal to be named or labelled” (Kapoor 2004: 644) as they appeared within the audiovisual and written materials with which I was working.

Jason Throop (2003, cited in Pink 2006: 42) has proposed that “video-taping and/or systematic observation of everyday interaction” can “capture” the “often pre-reflective realtime unfolding of social action”. A similar point was made by John Collier (1986: 144):

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<sup>53</sup> See Kapoor (2002) for a critique of such issues in the work of Robert Chambers (1994a and b) on participatory development.

The special value of video lies in the ability to record nuances of process, emotion and other subtleties of behaviour and communication that still images cannot suggest. ... it is precisely with not just 'what' but also 'how' behaviour happens, not only to see but also to understand the sparkle and character of an event, a place, a people.

Ruth Holliday (2007: 262) has argued that for those interested in "performativities manifest as bodily styles and behaviors, video seem[s] the obvious means of empirical investigation. The self-representation ... is more complete than the audiotaped interview, which only provide aural data." Similarly, Hannah Frith *et al.*, (2005: 190) have asserted that "[a]nalyzing visual data enables us to examine what might not be noticed verbally". They give the example of photo-elicitation with hospital patients which enabled them, "to capture the technical and material aspects of the hospital, including the spaces, the places and objects on the ward which are as much a part of medical discourse as the speech and actions of hospital staff and patients" (Frith *et al.*, 2005: 190).

Accepting these authors' points, the audiovisual recordings of myself in action do not represent objective truths or offer transparent windows on 'what really happened' – "things become visible because of how we see them rather than simply because they are observable" (Pink 2006: 36). Meanings are constructed between image and viewer (Rose 2001) based on an image's content, the viewer's perception of the image-maker's intent, and the context within which the image was produced (Goldstein 2007).

I have therefore not treated these texts as providing a linear one-to-one relationship with the objects and people they represent. I have worked against a naïve empiricism emphasising such indexicality (Stanczak 2007). Yet I also recognise that "the camera, as opposed to the researcher's eye, is relatively indefatigable and precise, and the image traces captured on film (or now digitally) are not susceptible to the fading memory to which even the most

astute researcher is vulnerable” (Stanczak 2007: 10-11). By paying close attention to the audiovisual images of my ‘identity performances’ (Holliday 2007) in space and practice in relation to various objects, I have sought to “witness research as it was experienced” and “reflect ... on the process by which past experiences and memories are (re)defined and constituted through the research act” (Pink 2006).

As Spivak (1988: 204) notes, we are all subject-effects inescapably positioned within a variety of discourses. This means that our personal and institutional desires are unavoidably written into our bodies, our speech-acts, our actions and any representations we produce: we are complicit with various ideologies through being and doing.

By attending to “the interplay between words, gaze and body movements” (Silverman 2001: 2010) or what was “verbalised, visualised and embodied” (Pink 2006: 69) in my practice, I have sought to trace both the negative *and* positive effects of my power, complicity and desire.<sup>54</sup> Through this ‘tracing’, I have been able to (re)connect with the sensory experiences of my practice (see Pink 2006) to inquire into how my complicity was materialised, embodied and spatialised.

According to Sarah Pink (2001), the approach I have developed to the retrospective analysis of these audiovisual texts represents a ‘self-reflexive’ engagement with the visual within my research (see also Guidi 2003; Stanczak 2007). Opposing the dominant approach in most social science disciplines, reflexive approaches recognise that the audiovisual has a contribution to make beyond its use as a recording method and support for word-based disciplines (Pink 2001). It has been a means of reflecting on the interactive, intersubjective and dialogic process of this particular PVR project as well as on the role of the camera within it. In particular, the audiovisual

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<sup>54</sup> I have chosen to differentiate my approach to that of ‘tracking complicity’ advanced by Kapoor. To me, ‘tracing’ communicates more of the subtlety at work and the ways in which complicity can be traced through attention to affective, embodied and spatial dimensions of practice. Ideas within cultural geography about the ways in which traces of power create particular places and landscapes have been helpful here (Anderson 2010).

images have provided additional data to my memories or fieldnotes about how moments of the project were framed (context), and about aspects of practice that I may not have been attuned to at the time they took place.

This ability to see things on video that were missed in the moment that they occurred is often referred to as the ‘show-up effect’ (Hastrup 1992, cited in Okely 2005: 132). It is closely allied with processes of conscientisation and empowerment believed to accompany the process of seeing oneself on screen. In most of the PV literature to date, the latter is said to promote “feelings of self-confidence, self-worth, better self image” (Crocker 2003: 130), yet the opposite is also quite possible. As mentioned above, many of the incidents I drew on for my inquiry were chosen because of the ‘sting’ of memory associated with them and/or because they provoked a ‘sting’ when I viewed them and felt uncomfortable about what I saw or heard. This ‘sting’ may be associated with what Anthony Marcus has called the power of self-reflection (Gwyn 1972, cited in Crocker 2003: 130-131). Marcus relates this power to the process of confronting oneself – almost larger than life – on camera and the struggle that results as one attempts to reconcile the gap between what one sees on screen and the subjective feelings one gets from viewing oneself.

Surprisingly, there are very few examples of this reflexive use of video by research-practitioners within ethnographic, let alone geographic, research. To reiterate, what tends to be distinctive about the use of PV in research and development is that it is the subject-communities or research participants that are both *behind and in front* of the camera. The academic, researcher and development practitioner does not usually appear. Such positioning is understandable given PV’s efforts to avoid the objectification and exploitation associated with many ethnographic filmmaking and development projects. Yet there is also something disturbing about the sole emphasis placed on participants as those who engage in self-reflection and ‘conscientisation’ in PV. This emphasis potentially absents the academic, researcher, and development practitioner from this possibility and ignores the impacts the process can have (and should have) on them. It overlooks the value for outsiders that turning the camera on oneself can have for critically

reflective practice, reflection-on-action and the practice of hyper-self-reflexivity. As such, it implies that they are beyond the need for self-reflection, revealing their privilege and frequent lack of desire to learn how to learn.

Within the approach presented here, I offer an alternative engagement with PV – one that humbly (rather than narcissistically) has reoriented the gaze onto myself as research-practitioner to enable reflections on aspects of my practice, my complicity and its effects. In a sense, this desire to ‘visualise’ geographic research practice is an attempt to acknowledge that “the world is not primarily approached discursively through language, explanation and generalisation; but through a re-embodiment of the self as the foundation for renewed engagement with everyday life” (Grimshaw 2005: 23). Visualising geographic research in this way also provides opportunities to attend to the material, embodied and affective or emotional dimensions of this self-reflexivity, which are under-theorised aspects in PV and wider literatures at present (Crocker 2003). These aspects provide a means of “thinking through relations between what is visible, visual and visualised” (Wagner 2006: 56), and may benefit from emerging debates within participatory and feminist geographies.

Visual information is ambiguous or polysemic, and there are fewer shared conventions for its interpretation than for verbal data. The inquiry into audiovisual recordings from the project with Ngāti Hauiti, therefore, has been a matter of translation as well as interpretation (see also Frith *et al.*, 2005). These acts of translation and interpretation have been aided by the work of Jon Wagner (2006) who helpfully distinguishes between visible data, visual analysis and visualised theory. According to his schema, videotapes are visible data – “material artefacts that can be seen in their own right” and which “make visible some elements of culture and social life that we might not otherwise be able to see” (Wagner 2006: 57); visual analysis refers to a “mode of sense perception” (Wagner 2006: 55) or a dimension of looking which can be perceived within the videotapes (as a result of how the videotape was made), or which can become stimulated in those people

viewing the tapes; and finally, visualised theory relates to a process of understanding or conceptualisation that is generated from visual analysis.

In my inquiry into the complicity, power and desire within my research practice with members of Ngāti Hauiti, I have also been aware of Gregory Stanzak's (2007: 8) reminder that:

As images reemerge as data within the social sciences, we must acknowledge the empirical components of the image while embracing the compelling challenges and opportunities of subjectivity and the potential emotional impact of making and reading images.

I have therefore created a 'reading position' (Holliday 2007), which works with Jon Wagner's (2006) three dimensions, Stanzak's (2007) reminder, and ideas from others working mainly in the fields of visual anthropology and sociology. Specifically this has involved:

1. 'reading' the visible data for aspects of my own practice that I might not otherwise have been able to see in the doing of it, that is, the content or internal narrative (Banks 2001) of the moving images;
2. attending to the visual dimensions of the images' production and their viewing, that is, the contexts of how the camera(s) were used or their external narratives (Banks 2001). This has included paying attention to how subjectivities shifted in relation to the research process and the cameras (Frith *et al.*, 2005) and how my own context and subjectivities have informed my analysis (Okely 2005) or potentially shifted through my own viewing and interpretation of the visible data (Pink 2006); and
3. generating some greater understanding or conceptualisation of the workings of complicity through the use of visible data and visual analysis recognising that "meaning is actively constructed, not passively received" (Schwartz 1989, cited in David 2007: 216).

In my reading of audiovisual images I have paid close attention to my body including how I moved, my gestures, postures, facial expressions, what objects I used and how, what actions I carried out, how I moved in or occupied space, and what behaviours I demonstrated alone or in conjunction with any written or spoken language I uttered. I focused my attention on the relationship between aspects of my research performances and embodiment – their details, textures and materiality – and the places and contexts in which they occurred (see also Grimshaw 2005; Okely 2005) as a means of engaging the workings of discourse through material practices. I didn't regard the size or frequency of my acts to be important – I viewed small or apparently insignificant gestures as valuable sources because of what they suggested about the micro-politics of power at work.

Using ideas from Foucauldian discourse analysis and grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990), I attempted to view these memories, audiovisual footage and fieldnotes “with ‘fresh’ eyes and ears” and to become self-critically aware of the ideas informing my emerging and contingent understanding (Waite 2010 drawing on Foucault 1972). From this position, I developed descriptive and analytic codes (Cope 2010; Rose 2001; Waite 2010), which identified categories associated with various relevant dimensions: who or what was involved (human actors, objects), where discussions or activities were taking place (contexts, spaces), how people and things were engaging and being used (embodiment, interactions and strategies or tactics), what the effects of these actions or ‘truths’ were (consequences) and at what scale they were occurring. I also noted any common terms, phrases or actions/practices/demeanours that were used by myself or others and the ways in which they were being used to identify the workings of dominant discourses. I attended to any silences, gaps or inconsistencies to explore how these discourses were being resisted.

Coding involves reflexivity and I attempted to incorporate the additional memories that arose when watching and listening to the audiovisual footage as well as my emotional and embodied responses into my ‘readings’ as other sources of information. This reflects an effort to acknowledge that the

development of my visualised theories about the workings of complicity, power and desire within my own practice are intimately connected to feeling, seeing, remembering, learning and expressing (David 2007). “Ways of seeing are structured by specific kinds of knowledge, which are in turn informed by the act of seeing itself, in a complex circular process” (Hockey and Allen Collinson 2006: 71).

In addition, I sought feedback and reflections from Geoff and key members of Ngāti Hauiti on my analyses and interpretations. I sent a full penultimate draft, or selected analytical chapters (6-8), of the thesis to ten people of whom seven provided oral or written feedback. The majority of feedback consisted of corrections to factual information associated with Ngāti Hauiti tīpuna or people’s names. I incorporated all these changes verbatim. Other feedback provided commentary on areas that a particular person felt strongly about such as Neville’s comments on the significance of his use of a Christian prayer (see Chapter 6) to open one of the meetings, Hape’s comments on the wider hurts wrought by historians attempting to research Māori (see Chapter 8), and Geoff’s insights into the particularities of working with film rather than video (see Chapter 3). I incorporated these changes as verbatim quotations where possible, or adopted their phrasing suggestions. Furthermore, a few people – Neville, Rewa and Geoff - provided reflections on the analyses and interpretations I had made of my own performance and practice. Frequently they had a different perspective to my own. In these cases, I chose to incorporate aspects that deepened my own analysis at that point in the thesis, or I chose the aspects that offered a counterpoint to my own reading and could usefully remind readers that my interpretation was never total, and always generated within a set of collaborative relationships.

As I trust will now be apparent, the retrospective hyper-self-reflexive approach I have developed to tracing my complicity, represents a form of inquiry which is inevitably, partial, shifting and contingent. Through it, I hope to have unsettled the ever-present temptation with things audiovisual, to regard them as objective truth or reality. Rather, by engaging my empirical materials as ‘ethnographic descriptions’ (Thomas 1997, cited in Pink 2001)

open to multiple interpretations and representative of many truths, this approach provides one means of looking back, to think through complicity and consider how to practice differently in future.

The recognition that my gaze is not omnipotent and complete has forced me to contend with assumptions about my claims to know and my institutional privilege. It has also highlighted the importance of ethics in terms of how I represent my research partners and myself in this thesis as I discussed in Chapters 1 and 3. In sum, while I have attempted to make apparent my complicity with the vestigial legacies of colonialism and other ideologies, some will have been resistant to my gaze and analysis even now – a point I return to in the conclusion of this thesis.

## **5.6 Moving Towards a Multi-Sited or Interspatial Engagement**

For Yasmin Gunarathnam (2003: 184) this form of inquiry could be regarded as being “about a reflexive positioning at the inside-outside boundary [enabling the] researcher ... to understand how the research relationship is situated within a broader social context.” This liminal positioning is important and complementary to calls within geography for attention to be paid to interspatial or multi-scalar (Howitt and Stevens 2010) analyses. If we only place ourselves on one side of the boundary – usually as outsiders who are unable to speak on behalf of others as we simultaneously attempt to ‘help’ them – then we avoid or obfuscate our complicity in ongoing unequal power relations. We fail to acknowledge our privilege as “determined by our favourable historical and geographic position, our material and cultural advantages resulting from imperialism and capitalism, and our identity as privileged Westerner” (Kapoor 2004: 631). The inside/outside separation functions to either contain or depoliticise ethnicity or puts the onus for change and engagement on the sub-altern (Kapoor 2004).

As many of the authors above have stressed, within a critically reflexive, autoethnographic approach to research practice it is important to wrestle with the profound and frequently subtle effects of dominant discourses, institutional (practico-inert) structures, historical contingencies and colonial continuities upon researchers' intentions and their effects on others; not least of which may be the reassertion of the insider/outsider binary (McDowell 1992). I have done this in part by inviting feedback on an earlier draft of the thesis from members of Ngāti Hauiti and Geoff who were intimately involved in the project.

Such an approach is also important because “a politics of scale is implicated in the construction of cross-cultural research” as the “local [emerges] as a set of particular kinds of relationships that [link] to a much wider set of scale relationships rather than as a singularity focused on a bounded location” (Howitt and Stevens 2010: 52). The historical, institutional and geographic embeddedness of relationships means that while my work is autoethnographic, its meaning and contribution to understandings of social life is only apparent through a multi-sited and multi-scalar engagement. This engagement begins with the ‘I’ but moves outward to explore the various ambiguities, tensions and productive possibilities that my positioning – and my practices – within these power geometries enabled, as the following three chapters illustrate.

# CHAPTER 6. FACILITATION

## 6.1 Introduction

Facilitation has been identified as one of the three tyrannies of participation (Cooke and Kothari 2001).<sup>55</sup> I therefore focus this chapter on my own practice as a facilitator during the emerging research partnership with Ngāti Hauiti in 1998. I have chosen this time period because this was when I was most deliberately attempting to practise ‘good’ facilitation as a means of establishing an equal and collaborative relationship. Specifically I focus on some critical incidents from a research planning meeting held on 28 November 1998.

I have written my most dominant memories from this meeting into two short vignettes, which I use to structure the chapter around the ideas of ‘becoming a facilitator’ and ‘facipulation’ (Sections 6.2 and 6.3). The vignettes convey some of the critical incidents associated with my facilitation before and during the meeting, as well as the often painful or uncomfortable feelings they evoked when I remembered them. With each vignette, I draw on excerpts of video footage of the incidents as recorded by Geoff on one of three cameras set up at the meeting (Appendix G: DVD Clips 6.1 and 6.2). Through a close reading of this audiovisual record, I identify various slips, disavowals, contradictions and ambiguities in my facilitation practice associated with the workings of complicity as discussed by Ilan Kapoor (2005). I also consider the apparent (dis)connections between my words and actions as they manifest on videotape. My annotations of the audiovisual record are provided in some detail (Boxes 6.1 and 6.2) so that readers may carry out their own readings with/alongside/against my vignettes, excerpts of the original footage on the accompanying DVD (Appendix G: Clips 6.1 and 6.2) and the images presented in Plates 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

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<sup>55</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, the others are methods and group work.

My ‘excavation’ of these incidents has involved re-contextualising the vignettes and audiovisual record through reference to my additional memories of two earlier project planning meetings – the first with members of the Project Working Party (PWP) at Rātā Marae in August 1998, and the second with PWP members and other interested whānau members in September 1998, other memories that arose during the excavation process, as well as my fieldnotes, a project information pack prepared for Ngāti Hauiti by Geoff and myself (Appendix A), and a community information sheet designed to encourage whānau to join the project (Appendix F). Through this iterative process, I have attempted to attend to both the internal narratives of the particular audiovisual excerpts I use and the external narratives that produced them (see Chapter 5, also Banks 2001).

Aspects of the audiovisual record reinforced the features of facilitation I remember practising in the 28 November 1998 meeting, or conveyed feelings I remember having at the time. Other aspects showed a clear disconnection between my words and actions that I had forgotten or been unaware of at the time they took place – the so-called ‘show up’ effect discussed in Chapter 5. Still others contradicted my memories and demanded more consideration from me of the differences between them (see Section 6.4).

In sum, using these multiple sources, I have developed a partial and situated reading of how my complicity as a technology of power manifested through the interplay of various communicative and material resources (Kesby *et al.*, 2007) in my role as facilitator. The discussion is organised in accordance with the orientation and approach developed in Chapters 4 and 5. Overall it aims to demonstrate the wider significance of the micro-politics under inquiry for the negotiation of self – other relationships within participatory (video) research in social geography.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> A similar process is discussed for Chapters 7 and 8, although each chapter differs slightly in its orientation and use of sources.

## 6.2 Becoming a Facilitator

Prior to the 28 November research planning meeting at Utiku Schoolhouse in 1998, I decided I would sit on the floor rather than on a chair.

When the meeting began, however, I remember feeling a little odd because everyone else was sitting on chairs and a couch. I thought I sensed some bemused or inquisitive looks. I assured myself that any discomfort I felt was because I was confronting a challenge to my assumed privilege and status in this emerging relationship and that this discomfort was therefore good. I may even have attempted to explain why I was sitting on the floor – to try and make my politics clear – but I can't be sure.

I also remember feeling awkward about working with a group of mainly rural Māori, even though the project had officially been running since May. I remember feeling something of a paradox in that as much as I wanted to very consciously invert the usual power relations in mainstream academic research and development practice through the tangible act of sitting on the floor, I also felt that the power relations were already inverted – I felt vulnerable, uncertain and somewhat of an interloper, asking for permission to share in a world that wasn't my own and wanting people to participate in what was at this stage still a university-funded project.

I may have had some written notes that I kept on the floor to refer to if needed. I know I didn't want anything like a table between the meeting's participants and me. I didn't want to give any appearance that I was attempting to hide anything – including myself – from Ngāti Hauiti members. Above all I remember wanting to communicate openness, humility, sincerity and integrity to my research collaborators and to invoke trust, open communication and collaboration between us.

More mundanely at this meeting, I remember wishing that my jeans were a little looser as I hadn't thought about my own physical ease while sitting on the floor when I'd picked them out that morning. I'd chosen to wear them because I wanted to present in a particular way. I chose to dress casually so as not to appear formal, 'citified' or rich. I wanted to reduce any differences that my dress and appearance might have communicated between many of the people attending and myself. They, unlike me, either lived and worked on farms in the local rural area or had strong connections to them.

I had also chosen to wear a red man's shirt and a red, black and white scarf given to me by a former partner. I remember thinking that on some subliminal level perhaps, my choice of the scarf's colours might signal my desire to work in solidarity with Ngāti Hauiti, rather than to perpetuate neo-colonial relationships. I thought this because of the association the scarf's colours with Māori culture and the Tino Rangatiratanga (Self Determination/Independence) movement. In addition I felt that the scarf somehow linked me with my former 'fieldworker self', which had been a bit dormant since arriving in New Zealand in 1994. Its origins in Indonesia – the last place and time I had carried out participatory fieldwork – connected me back into a mode of being that I enjoyed and through which I had felt confident...

The meeting took place inside a classroom of the local primary school, then Kōhanga Reo (Māori language nest), in the township of Utiku on State Highway 1 in the central North Island on Saturday 28 November 1998 (see Plate 1.1). Utiku had been chosen as the base for our research activities because of its historical significance – being founded by a prominent ancestor Utiku Potaka in the 1890s – and because of its ongoing significance to Ngāti Hauiti in terms of community development efforts.<sup>57</sup> It had and continues to have a relatively high population density of iwi members for its small size,

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<sup>57</sup> The settlement at Utiku was originally named Kaikoura after the stream on which the village is sited. Its name was changed to Utiku in the 1890s when the landowner and chief Utiku Potaka established the Potaka Native Township. Both Utiku and his wife owned land here (Potaka, U., 10 May 2011, pers. comm.).

yet key members of the Rūnanga were aware that whānau in this township did not seem to be as connected to iwi activities as those whānau living around Rātā, further south, where the marae and iwi administration buildings were located. Basing the research and training activities at the old schoolhouse, it was hoped, would engage more Utiku-based whānau in this iwi initiative.

The meeting occurred during a period of reflection within the action-reflection cycle of the project and involved a Rūnanga representative, two members of the Project Working Party who were the project's kaitiaki (guardians or overseers),<sup>58</sup> and three whānau members who had been involved in video production training with Geoff over the previous five weeks. The threefold purpose of the meeting was to take stock of progress to date, re-clarify the project's focus and organisation, and plan the next few months' research activities, which would ideally include finding more whānau members to join the training and community research. Everyone present at the meeting had given approval for our work together to be recorded on video in previous meetings, even though the formal Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) governing the entire project was still being finalised (Appendix C).

Prior to the start of the meeting, I arranged the available seats into a semi-circle facing the front of the classroom and sat down while Geoff set up three cameras on tripods in various positions around the room (Plate 6.1 and Appendix G: DVD Clip 6.1).

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<sup>58</sup> Graham Smith (1992) identified a number of models for Māori research – one of which he called the 'tiaki' model. It involved the establishment and oversight of a nominated group of iwi representatives who take responsibility to mentor and provide guidance to (Māori and non-Māori) academic researchers about their plans and actions.

**Plate 6.1** Author waits as Neville Lomax Welcomes Participants to 28 November 1998 Planning Meeting (Video Still)



(Source: 28 November 1998 Meeting, Tape 28).

**Box 6.1      Becoming a Facilitator, 28 November 1998 Planning Meeting**

<b>Time Min/Sec</b>	<b>Audio/Dialogue</b>	<b>Visual</b>
00.01	Joyce and Harry can be heard talking with each other as I wait to get the okay from Geoff that I can open the meeting.	I am sitting on the floor in the middle of the frame in front of the classroom's blackboard and teacher's platform, with my hands resting on my knees, and with papers and a large notebook open on floor in front of me. There is a hard desk chair behind me to my right and a makeshift whiteboard on the floor behind me to my left. Kirsty's head is partly in shot, front right. My face is passive.
00.20		I play absent-mindedly with the ring on my left-hand ring finger with my right hand. I remain on my knees with hands in my lap.
00.32		I rub my right hand on the back of my left hand and look down to my notebook, moving my right hand up my left forearm, across my torso and under the sleeve of my shirt towards my left elbow. My left hand moves between my thighs.
00.36	Geoff (out of shot): Do you need these Sara?  (He is referring to a bag of whiteboard markers and other items.)	I look over to the whiteboard then back at Geoff.
00.39	Sara: Um possibly afterwards yeah.	My eyes follow Geoff back to his position behind one of the three cameras set up behind Joyce and Harry on the couch and I respond to a signal from him with a smile that spreads across my face.
00.49	Sara: Action?	I partly collapse my body forward and laugh, as I turn away from Geoff and look to my left and down a little as Thomas starts to speak.
00.51	Thomas: I'll just get Neville to open this...	
00.55		There is the sound of Neville standing up as Harry moves slightly into the left hand side of

		frame then out again. As I nod to Thomas, I move both my hands down between my thighs and look down to the floor with my shoulders slightly curved over and forwards.
00.58		I look up and make eye contact with Neville and other people in the room, then look over to Harry keeping my hands between my thighs and torso curved forwards.
01.06		As Neville starts to speak in te reo Māori, <sup>59</sup> I look down again at my thighs.
01.08		Harry comes back into the room and sits down.
01.18		Neville greets me and I look up to him, keeping my hands between my thighs. I blink and look back down again as he moves on to greeting Geoff. I look back up to Neville and smile a small smile before looking down again.
01.36:		Neville moves onto greeting everyone collectively and I look up but keep my head position relatively still. I smile a little and look into the carpet space in front of me.
01.52:		I look down to my thighs again as Neville says a prayer, blessing the meeting.
02.30:		As Neville closes the prayer, I lean forward, raise my head and smile broadly at him.
02.32		I open my hands and lean further forward reaching down to the right-hand page of my notebook with my open right hand, which moves down across the page and stops midway down, resting my four fingers onto the page. My left hand palm is flat against the inside of my right thigh
02.33		I begin to speak as I pull back to a sitting position with my hands folded in my lap, my right hand on top of my left hand.
02.35	Kia ora Neville. And	I cover my mouth with my right hand, moving

<sup>59</sup> There are always issues associated with the politics of representation, which are magnified when working with others' words in their own language. I considered providing a translation of Neville's welcome and blessing in this transcription because I was concerned that to not do so could raise issues about the marginalisation or silencing of his voice within this thesis. However, the more I thought about it, the more it seemed appropriate not to translate his words *in this instance* because their absence more accurately conveys the state of 'unknowing' in which I sat listening to him and waiting to start the meeting.

02.42	<p>um...thank you all for coming again...um...really</p> <p>um...what I wanted to do today</p> <p>...I talked a bit with Thomas...was to sort of shift things</p> <p>given that we don't have new</p> <p>people here to kind of</p> <p>integrate into the group</p> <p>um but kind of</p> <p>do a mid-term</p>	<p>it down towards my chin as I continue speaking.</p> <p>I lower my right hand down onto my left hand in my lap and look over to my left to Thomas.</p> <p>I bring my hands up to the front with elbows bent and hands at upper chest height, palms almost facing each other.</p> <p>I open my hands with palms facing people in the room.</p> <p>I move my arms wide and circle them back, as if gathering something in.</p> <p>As I say 'group', I drop my hands back down, palms down onto my thighs and I look down at my notes.</p> <p>I lift my open right hand up in front of my chest with my palm facing down slightly towards me. I appear to be thinking about what I'm saying as I'm saying it – internal eye focus.</p> <p>Keeping my elbow bent and close to my chest, I move my hand up and over to the right, palm open and fingers up to ceiling. My left hand is palm down on my left thigh.</p>
02.56	<p>check how things are going</p> <p>and maybe get the people</p> <p>who've been involved</p> <p>to give some feedback</p> <p>to members of the working party...um</p> <p>particularly Thomas, Kirsty and</p>	<p>I push my hand with palm down slightly down towards the floor almost like bouncing before bringing it up and over to the right as if scooping up, then holding a ball.</p> <p>I move my right hand so my palm is open and pushing down slightly.</p> <p>I lift my right hand up with open fingers and palm up, then move it over to my right and down as I look over to the right at Joyce and Harry, then turn my hand so the palm is facing sideways.</p> <p>I move my hand across from right to left with the palm open and hand sideways. I then move it down and my eyes follow my hand down.</p> <p>I touch my right hand palm briefly on my right thigh, then lift it up again facing downwards.</p> <p>I signal to each person with my open right hand sideways on.</p>

	<p>... Neville</p> <p>on what you've been doing</p> <p>so far or ideas</p> <p>that you've come up with ...um and now I thought it would also be good</p> <p>to recap</p> <p>and give a bit more detail</p> <p>about the overall approach...</p>	<p>I put my right hand back down onto my thigh and look back down at my notes.</p> <p>I look up at Harry and Joyce, turning both my palms upwards, but keep the backs of my hands resting or almost resting on my thighs.</p> <p>I lift my right hand up and with palm open and facing upwards push it back downwards away from my body, then wipe the end of my nose on my bent index finger before moving my hand down to my thighs to look again at my notes.</p> <p>I speak a bit more slowly here.</p> <p>I raise my right hand up keeping my elbow bent and fingers bent perpendicular to the palm.</p> <p>I move my right hand, palm down and fingers open as I look up.</p>
03.24	Rangi's daughter (out of shot): Dad...Dad...	
03.26		I look up and over to Harry and Joyce, possibly Geoff, then break into a big smile aimed at Rangi.
03.29		Rangi crosses frame to go out to his daughter as I put my palms back down on my thighs and look at my notes.
03.32	<p>Sara: that the...um...</p> <p>research will be taking...</p> <p>sort of participatory, participatory activities</p>	<p>I look up again to my right, with my right hand up, palm and fingers open sideways in front of my chest.</p> <p>I circle my right hand open and round to the right.</p> <p>I return my hands palm down onto my thighs and look down.</p>
03.39	<p>... clarify some of</p> <p>the logistics,</p>	<p>I look up to the left, with my palms open facing down just above my thighs.</p> <p>On each word I push down into the air slightly</p>

	timeframe	with my hands.
	what's going to be involved	I look over to the right.
	to the end of January and get that sorted out, and then actually	I look down.
03.48	get in and do participatory work together	I look up, eyebrows raised, hand still pushing open-palmed down towards my thighs. I push down, then raise my hands wide to my shoulders, then bring them down closer together facing each other again in front of my chest, fingers wide apart – almost as if I'm holding a ball up in front of me.
03.53	of the type	I drop my left hand back down onto my thigh and circle my right hand around at chest level, palm facing me.
03.55	that we'll be working towards	I circle my hand a couple more times, as Rangī walks back to his seat.
	and involving other people in	
03.58	over the next few months	I scratch my right cheek lightly with my right hand, looking around to people in the room.
04.00	so that we actually have a go at doing some	I move my arms out wide and bring them back in, in a kind of scooping/gathering type gesture.
04.04	of that as a group, here,	I circle my right hand horizontally and anti-clockwise out in front of my body as if tracing/connecting to all the people in the room.
04.05	pooling knowledge	I weave a tighter horizontal circle with my right hand, then bringing it down back onto my right thigh.
04.08	um... and what I wanted to do ... for that	I move my right hand up my left forearm and under my shirt sleeve.
04.10	was to start ...	I bring my right hand out from the sleeve and scoop it out away from my body and back towards my chest with my palm open and facing towards me.
04.11	thinking...about...u m	I hold my hand up, palm facing my chest, elbow out the side with my eyes looking towards it. I appear to be thinking carefully about what I'm saying and have more of an

04.15	constructing what's	internal focus. I look up and raise my eyebrows as I turn my palm down to face the floor.
04.18	been called a historical timeline so basically tracing impacts, events,	I sweep my right hand (still palm down) down towards the right. I bring my right hand (still palm down) up across my torso to the height of my left shoulder and look over to the left. I move my hand back and forth along an imaginary timeline in the air in front of me touching down on supposed key dates as I say "impacts, events".
04.26	from as far back as people can remember to the present day ...	I bring my left hand up to join my right at left shoulder height, both palms facing each other as if holding some contained 'event' and signalling that (at least in my mind's eye) the past is over to the left, slightly behind me. I leave my left hand where it is and move my right hand across my body along the imaginary timeline.
04.30	and looking at how that's sort of flowing on to the present day conditions	I bring my right hand back slightly towards the left hand and turn the palm towards my chest as I look over to the right. I circle my right hand, palm facing my body, out and over away from my body. My left hand continues up and sideways as if marking a fixed point in time. I do this until my arm is extended out to the right and I drop down slightly with my whole body to signify where the present day is.
04.35	...	I drop my arm and hands back down in front of my body and look down at my notes.
04.36	and I'll give you... you know...	With elbows bent, I hold both hands facing palms down with fingers splayed and I circle my hands alternatively around in small quick circles towards each other as I look into the space in front of me, but not directly at anyone.
04.37	I'll facilitate that...	I make a quick larger circle out, up and over with both hands moving in opposite directions. I look up at people in the room, then drop both hands down.
04.40	and what I was	With elbows bent, I lift both hands up to face

	thinking of	each other. I look to the person straight ahead of me.
04.42	was breaking it down into smaller groups, ... of getting	I move my hands apart and turn my palms to face people as I look over to Joyce and Harry on my right. I bring my thumbs slightly closer together and look over towards Thomas and Rangi.
04.45	the men to work together	Keeping my hands in this position, I push them down slightly to the left (as if they signify the men), and I smile wryly.
04.48	and the women to work together	I move my hands over to the right, scanning the group with my eyes, moving them back to the men with raised eyebrows.
04.50	and then construct your own timelines.	I move my left hand back in line with my left shoulder and keeping my elbows bent and palms open with fingers splayed facing down to the floor, I circle both arms out and round, then smile checking people's non-verbal responses.
04.53	Alternatively, ... we could work together.	I twist the wrists of both hands to open my palms out, then bring my hands towards each other as I say "together" and kind of wobble them as I shrug my shoulders.
04.57	See how it goes.	I drop both hands, palms down onto my thighs.
04.58	It's just ... in the...	With elbows bent, I raise both hands up again. My left hand is up at shoulder height facing sideways with my palm open and fingers splayed. My right hand is lower with my palm open facing to the floor. I pause after "It's just" and particularly after "in the" and change direction in my speech in terms of how I want to phrase things. It is obvious that I am thinking on the spot as I look up to the right and circle my right hand trying to find the 'right' words.
05.01	where this has been used in other societies around the world,	I lower my head slightly and move it towards the left. I lift my left hand to rub the left hand side of my nose as I bend the fingers of my right hand slightly, still facing the floor, as if holding a ball. I have an open expression on my face.
05.04	they've often found	I return my left hand to be level with my right hand, facing it with palm and fingers open. I

05.06	it's quite good to break down  into smaller groups	look over to Thomas and Rangī on my left.  I bring my hands closer together as if holding a larger ball between them and move them from the left towards the centre of my body as I shift to look at the people directly in front of me.  I move 'the ball' over the left shifting my gaze to people there. I raise my eyebrows as I do this.
05.09	because you get different ...	On 'different', I drop my right hand down slightly away from my left hand and look back to people in front of me, smiling very slightly.
05.10	information, different perspectives,	I smile and look over to my left nodding as if to reinforce that what I'm advocating is a good thing.
05.13	so part of what I think is going  to be valuable about working together	I circle my right hand around and bring my hands together in an open kind of prayer position.  I open my hands, palms facing forwards and circle them around quickly as I look down thinking about what I'm saying. I drop my left hand to my thigh, palm down, as I say together.
05.17	and involving other people is	I bounce my right hand, palm down twice moving my head to look at Harry and Joyce.
05.20	getting that whole range  of different perspectives	I circle my right hand and arm out wide from my body in an anticlockwise direction as if connecting to a wider area and bringing things back.  I look around the group as I bring my hands back, elbows bent, in front of my body palms open and fingers splayed facing each other.
05.24	to enrich the whole knowledge base.	I circle my open hands away from each other on "enrich". On "the whole knowledge base", I drop my hands, palms down, onto my thighs and look over to my left at Thomas and Rangī.

(28 November 1998 meeting, Tape 28, also see Appendix G: DVD Clip 6.1)

My annotation and close reading of the audiovisual clip reinforced the memories included in the vignette that opened this section. It shows that I was uncomfortable and awkward at the beginning of this meeting with members of Ngāti Hauiti. In my fiddling with my ring, and my right hand moving up

my left forearm under my sleeve, I almost get the sense that I was secretly wishing that my whole body could crawl up there and be hidden from view! My posture is low and unusual for public meetings in Aotearoa New Zealand. I am sitting on the floor on my knees. I do not take up much space with my body or my arm movements, keeping my gestures close to my body unless I am referring to a wider group of people we'd hoped would be at the meeting. I appear calm and in control of the situation with my notes in front of me conveying my responsibility and preparation. I am located in front of the blackboard: the usual and authoritative place of a teacher. And yet, my speech is hesitant, riddled with ums and pauses. I periodically speak slowly as I am thinking on my feet, or speed up and move from one subject to another as if to avoid interruption or challenge from anyone present. I also cover my mouth or rub my nose at various points indicating uncertainty.

As I see myself waiting for the meeting to start (Plate 6.1), I connect again to the feeling of uncertainty about my role and place in the project, and about how this meeting would go, as it was the first one we had held in nearly two months. It strikes me that I didn't really know what to do with myself – particularly my eyes – in this intervening period *before* the officially-sanctioned time and space of the meeting. I wasn't yet sure of my relationships with the people present or how best to communicate with them. I chose to keep myself to myself and not make eye contact with anyone thereby I hoped, communicating patience, respect and humility – dominant ideas in PD and PAR (see Box 6.2).

## **Box 6.2      Ideal Behaviours of Participatory Facilitators**

- Use your own best judgement at all times
- Show respect
- Establish rapport
- Abandon preconceptions
- Hand over the stick: become a co-learner
- Show interest in what people have to share
- Watch, listen and learn
- Be flexible
- Support and share
- Understand and work towards group objectives
- Think clearly and observe the whole group
- Be assertive and know when to intervene
- Ensure all perspectives are heard
- Be honest
- Build trust
- Learn from mistakes
- Be self-critical and self-aware
- Relax
- Have fun, joke, enjoy
- Improvise, innovate and invent – try new things, be bold, take risks
- Share facilitation stories with others

(Source: Adapted from Chambers 2002: 3-4; Hanson and Hanson 2001.)<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> See also Yoland Wadsworth (2001) for a more thorough discussion of facilitation in participatory research and a table comparing the standpoints of traditional social science researchers and participatory research facilitators.

My uncertainty about what to do with myself in this liminal time and space also showed itself through my question to Geoff of “Action?” followed by my laugh and feigned ‘collapse’ as if being released from some kind of tension or bondage.<sup>61</sup> I understand my exaggerated response to his ‘nod’-to-proceed, as evidence of the relief I felt at being able to finally assume my discursively-sanctioned subject position of ‘project facilitator’. On a more subtle level, I think I was also relieved to feel like I finally knew my place within the social relations and structures present and therefore knew how to act in this space. Both aspects of knowing, however, didn’t completely alleviate my uncertainty and were contingent upon the dominant discourses into which I was interpellated at the time, as I attempt to tease out here.

My sitting on the floor while everyone else was on seats made sense to me at the time, but seems strange now. My decision was partly pragmatic. The seating available to us was limited and consisted of an old couch, some armchairs and a few hard seated chairs, none of which were very comfortable. More significantly, however, my decision to sit on the floor can be linked to the writings of Robert Chambers (1995, 2002) prior to and since the event of this meeting. His writings on participatory development, specifically Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and the facilitation of participatory workshops, have paid attention to the power relations between development practitioners and project participants or trainees in an effort to ensure more equitable outcomes for participants.

In his analysis, Chambers (1997; c.f. Kapoor 2002) refers to development practitioners as ‘uppers’ and project participants as ‘lowers’ based on the differential structural positions of power they generally occupy within international development interventions. He stresses the importance of ‘making the lowers, uppers and the uppers, lowers’ through, for example, having development practitioners sit on the floor when interacting with participants in their homes or communities. This strategy of reversal as a

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<sup>61</sup> Geoff’s reading of this moment was that my feigned collapse indicated my final release from being ‘beholden’ to him and the technology, something I was not used to from my previous participatory research experiences. I was finally free to act independently (Hume-Cook, G., 29 May 2011, pers. comm).

means of power sharing and ultimately of empowerment (Henkel and Stirrat 2001) made sense to me from my experiences in Indonesia seven years prior (Kindon 1993; see also Box 2.3). There, some participants in a rural community meeting I was facilitating provided me with a chair to sit on, while they sat (as is usual) on the floor of the outdoor community meeting place. Their physical elevation of me conveyed respect for me as a visitor but also the assumption that I had more structural power than they did in relation to the work we were about to do together. In that case, I politely declined the use of the chair and talked about how I wanted to establish a different kind of relationship. This difference was viewed positively and a chair was never introduced into our subsequent meetings. We went on to establish a productive working relationship, which resulted in the establishment of some community development initiatives and the first ever community planning meeting to involve men *and* women.

By choosing to sit on the floor in this meeting with Ngāti Hauiti, I wanted to reinforce that I did *not* consider myself to be an upper – that is, structurally superior – to anyone present, and that in many ways I saw myself as their subordinate, a point I return to below. I felt the need to try and communicate this reversal *visibly* with my body because of the commonplace understanding that ‘actions speak louder than words’ and because of the many historical incidences of abusive, colonising or extractive research by Pākehā researchers involving Māori (see for example, Smith, L. 1999; Te Awekotuku 1991) that I was actively seeking to work against.

While perhaps admirable, I am now more critical of this decision and Chambers’ (1994a, 1994b, 1994c) theorisation of power upon which it was based. Kapoor (2002, 2004), for example, has argued that Chambers’ binary formation of power, far from enabling empowerment, reinscribes privilege, overlooks the circulation of power and forecloses diverse forms of agency that may be available within a relationship between differently positioned others. I have also come to recognise Chambers’ complicity with structuralist understandings of power associated with the emphasis on facilitators ‘sharing’ power with participants. When viewed in light of these critiques, my seating

position and facilitator performance from this space, while seeking to convey my humility and goodwill – my benevolence to use Kapoor's (2005) term – also effectively reinforced my structural privilege as white, English, middle-class and as an academic researcher and facilitator of the project.

I also read my sitting position as being reflective of a form of colonial guilt. Metaphorically I could be read as appearing to supplicate myself before the people in this meeting seeking their forgiveness and absolution for the sins of my forebears before our work together can continue. This historical guilt was not something I consciously connected with prior to and during the project. I insulated myself from Māori critiques by telling myself that as a recent immigrant of four years to New Zealand and therefore what could be termed a *tauiwi* researcher, I was absolved from some of the difficult political negotiations faced by Pākehā researchers as the direct descendents of British settlers. I also thought that my prior research experiences in the 'Third World' qualified me as an informed, aware and post-colonial researcher who would be immune from the neo-colonial errors of other non-Māori academics. Yet, I could not escape how I may have been positioned by members of Ngāti Hauiti in relation to my English heritage, my skin colour, my age, gender and apparent class – aspects I return to below.

I also felt uncomfortable about the power and authority that I had already exerted as the Principal Investigator for the project from the University's perspective. While the project brief and objectives had grown out of a response that Geoff and I had to discussions with the then General Manager of the Ngāti Hauiti Rūnanga and a few whānau members who'd been involved in our earlier contract research for the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (Hume-Cook *et al.*, 1997), they had not been devised and decided upon collectively as is ideally advocated within PAR (Tuck and Fine 2007). Perhaps more significantly, they had not been developed with any of the people at this meeting.

In an earlier meeting on 19 September 1998, for example, (where I hadn't sat on the floor, but on a chair like everyone else as part of a circle), I talked for

almost ten minutes without a break outlining the historical evolution of the project (from both personal and policy orientations), its source of funding from the University, its academic focus, rationale and the participatory methodological process ‘we’ would be adopting. In a classic move at power sharing as advocated in collaborative research and participatory development literatures, I outlined what I understood to be the exchange of valued, mutually exclusive resources between Geoff and myself as external researchers and Ngāti Hauiti as participating collaborators (see also Isenberg *et al.*, 2003).

Frequently within feminist, activist and Indigenous discourses on research practices emphasising equity and reciprocity (Chatterton *et al.*, 2007; Howitt and Stevens 2010; Johnson 2008; Louis 2007; Moss 2002; Smith, L. 1999), there is the assumption that for researchers to (have the right to) access local knowledge, they should have knowledge, skills or resources that participating communities need or want, and which they are unable to obtain on their own (Isenberg *et al.*, 2003).

In this case, as the University-sanctioned Principal Investigator, I wanted access to local knowledge about the relationships between place, identity and social cohesion to fulfil the project objectives, as well as people’s participation to shape the research focus and orientation, and to carry out the research and analysis. As the project’s audiovisual specialist and trainer Geoff had calculated that a minimum of four-months’ commitment would be needed from iwi members to participate in training to support the project objectives. In return, we offered, respectively, training in video production and participatory research skills, as well as a certain prestige that may have come from Ngāti Hauiti’s association with Victoria University of Wellington (see also Appendix A).

While on the face of it, such an exchange may have been desirable for Ngāti Hauiti, Daryl Isenberg and colleagues (Isenberg *et al.*, 2003: 127) note that a participating community’s apparent desire for the researchers’ skills, professional credentials or affiliation may also be, “a projection of the

researchers' needs onto research participants", which then "casts the researchers as 'nobly' sharing their many resources with the dispossessed". Such a delusion, they argue, is problematic and fails to recognise that, "[a]ccess to and the value of participants' and researchers' resources are varied" (Isenberg *et al.*, 2003: 127). Further, the sharing of resources does not *ipso facto* ensure the sharing of power. As Shirley White (2003: 39) writing about participatory video remarks, "[t]he people must come through the process with newly acquired skills and *a sense of being in control*" (emphasis added). Her use of the word 'sense' suggests that they are not actually in control and this is how I now feel about the position of people from Ngāti Hauiti in the meeting under excavation here.

With all of this complexity at work, it is significant that at the earlier meeting I did not talk about the benefits that might accrue to me personally and professionally through the project until prompted by a direct question from Joyce. I did not mention them in this meeting either. I felt uncertain – even guilty – about my right to gain a higher qualification (PhD) out of our work together. This was even though I was institutionally being compelled to do so, and members of the Project Working Party had sanctioned this outcome as a legitimate part of our research plan. I didn't want the members of Ngāti Hauiti participating in the project to think I was there to study them in a classic anthropological or social scientific fashion, yet it was hard to avoid the spectre or traces of earlier colonial and objectivist interventions.

One strategy I adopted to cope with this colonial guilt was to seek refuge in Māori values. Knowing the little I did about the importance that Māori place on hospitality and reciprocity, I chose to foreground what Geoff and I were bringing to the research partnership rather than what we hoped to take away. Being complicit with this discourse, I positioned our contributions as *koha* (gifts) and our provision of project and training spaces as a means for us to be able to host people as they were building their capacities (Mead 2003). I also appealed to political values often associated with Māori independence and sovereignty by mentioning the possibility that our work together may generate specifically Māori and rural insights into the then National

government policy around ‘building strong communities’ (for example see MfE 1997). Through the positioning of our work in this way, I sought to build an alliance with Ngāti Hauiti, which was complicit with Māori discourses of decolonisation and Tino Rangatiratanga, and the search for, and legitimation of, Māori knowledge and rights (for example see Durie 1998).

Linked to the above potential outcomes, PRA and Community Video – as the project’s driving methodological forces were defined at that time – had not been applied separately or together in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time of the project’s initiation, so both Geoff and I were excited by the possibilities of documenting this ‘innovative’ process to share with others here and overseas.<sup>62</sup> This was also an aspect of our proposed work together that members of the Project’s Working Party endorsed in our earlier discussions (August 1998). They too looked forward to making a contribution to better research practices in Aotearoa New Zealand and to demonstrating non-colonising or anti-colonial research (Howitt and Stevens 2010; Smith, L. 1999) to others overseas. As such, these decisions put the video technology, and the camera, firmly at the centre of our relationships.

The process of being recorded for posterity, and therefore of being open to others’ future scrutiny and misinterpretation, generated anxiety within me which was undoubtedly a contributing factor informing my facilitative performances under scrutiny here. Interestingly, I don’t remember Geoff or anyone in Ngāti Hauiti expressing similar anxiety. I was aware that by generating video recordings of our work together, such moments would become fixed in time, freezing what was in fact a dynamic and evolving relationship (Gallagher and Kim 2008). Each decision that I made about how

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<sup>62</sup> In the five-page information pack given to iwi members prior to our initial meeting to present our ideas (see Appendix A, the first two project goals are methodological: “1) apply Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods in the production of community video(s) with two rural communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand; and 2) develop and document collaborative research between the team and members of two rural communities”. Under ‘Research Outcomes’ in this document we also stated: “Once it has been approved by the community committees, the jointly-generated information on the community-based research processes will be distributed in a/v format to the United Nations archives, New York and the International Institute of Environment and Development, London.” To date, we have not collectively revisited this aim to decide if it is something we wish to do.

to dress, what to say and do therefore took on more gravity and significance because it would form part of an historical archive. The presence of one or more cameras at each meeting also inevitably mediated our relationships. They literally and metaphorically became the objects around and through which many of our negotiations took place.

I reconciled our collective decision to record as much of our process together as possible, as a legitimate part of our participatory work together. First, I told myself, and Ngāti Hauiti members, that by putting myself in front of the camera alongside project participants, I was being transparent in my dealings and making myself open to scrutiny. Second, I was also not asking them to do anything I was not prepared to do, thereby avoiding a common criticism levelled at facilitators of collaborative and participatory interventions. Third, I thought that by recording this ‘better’ way of enacting research, a new generation of effective bicultural researchers and facilitators (whom I anticipated watching project footage as part of their research methods courses) could be supported to contribute to more positive race relations in the country as a whole! Such beliefs I now read as being complicit with practices of magnanimity and self-aggrandisement, which Kapoor (2005) argues are inherent within participatory development discourse – points I return to later.

Also within Kapoor’s (2005) thinking, my fantasies about transforming bicultural research relations reflected the transference of my surplus political idealism and my discontent with Aotearoa New Zealand’s apparently liberal democratic political systems. This process of ideological transference relieved me from having to face potential political bottlenecks in my own largely urban, Pākehā middle-class contexts associated with doing research differently. It also asked more of my co-researchers and participants in Ngāti Hauiti than it did of myself in terms of the levels of self-reflection and self-analysis I was hoping to facilitate. While apparently benign, Kapoor (2005) argues that through this often-unconscious practice of transference, participants such as Ngāti Hauiti are positioned as disposal sites for

researchers' idealism, which may be no less toxic than the disposal of other hazardous wastes within their environments.

Returning to my practice in this 28 November meeting, my sitting position on my knees, frequently with my hands together on or between my knees, also reminds me of images of students or disciples sitting respectfully at the feet of great teachers or divine beings, quietly awaiting some deep insight! My bowed head position and down-turned eyes as Neville opened the meeting in te reo Māori sought to convey respect and reverence. However, in general I was uncertain about exactly what he was saying and therefore lacked confidence that I would respond appropriately at the right time as my small, tight smiles to him acknowledging his direct welcome to me, then Geoff, indicate.

I remember feeling acutely aware of my outside status at this time as the young, white, English woman in this Māori environment, and wondered if my lack of understanding was apparent to people in the meeting and how they might judge me because of it. Needless to say, I was relieved when I heard Āmine (Amen) and could resume the more familiar and structurally-powerful position of 'facilitator', as mentioned above.

Alongside the discomfort and incomprehensibility of this liminal pre-meeting space however, I also felt simultaneous pleasure and excitement as Neville's 'foreign' words washed over me. To me, the incomprehensibility and unknowingness was further confirmation that, after only four years in the country, I was back where I liked to be – working in the difficult territory of the contact zone (Pratt, M. L. 1992) and learning about human similarities and differences.

I felt like a postcolonial pioneer, breaking new ground or heading into uncharted waters, in awe of Māori culture as well as proud that I had made it 'in' where other Pākehā had been denied access, and self-righteous that I was

going to right the wrongs of those who'd gone before me!<sup>63</sup> I was excited about learning more about Māori culture and to developing expert knowledge in this arena.

Interestingly, Neville's welcome and blessing of the meeting also included a Christian prayer – a direct legacy of settler colonisation and the impact of missionaries in the previous century, and an aspect of contemporary life that has significant meaning for many members of the iwi.<sup>64</sup> I chose, however, to ignore the complex and postcolonial implications of this articulation for how I might approach my work, preferring to remain complicit with hegemonic and romanticised understandings of the purity and authenticity of this 'Indigenous' ritual and my engagements with my 'native' collaborators.

Further essentialised understandings about race manifested in my choice of dress for this meeting, along with class and gendered dimensions. As I noted in my memory above, I had consciously chosen my shirt and scarf for this meeting because of my desire to communicate solidarity with Māori political agendas associated with self-determination. These aspirations seemed congruent with a participatory orientation to the research partnership, and my desire to use the privilege that my 'whiteness' afforded me to counter or at least subvert colonial continuities perpetuating injustice.

The colours of red, white and black are often associated with dominant representations of Māori culture, particularly with the Tino Rangatiratanga movement, which advocates Māori political sovereignty and at its most extreme, the formation of a separate Māori state. Yet these colours and

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<sup>63</sup> In earlier meetings, various members of Ngāti Hauiti had talked to us about their less than desirable dealings with representatives from research institutions, government agencies and companies supplying power and electricity. I was determined not to replicate their errors of judgement and apparent lack of cultural understanding.

<sup>64</sup> As Neville commented directly when providing feedback on this chapter: "I need to clarify my position in regards to your reference to my welcome and blessing of the meeting using a Christian prayer. Since the arrival of Christianity into the Mokai Patea district in the 1840s, the people of Ngāti Hauiti accepted religion wholeheartedly. In fact, our ancestor Utiku Potaka was one of the first people to be baptised by the Reverend William Colenso upon his arrival, into Mokai Patea District, from Napier. Old Utiku Potaka remained a Christian throughout his life and went out of his way to remind his people of the need to follow the message of the Lord" (Lomax N., 25 April 2011, pers. comm.).

representations also overlook the incredible diversity in understandings about cultural identity and Māori-Crown relationships within Māori themselves – something Mason Durie (1995, cited in Cunningham *et al.*, 2005) refers to as ‘diverse Māori realities’. My decision to wear these colours therefore, while well intentioned, was complicit with hegemonic representations of politically strident Māori, which may in fact have alienated some people at the meeting rather than forged solidarity with them. It may also, somewhat ironically, have alienated even the more politically strident Māori within Ngāti Hauiti, who could have read my choice to wear these colours as evidence that I was trying to take over, rather than support, something deeply Māori.

My choice of man’s shirt and jeans also reflected my understanding that rural spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand are largely constituted as masculine (Lees and Berg 1995),<sup>65</sup> and that our project space involved more men than women, particularly men occupying structurally-significant positions within the iwi.<sup>66</sup> I knew from my prior contract research with farm families in the district (Hume-Cook *et al.*, 1997), and from the fact that the impetus for this project came from iwi members’ desire to learn video production skills, that people were more interested in practical things than in any of the theories about social cohesion that I may have been interested in. I felt, therefore, that I had to dress in a way that challenged typical assumptions about my middle-class status as a University lecturer (as someone based in an urban, ivory tower and out of touch with the ‘real world’) and as the project facilitator (as someone ‘touchy-feely’ as opposed to hard and technical like Geoff with the video equipment).

I also felt the need to counter stereotypical assumptions about my gender (as a ‘girl’ who wouldn’t want to do hard, physical labour or get my hands dirty). I therefore chose to try and – what I now regard as ‘cross-dress’ – in men’s

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<sup>65</sup> This is unlike my native England, where the rural idyll is associated discursively and figuratively with the feminine (Rose *et al.*, 1997).

<sup>66</sup> While overall, there were about equal numbers of men and women involved in the project work at its various stages, and the Community Video Research Team (CVRT) was mostly women, it became apparent as time went on that most key decisions concerning the project’s kaupapa and aspects of Ngāti Hauititanga were made by two to three male participants who occupied positions within the Potaka Whānau Trust and/or the iwi Rūnanga.

clothes in an effort to transcend these structural differences between us and enable people to accord me the acceptance and right to belong that I so deeply desired.

These attempts to disavow my privilege or subvert essentialist understandings are interesting to me now as I watch the audiovisual record for two reasons. First because they directly contradict my self-acclaimed emphasis on transparency and ‘not wanting to hide anything’ discussed above. Second, because I don’t think that they worked. Aspects of my ‘middle-classness’ and gender are glaringly apparent in my embodiment through my wearing and nervous playing with my silver jewellery, my choice of scarf from an ‘exotic’ overseas location, my professionally dyed hair, my speech patterns and educated vocabulary, and my demure bodily comportment and gestures. My whiteness too is unmistakable and perhaps even exaggerated by the red colour of my shirt and dyed hair.

All these dimensions of my corporeality reflect their wider geo-political determinations in networks of imperialist and capitalist power. I am therefore faced with the new understanding that in Spivak’s (1988: 272, 292) terms as the “investigating subject”, my knowing and naïve attempts to use my body and its clothing to avoid complicity and pretend I no longer had any “geo-political determinations”, had the opposite effect and may have reasserted my structural privilege.

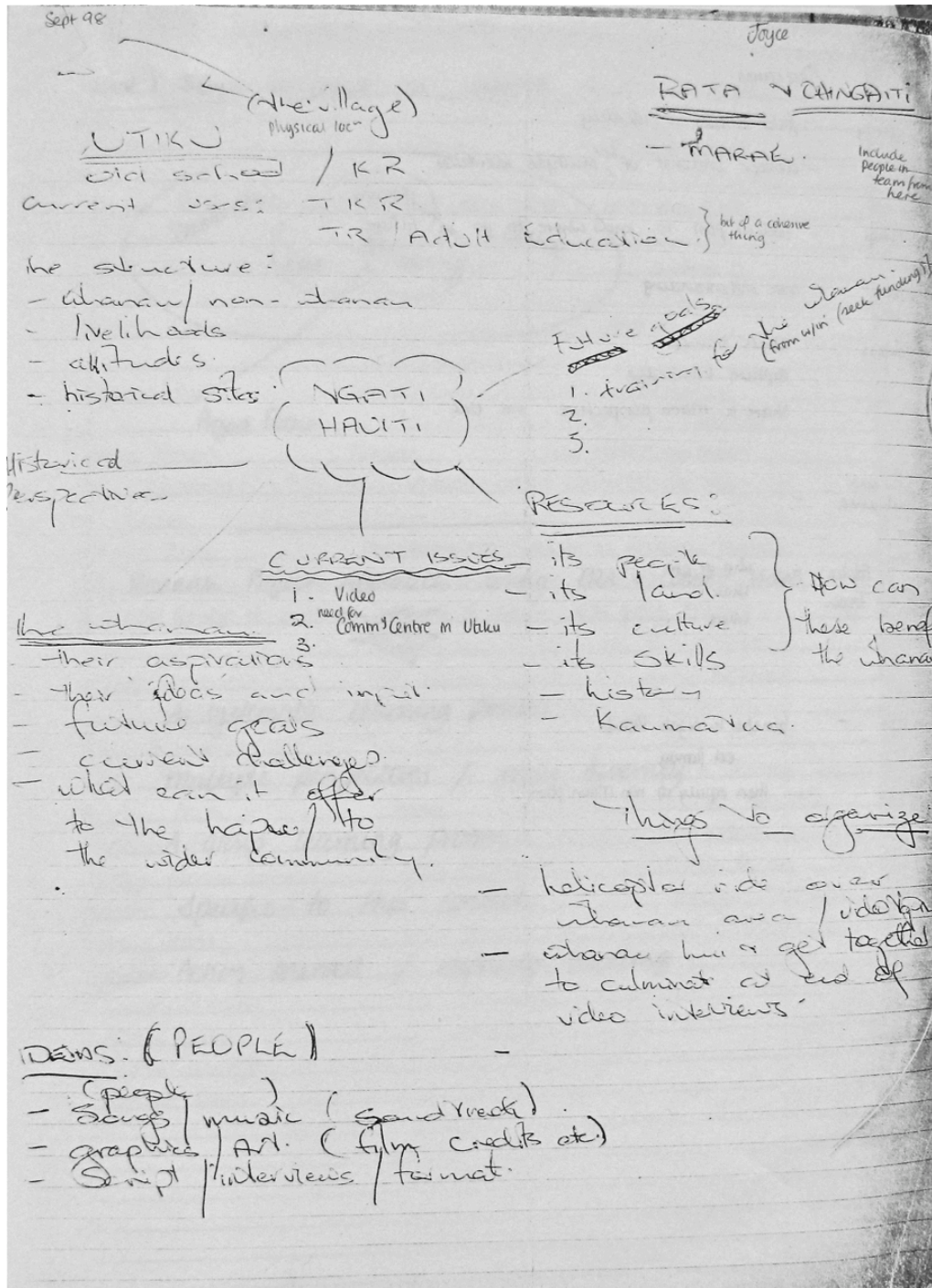
Keeping these insights in mind, the next section attends to another critical incident 23 minutes into the same meeting where, in my role as facilitator, I introduced and interacted with ‘Joyce’s’ mindmap (see Plates 6.2 and 6.3, Box 6.3 and Appendix G: DVD Clip 6.2). This incident provides further insights into the embodied and spatial dimensions of my complicity. It also presents an opportunity to consider the role of an object – in this case, the mindmap – in how complicitous relationships can be mediated through things, as well through words and actions.

### 6.3 Facilitation or Facipulation?

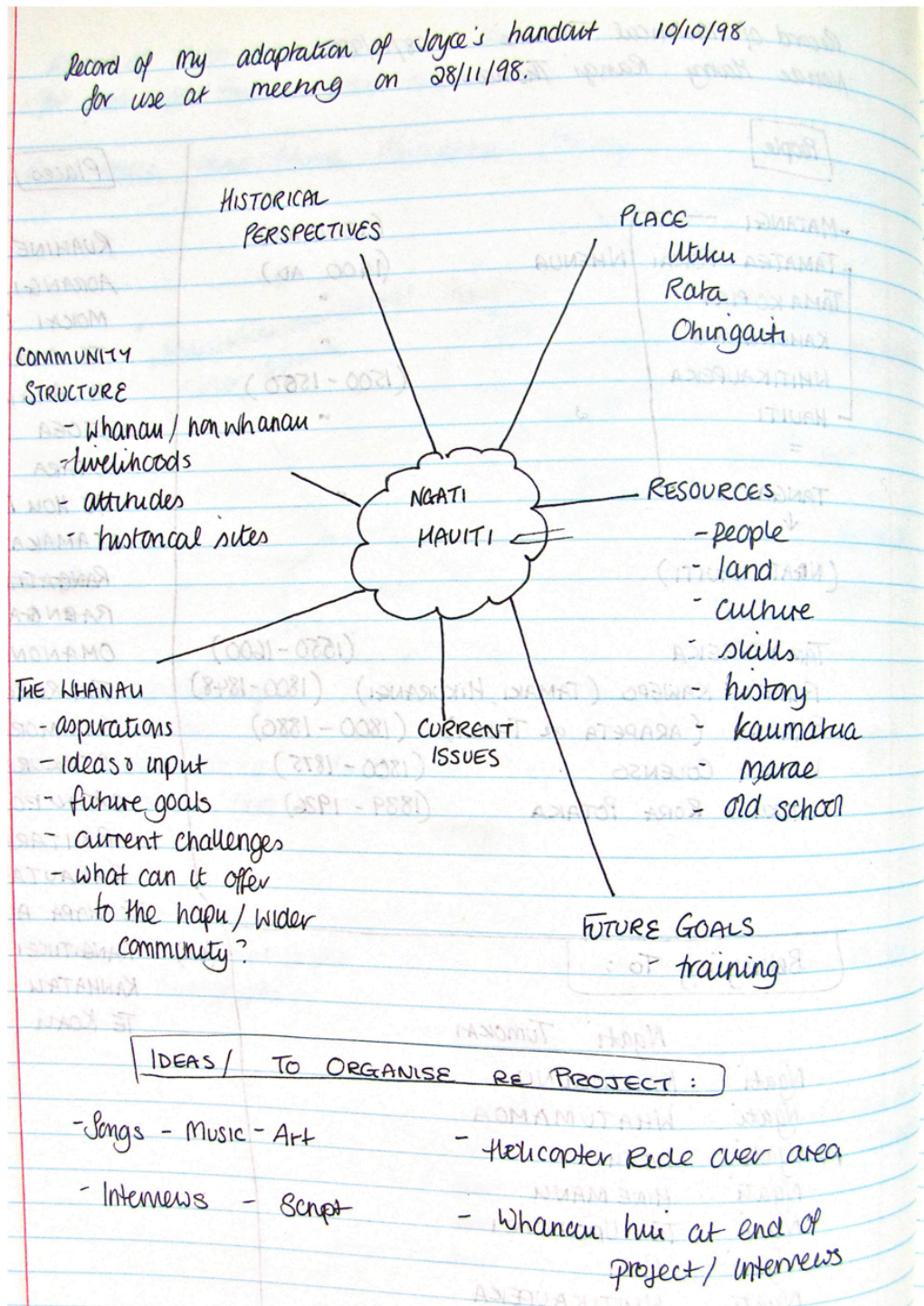
Towards the end of the first meeting with whānau members who were interested in participating in the skills training and research (19 September 1998), Joyce distributed photocopies of a mindmap she had drawn up with ideas for possible activities and research foci. At some point in October before the 28 November meeting, I rewrote her notes re-positioning the key terms and phrases so that – from my perspective – their relationships with each other could be more apparent. I tried hard to stay true to her presentation and told myself that I wasn't 'changing' it, merely enhancing it because that would help our process overall. I do remember a feeling of unease however, that 'I shouldn't really be doing this'... but I think I told myself that it was okay because I was working towards a higher level goal (group clarity and understanding).

With the passage of time, I didn't feel entirely comfortable with my actions. In the 28 November meeting, I think I attempted to acknowledge this saying something like, "Joyce did a great job of getting the ideas down, I've just tidied up what she wrote a bit to make it easier for everyone to read", or something similar. I may even have even added, "I hope that's okay with you?" I'm not sure. I think Joyce nodded and smiled, but I have no idea how she really felt about what I'd done.

Plate 6.2 Joyce Potaka's Original Mindmap (September 1998)



**Plate 6.3 Author's Version of Joyce Potaka's Mindmap (10 October 1998)**



**Box 6.3 ‘Facilitation or Facipulation’?: Re-presenting Joyce’s Mindmap**

Time Mins/Secs	Audio/Dialogue	Visual
21.56	<p>Sara: And the other thing I did was just write up what ... um ... Joyce gave us in an earlier meeting which was ... er ... really helpful and</p> <p>quite ‘wowed’ me at the time that you’d gone and done this.</p> <p>So I just put it um together. I’ve sort of</p> <p>grouped some things that you’d put, like under place, and grouped those places that you had in slightly different positions. But basically that’s what, that’s what Joyce had put together for all of us a few meetings ago in terms of the issues, the components that are going to feature, to some extent, in what we’re doing over the next two months.</p>	<p>I am centre frame, bending over from kneeling to pick up an A3 sheet of paper. I remain kneeling and lift it up to my left-hand side with my left hand at the top of the sheet, so everyone in the room can see it. I look from the sheet to people in the room.</p> <p>I look directly at Joyce and smile at her as I speak.</p> <p>I look back to sheet and the camera zooms in on a close-up of my writing on the sheet.</p> <p>I point to the relevant part of the diagram with my right hand.</p>
22.46	<p>So what I’m proposing today is that we ...</p> <p>start by looking a little bit here in terms of place and</p> <p>I’ll take you through an exercise to do with that, and then looking at some of the historical perspectives cos that’s always a good place to start,</p> <p>and then over the coming weeks, what we’ll be getting into are some of these other issues ... depending on</p>	<p>Camera zooms out to include me in the frame.</p> <p>I point my right hand to the relevant part of sheet.</p> <p>I say this with eyebrows raised, then lower them to continue.</p>

	<p>what's important, [child coughs] and building the skills to gather the information, analyse the information about resources,</p> <p>about structures, institutions, about aspirations, how to</p> <p>draw that information out and make use of it and ...</p> <p>Joyce had put down some ideas as well about using</p> <p>songs, or music and art, and</p> <p>thinking about having a large hui at the end of the research to actually show information that's generated. I think that's really important ... and you know, the helicopter ride would be great if we could do it [laughs].</p>	
23.56	<p>Joyce: Yes I haven't given up on the idea of that actually.</p> <p>Sara: Mmm.</p> <p>Rangi: Na, keep at it.</p> <p>Joyce: Yes I'm sure there's a way, a way around the corner of expense there. We'll see, mmm.</p>	<p>I turn to the sheet, and move my open right hand over the relevant part of it.</p> <p>I circle my open right hand from my wrist in towards my body.</p> <p>I circle my open right hand out towards the group.</p> <p>Camera pans away from me.</p>
24.08	<p>Sara: But that, but that was really helpful, and the reason, that I wanted to write this up ... was to kind of demonstrate to you that, these ideas and, this kind of diagram came from Joyce and that's a useful starting point rather than if I had come in and said, "Well this is what we're going to cover" ... So the whole focus is about the knowledge and the ideas that are here that we can support and facilitate.</p> <p>Rangi: Inaudible comment.</p> <p>Sara: Sorry Rangi, my arm's aching! [nervous laugh]</p>	<p>I am still kneeling.</p>
24.46	<p>Rangi: I was ...</p>	

24.47	Rewa: Can we put that up somewhere? 'Cos we'd like to copy it.	
24.50	Joyce: I, um, [Sara talking in background?] I handed that out um ... I might even have a spare one for him..	
24.55	Rewa: Which she was ...	
24.56	Joyce: Yeah, mine was obviously very scrappy and untidy ...	
24.58	Rewa: Yes well ...	
24.59	Sara: What I was thinking ... Kirsty: Huh. [nervous laugh] [Various people talking]	
25.00	Sara: [louder voice]  What I was thinking um is actually that if we make copies for us and then you keep this. I mean basically all the information that's being generated on video or paper, you keep and we get copies of, but it's your information so ... um ... I'll get some Bluetac and put it up. [Rustling of plastic bag as I retrieve the Bluetac.]	Camera is back on me. I am still kneeling, holding the sheet out away from my body with my left hand and leaning back on my right arm and hand, which is on the floor. I have an open body posture.  I bring the sheet down onto my lap, then the floor.  I push my open right hand down towards the floor.  I get up and leave the left hand frame of the camera.
25.33	So anyway um that's a kind of recap. Is there ... any comments or questions? ... Hopefully there were no surprises! I haven't told you something	
25.45	Joyce: [Chuckles]	
25.46	Sara: And you're going "I didn't think that's what it was about!"	

(28 November 1998 Meeting, Tape 28, also see Appendix G: DVD Clip 6.2)

In reading, viewing and listening to this interaction, while thinking about the vignette that opened this section and the information conveyed in Plates 6.2 and 6.3, I am struck by my repeated attempts to contain and disavow my own power at the same time as I exercise it. To begin with, my use of the term ‘writing up’ in relation to my re-presentation of Joyce’s mindmap is telling. As Juliana Mansvelt and Lawrence Berg (2010: 341) discuss in relation to academic writing generally:

The term writing-up powerfully articulates the written aspect of the research process in a way that engenders it as somehow less significant and/or less problematic than other aspects of the research process. ... Writing is often seen as a neutral activity ... The ‘writing-up’ phase may be discussed in such a way that it appears to be merely a matter of presenting the results and conclusions in an appropriate format at the end of the research program. We argue here that in writing research, the researcher is not so much presenting her or his findings as re-presenting the research through a particular medium. Re-presentation speaks of the mediated character of the process of writing research. Rather than reflecting the outcome of a particular research endeavour, we believe the act of writing is a means by which the research is constituted – or given form – and that this process occurs throughout the research process.

In my decision to ‘just write-up’ Joyce’s work therefore, I was complicit with this hegemonic understanding of writing as a neutral act and I sought to further this impression as the ‘neutral and fair’ arbiter of our collective process. I actively downplayed the degree of change and re-presentation I had created by using the qualifier ‘just’ and by saying: “So I just put it um together. I’ve sort of grouped some things that you’d put, like under place, and grouped those places that you had in a slightly different position”.

In fact, what I had *actually* done was far more significant and wide-ranging. Specifically, I:

- added in a new subheading – category – of ‘Place’ under which I grouped all the places she had on her sheet – Utiku, Rātā and Ohingaiti;
- relabelled the subheading ‘The Structure’ as ‘Community Structure’;
- redistributed or deleted what she had under the subheading ‘UTIKU (the village)’ (Old school/KR, current uses TKR/Adult Education) so that in my version, Utiku is under the new subheading ‘Place’ and ‘old school’ is under the subheading ‘Resources’; and KR (Kohanga Reo) and Adult Education are deleted;
- repositioned the word ‘Marae’ which Joyce had under “RATA”, under the subheading ‘Resources’;
- deleted a question that Joyce had posed in relation to her list of people, land, culture and skills (under the subheading ‘Resources’) which read “How can these benefit the Whanau?”;
- deleted Joyce’s note of ‘(PEOPLE)’ alongside her subheading ‘IDEAS’ and I integrated the list of things she had under this subheading with notes she had made under ‘Things to Organize’. On my version, these became ‘Ideas/To Organise re Project’; and
- deleted or changed her emphasis as expressed by her use of underlinings and capital letters: I deleted double straight underlinings of key terms or phrases: UTIKU, RATA, OHINGAITI, the Whanau, and RESOURCES, her wavy underlining of CURRENT ISSUES and her double filled in zigzag underlining of Future goals; I changed the case of some words or headings from capitals to title case (i.e., UTIKU, RATA, OHINGAITI; or from title case to capitals (i.e., the whanau, Future goals, the structure).

Clearly I did not ‘just write up’ Joyce’s work. Rather, I actively altered or manipulated the work according to my understanding of the meanings of, and relationships between, key terms, and through my desire to achieve congruence between Ngāti Hauiti agendas and the funded project objectives. By changing Joyce’s intuitive spatial arrangement and grouping of ideas, I imposed a different *etic* relational worldview on the key relationships I was

supposedly interested in understanding from an *emic* perspective.<sup>67</sup> In particular, my grouping of placenames under a new sub-heading – Place – privileged a more abstract Western, specifically, Cartesian understanding of space and place as somehow separable from social relations and activities. It excluded Joyce’s more embedded and socially-constituted understandings of place. I also ignored the possible significance of Joyce’s use of capitals or forms of under-linings to emphasise key elements or names, as well as her use or otherwise of lines to connect her ideas to her central ‘bubble’ of ‘Ngati Hauti’.

My unfettered desire to put my mark on her ideas, to reorganise them for public re-consumption to aid clarification and unity of purpose suggests an underlying dis-ease with Joyce’s knowledge and her representation of key relationships. On some level, they represented a threat to the ‘neat’ project conceptualisation I was desperate to maintain. Such activity therefore hints at the anxiety and disconnection I was feeling at this time, and it is important to recognise the significance and effects of these emotional states upon my actions.

I was anxious about my role as Principal Investigator in the project and while I emphasised the reciprocal and partnership orientation of the process, ultimately I was the person to whom funding had been awarded by VUW and who was subject to a myriad of institutional demands (Kapoor 2004). It was the first time in my professional life that I had been awarded so much money (NZ\$50,000) to lead a research project. It was also the largest research award ever made within my University at the time. I therefore felt honoured and responsible to use this money well and to deliver on the objectives that had been funded. In addition to these pressures, I was Geoff’s employer on the

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<sup>67</sup> “The terms ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ were widely used in American anthropology of the 1960s and 1970s. [...] ‘Emic’ and ‘etic’ (derived respectively from ‘phonemic’ and ‘phonetic’) designate two contrasting levels of data or methods of analysis. An emic model is one, which explains the ideology or behaviour of members of a culture according to Indigenous definitions. An etic model is one, which is based on criteria from outside a particular culture. Etic models are held to be universal; emic models are culture-specific” (Barnard 2002: np). While problematic because of the reification of what is an artificial binary, I have used these terms here to reinforce the point I am seeking to make about the power relations at work.

project and this structural relationship was not something I found easy to negotiate within the context and nature of our ongoing intimate relationship.

Infusing these aspects, I felt that I had a lot to prove professionally. Before starting the work, I had been told by my professor, who was on the funding committee, that the committee had seen my proposal as innovative but risky! In hindsight, I have come to understand that my project, as perceived by the funding committee, inhabited anachronistic space (McClintock 1995) in which I as a young, white, female academic embarking on a 'brown' project was seen to possess more passion than reason (Stoler 1995), thereby opening the institution to risk.

More significantly to me personally at the time, my professor revealed that he had advocated for me because he was leaving the university and had nothing to lose if I failed. His contradictory messages about his confidence or lack thereof in my abilities, continued to haunt me throughout my work.<sup>68</sup>

With hindsight, it is clear to me that I occupied a contradictory position as a young, white, female, middle-class, settler academic in this context: simultaneously and ambiguously complicit as both coloniser and colonised, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting (Heron 2007). As such, I felt the weight of my institution to be a 'good', bourgeois, academic woman – appropriately reasonable, measured and respectable – who was able to deliver on the stated project objectives and make good on the University's investment in my 'risky business'. I also felt the weight of my intimate relationship to be a 'good', supportive partner who didn't let the new subject positions of Principal Investigator and employer affect my relationship with Geoff negatively.

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<sup>68</sup> I think it's also relevant to add here, that at the time I had been employed in my lecturing position for three years and was seriously considering resigning because of my experiences of what I have come to understand as systemic discrimination based on gender within the institution. The department into which I had been appointed had only previously had two permanent female staff in its almost 50 year history and at the time of the project, I was at least 15 years younger than my male colleagues.

Simultaneously, I had a very strong ideological desire to be a different kind of researcher and do my research differently through the application of PRA techniques and PV, and I felt quite uncertain about how this might work because I would not be ‘in control’ of the process but subject to relationships I developed with others in Ngāti Hauiti and with Geoff in this context.<sup>69</sup>

Added to this general and ambiguous institutional situation, I had not been in the rohe or working on the project for several weeks prior to this meeting due to my teaching and marking commitments at the University. Geoff, however, had been visiting twice a week to run the video production training sessions and had been staying overnight with Harry – one of the eventual Community Video Research Team (CRVT) members – where he’d been learning a lot about local and whānau history. I was envious of what I perceived to be his greater ‘insider’ status. I was also aware that it was his knowledge and expertise that people in Ngāti Hauiti most wanted in terms of the resource sharing aspect of our relationship. This aspect had been what had been explicitly identified to us back in 1996 by the then General Manager of the Rūnanga and no one had explicitly talked about wanting to learn PRA techniques. I felt disconnected from the project activities and uncertain of the value of my knowledge. I questioned my role and felt constrained by being associated with the project funding.

With hindsight, I understand my actions as indicative of my spatial and affective dislocation from the project and its participants and Geoff in the weeks leading up to the meeting, and my spatial liminality in the moments directly preceding the meeting itself as discussed earlier. I was acting on a need to close the geographical and emotional distances I felt between the project, my collaborators in Ngāti Hauiti (including Geoff) and myself. I did

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<sup>69</sup> Of course as should now be glaringly apparent, my ideological positioning within participatory research and development discourse was problematic as Barbara Heron (2007: 19) notes in regard to international development more widely – “once we are involved in the overseas development experience, it becomes difficult to challenge the logic and imperative [of it]. Development becomes ... its own standard of measurement, and the issue becomes *how to get it right*” (emphasis added).

this literally by writing myself *in* through my revision of Joyce's mindmap.<sup>70</sup> Interestingly, however, I chose to maintain some spatial separation by sitting away from people at the meeting and positioning myself in the normal position of 'teacher' within the classroom setting.

While perhaps understandable in light of the information I have just presented, my practice also belied my complicity with common stereotypes and colonial continuities (Heron 2007) even as I sought to work against them. A case in point is when I addressed Joyce directly in the meeting telling her that I had been 'wowed' by her mindmap at the earlier project-planning meeting in September. While apparently benign as a form of compliment and endorsement, I am now curious about why it was that I chose to express that I was 'wowed': What did being 'wowed' signify in terms of my understanding of self – other relationships at this point in the process? Was I wowed because I didn't have expectations that anyone from Ngāti Hauiti would be smart enough to comprehend the project focus (because I wasn't sure that I did)? Or was it because I hadn't had to facilitate its production? Or because the kind of visual format she had drawn was similar to those produced through PRA techniques and that I had thought would be new to Ngāti Hauiti? Any one of these reasons may have been possible. When considered alone or taken together, they suggest that I was working with common, but colonial stereotypes about Māori as passive victims of colonisation lacking education and agency (Wall 1997), even if I would not have been able to admit this at the time. My comment to Joyce thus while genuinely conveying my pleasure and delight at her initiative and clarity, also therefore reflected ongoing processes of racialisation, which served to subtly reinforce commonplace understandings of Māori rather than subvert them.

I furthered such understandings in the meeting when I moved on to talking about what 'we' were going to do in the rest of the meeting in relation to the re-written mindmap. I 'proposed' an exercise to do with place because from

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<sup>70</sup> In my field notes subsequent to this meeting I wrote "I feel more here – connected and 'in' the project. I think a week away from Wellington and work has also helped refocus priorities" (Kinson, Fieldnotes 28/11/98).

my reading and experience in Indonesia, PRA interventions usually began with the production of a community map to enable key boundaries and resources to be identified (see also Chapter 7). I then said we would go on to the construction of a timeline of historical perspectives because “that’s always a good place to start”, simultaneously raising my eyebrows as if to align myself with commonplace Māori understandings of the inseparability of past, present and future (Marsden and Henare 1992). Throughout these statements and those following, where I presented a catalogue of planned actions, I asserted my authority as facilitator and furthered a particular process of subjectification, which ran counter to the espoused ideology of the research partnership. This process effectively relegated whānau members present to the subject position of passive ‘participants’, or disciplined subjects of this ‘participatory process’, rather than as active co-collaborators in an unknown process of our collective making.<sup>71</sup> Throughout this meeting, members of Ngāti Hauiti were, in effect, invited to collude in my personal empire building process, as I think – on a micro-scale – my unconscious hand gesture indicated when I talked about “how to draw that information out and make use of it”, circling around as it did, as if I were extracting or gathering things from Ngāti Hauiti for myself.

Further, I reinforced a hierarchy between Joyce and myself (and therefore by extension between others present and myself) as project leader/facilitator and participant through my use of particular phrases and gestures. For example, I chose to make an evaluative comment – “I think that’s really important” – about Joyce’s proposed end-of-project hui rather than ask what others thought of that idea. This indicated that I thought that my assessment of her ideas was more important than what others might have been thinking. I also subtly distanced myself from her idea to include a helicopter ride over the rohe to get video footage of their tribal land. I engaged with it only conditionally and laughed nervously, “you know, the helicopter ride would be great if we could do it [laughs]” – conveying concern at her potentially unrealistic expectations and what they might require from (my) project funds. Throughout this

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<sup>71</sup> Although these participants also resisted their subjectification at particular points as I discuss later.

meeting, my use of words like “basically” and “to some extent” act to contain or qualify the possibilities introduced by Joyce’s ideas reasserting my power to do so.

I also now read my lack of engagement with Joyce’s reassertion of her vision and desire to ride in a helicopter (and Rangi’s support of her) as possibly the expression of my concern – as fair and neutral arbiter – not to be seen as favouring her or precluding others’ ideas. I also wonder if I was uncomfortable with Joyce’s idea because it seemed too ‘grandiose’ and ‘visionary’. My move away from the substance of her ideas to reposition her as ‘helpful’ appears as the manifestation of my unconscious desire to ‘rein her in’ from the potential position of visionary leader. I think that I was effectively putting her back in her appropriate gender role as ‘helpful’, minoritised woman (Gunarathnam 2003; Kapoor 2005) supporting others in the group and me as the project facilitator.

These simultaneous processes of racialisation and subjectification were enabled by my embodied performance of benevolent facilitator, perhaps more honestly identified as ‘facipulator’, as mentioned above. They were also supported by my control and presentation of the re-written mindmap as the object around which our interaction focused. By continuing to hold onto the mindmap, I effectively kept control of the metaphorical ‘stick’ (Chambers 1994a, 1994b, 1994c), and by talking to it, as much if not more than to the people in the room, I communicated that my primary relationship was to the project and its ideas rather than to people of Ngāti Hauiti. I also maintained space between members of Ngāti Hauiti and the mindmap by keeping it close to my body and at a distance from others so that they could not touch it or alter it. Its reconstituted content and organisation were therefore presented as fixed and outside of their control. All of these aspects of bodily performance and interactions with the object of the mindmap reinforced my subject position as the arbiter of our work together and promoted my agenda, subtly excluding alternative possibilities.

My embodied manipulation and control of the revised mindmap and the minimising ways in which I talked about it in my re-presentation also positioned my version as the more useful, clear and authoritative – an understanding colluded with by Rewa when she asked if it could be put up somewhere for them to copy and by Joyce subsequently, when she referred to her mindmap as being “obviously very scrappy and untidy”. In these two moments, both Rewa and Joyce legitimised and reinforced my exercise of power, and Joyce’s comments in particular offered an apparently legitimate explanation for my actions to other family members present.

These practices and their reinforcement blatantly contradicted what I was espousing verbally: far from engaging with or amplifying *emic* knowledge I relegated Joyce’s mindmap to that of a ‘starting point’ at the margins of our work together. By re-constituting her mindmap and the understandings within it, I effectively took her knowledge and its representation out of circulation. Lawrence Grossberg (1996, cited in Gunaratnam 2003: 13) identifies this kind of behaviour as an act of power “that comes not in creating something from nothing, but in reducing something to nothing ... it is precisely the articulation of difference on top of otherness that becomes the material site of discursive power.” My act of power rendered Joyce’s mindmap a subaltern text and, by extension, positioned Joyce as subordinate to myself.

In the final two moments that I wish to excavate here, it is apparent to me that at a visceral level I was aware of my complicity in the acts of structural violence I have discussed above, but that I could not accommodate them consciously. My comment to Rangi about my arm aching and my attempt at a joke about not surprising anyone with unexpected information suggest that I was experiencing a degree of tension in my body and perceived relationships with people in the room. First, I literally felt the weight of my gendered privilege and attendant obligation (Heron 2007) to appropriately (even correctly) ‘help, facilitate and support’ the project through my aching arm as I held up the mindmap with it. I also attribute this tension and aching as being related to the commonly held belief that collaborative and participatory approaches represent a noble sacrifice on the part of academics, researchers

or development practitioners. Frequently professionals engaging in collaborative work bemoan the time and energy it requires. “This makes power sharing sound like a noble sacrifice ... and gives the impression that noncollaborative [professionals] are somehow less committed to social justice because they do not do the hard work of collaboration” (Isenberg *et al.*, 2003: 125). Yet, frequently collaboration is time and energy efficient as dialogue and shared action can facilitate important tasks such as the development of research questions, implementation of information generation and analysis.

Second, I probably *had* surprised Joyce by rewriting her mindmap without her permission or prior knowledge, although Joyce herself didn't comment on this during her feedback on the thesis. I think that joking about hoping I hadn't surprised anyone, sought affirmation and reassurance from her (and implicitly the others), that our relationship was still intact, and that I – as the facilitator – was still a ‘good’ woman. The fact that this appeal was met generally with silence, except for a chuckle from Joyce, perhaps illustrates a point made by Linda Alcoff (1991, cited in Kapoor 2004: 631-2) that:

Though the speaker may be trying to materially improve the situation of some lesser-privileged group, the effects of her discourse is to reinforce racist, imperialist conceptions and perhaps also to further silence the lesser-privileged group's own ability to speak and be heard.

The historical contingencies and structural exigencies informing my decisions and actions back in November 1998 were thus both enabling of my participatory facilitation of the project and constraining of it. As Yasmin Gunaratnam (2003: 23-24) says:

The process of research, being actively involved in the production of the social meanings of race and ethnicity takes place at two main levels: through the racialized (gendered and classed) occupational structures of social science institutions that structure the micro-interactions of research encounters, and

through the epistemological assumptions that are made, and then acted upon, about the nature of racialized subjectivity, inter-subjectivity and difference.

Finally, as a facilitator, my efforts at self-effacement (through adopting appropriate attitudes and behaviours such as those in Box 6.2, or my decision to sit on the floor), while appearing to run counter to self-aggrandisement, may in fact have represented a strategy for it. As Kapoor (2005: 1207) comments:

Humility, patience and respect etc. may be the public expression of PD's guilty conscience. ('I'm a bit ashamed of being in charge of your 'empowerment' ... and isn't it nice of me to acknowledge it?'); but these may be acts of self-glorification and – gratification ('It doesn't really matter whether or not people are 'empowered', as long as I come off looking good!'). The result in both cases is that PD centres, not on the Other, but on the I.

#### **6.4 Facilitation, Hyper-Self-Reflexivity and the Interruption of Political Space**

Replaying these audiovisual clips in order to carry out the excavations discussed in the previous sections became more excruciating as time went on. I realised how saturated with complicity, power and desire these interactions were. I was confronted by the frequency of my 'slips' away from the open, respectful facilitation to which I aspired. More profoundly, I was dismayed by the ongoing disavowals of my own privilege and power, as I simultaneously exercised them, ensuring my complicity with the very hegemonic discourses I was attempting to work against. It was disconcerting to recognise just how easy it was to replicate the kinds of systemic structural violence associated with a range of colonial continuities I had set out to challenge, and be implicated in a tyrannical approach to facilitation.

From memory, my intention for this meeting was far from what transpired. I wanted to be as clear and reassuring as possible to everyone present because I had been asked in direct and indirect ways at previous meetings to explain more fully what would be happening in the project and how the research would be carried out. At the time, members of Ngāti Hauiti were new to participatory research methods and video production and, perhaps more significantly, to the experience of researchers wanting to share knowledge and decision-making with them. Historically, they were familiar with the practice of 'normal' Western social science and they wanted to know what would be involved, and what would be expected of them in terms of time and energy to ensure that they honoured their obligations in our different kind of research partnership. As a facilitator, my publicly-oriented choice of dress, sitting position on the floor, organisation of the meeting's agenda and activities, presentation of information visually as well as verbally, along with the changes I made to Joyce's mindmap were all 'designed' to ensure that all meeting participants felt 'clear and confident' about what we were doing so that, given the limited time at our disposal, we could move forward confidently together.

Thus when watching myself interact and listening to myself talk in the meeting, I remembered these intentions and was at times lulled back into a sense of security about my behaviours. I had to remain vigilant to the situation's impact upon my intentions, and the potential for the practico-inert structures informing it to turn my actions against me, and those in Ngāti Hauiti I wanted to help (after Schaffer 2004). This cognitive dissonance between what I remember trying to practice, and what I actually saw and heard myself doing forced me to confront Schaffer's (2004: 72) reminder that "we are responsible for [the] effect of our actions [upon the beneficiaries of the act], even when it runs in direct contradiction to our intention".

I saw myself smiling and making eye contact with various people in the room communicating confidence and assurance while inside I felt anxious and uncertain. My calm engaging vocal intonation and my pleasant demeanour conveyed benevolence (Kapoor 2005) even as I (mis)re-presented my actions

and their results. I was in a self-effacing and humble position on the floor and had open body language (but see Section 6.3) while simultaneously exerting control over the meeting and the object of the mindmap. I was magnanimous (Kapoor 2005) in my expressions of optimism about our forthcoming work together and in my appreciation to Joyce for her work, as I concurrently disavowed my power in reconstituting the enlarged version of what I said was Joyce's work for all to see. I (mostly) acted as if the camera was not there, but remained acutely aware that I was trying to model excellent facilitation to future viewers. I appeared – at first reading – to be the epitome of fair and reasonable facilitation while all the time being complicit with various processes of racialisation, minoritisation and subjectification embedded within hegemonic discourses of facilitation, collaborative research and participatory development.

Thus, even as I attempted to work against these hegemonic discourses, which positioned me as the facilitator and knowledgeable outsider leading the project, this remained the dominant subject position available to me. Through my academic reading of authors like Kapoor (2005) and Heron (2007), as well as a close reading of my embodied practice, I am now aware that I systematically, even while consciously intending otherwise, used my institutional and structural privilege to reinforce particular understandings and marginalise others, thereby perpetuating forms of hegemony and domination myself. In particular I now regard my performance as evidence of the complex interplay between past and present settler-indigene relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand. For as much as I sought to subvert and challenge the legacies of European colonisation and contemporary forms of globalisation within academic research practice and community development, colonial encounters were, in part, determining of the social and material relations at play in the 28 November meeting (see Ahmed 2000).

Yet, as much as I agree with this interpretation, I am aware that hegemony is never total and that colonial encounters, practico-material structures and historical exigencies were also not completely determining of the interactions discussed above. Simultaneous with my attempted confidence as the

facilitator, I remained uncertain in my subject position as my repeated vocal patterns demonstrated and occasional gestures indicated. People present also exerted their agency and resistance at times through reticence, laughter or silence.

Moreover, through feedback on this chapter from some members of Ngāti Hauiti represented within it, they did not necessarily perceive my actions in the way that I have come to understand them. Neville (Lomax, N., 25 April 2011, pers. comm.) for example commented:

My view was that the seating had been arranged in a semi-circle, not as a means for you to maintain control over the facilitation of the meeting, but as a means of capturing as much as possible of the hui (meeting) proceedings, on the limited number of video cameras and space that Geoff had available.

Insofar as your desire to sit on the floor rather than on a chair, in the facilitation of our hui did not strike me as being anything out of the ordinary. In a Māori setting, we prefer manuhiri (guests) to feel at home within our presence so, to me, if you felt more at home relaxed sitting on the floor to conduct the meeting, acceptance of that situation was the best way for us as Ngāti Hauiti to manāki you (tend to your needs). Alternatively, if you had requested the best chair in the building to sit on, the same concept of manākitanga would have applied.

While your analysis of why you dressed in the clothes you did, may have been seen by some people, in the same calculating way that you describe, I certainly did not see it in that light, and as indicated above, we saw that the clothes you wore and the colours of the clothing and accessories, were your personal choice, and we therefore accepted the situation, accordingly.”

Rewa (Potaka, R., 29 April 2011, pers. comm.) also commented in relation to my efforts to present myself in a non-threatening way by sitting on the floor and dressing in a certain way that:

I did feel your unease but *I* was not uneasy exactly, rather puzzled. It just seemed unusual. But I was with people I knew and *so was more secure than you*. I just waited to see what would happen. (emphasis added)

While acknowledging these more accepting interpretations of my actions, if I reconnect to Denzin's (2004, 2008) call and interrupt the political space of this meeting to imagine alternatives (Chapter 5), I wonder how I might have worked with Geoff to lay out the seating differently and still have ensured comprehensive coverage of the meeting, I wonder what might have happened if I had sat on the same level as everyone else and had more confidence in my position in the project as a co-participant.

In particular however, it is now astounding to me that I didn't think to open a discussion with other whānau members about how they might add to, adapt or build on Joyce's work. Any of these actions – as opposed to managing the meeting and rewriting her work – would have provided an opportunity to engage with and learn from Joyce's ideas and to use them to delve deeper into understanding the key relationships at the heart of the project with the other people present. Working to extend and deepen her ideas would also have tangibly communicated the rhetoric I was espousing about the importance of local perspectives and knowledge, and about collaborative research. Further, this activity could then have led onto a locally-devised plan of action about how we might proceed with the research, instead of me privileging my role as facilitator to take them through particular pre-ordained PRA techniques.

Of course, these possibilities while obvious now, were constrained in various ways as I have discussed above. Their apparent unavailability to me also highlights the limits of conscious self-reflexivity as a research tactic as I

discussed in Chapter 5.<sup>72</sup> It has therefore only been through my encounter with Joyce and her whānau at this meeting, and my subsequent excavation of my power, complicity and desire within it that I have been able to identify alternative scenarios that might have enabled more egalitarian and empowering outcomes to occur. Such a retrospective analytic practice may offer possibilities for other geographers interested in the possibility of anti- and decolonising research practices and I return to alternative scenarios in the conclusion to the thesis.

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<sup>72</sup> At least, how I managed ‘self-reflexivity’ then.

# CHAPTER 7. PRODUCTION

## 7.1 Introduction

Within Participatory Development (PD), participatory methods and group work are positioned as centrally important, alongside facilitation. They are represented as vital means through which facilitators can enable the authentic expression of subject-community participants' vision (ways of seeing the world) and 'voice' (ways of articulating the world). They are often constructed in opposition to mainstream social science research approaches. However, despite this rhetoric, participatory methods and group work have been labelled as tyrannical (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

More specifically within current writings on Participatory Video (PV) by academics, researchers and development practitioners working with so-called marginalised communities particularly in the 'Third World', groups are identified as necessary to create audiovisual productions: a team of people is involved in the pre-production phase to identify the topic to be filmed and to work out how best to do this. Then people work together to organise power, operate the camera, microphone, lights (if used) and then, in post-production, to use editing equipment. Groups are also conceptually necessary because of the implicit assumption that collective work is both needed to enable a democratic process and to provide the possibility for transformation of unequal power relations both at the local level and beyond (Lunch and Lunch 2006).

Into this group setting, participatory methods – most frequently in the form of maps, diagrams, and storyboards – are used to help participants to visualise the topic or problem under investigation and to identify what elements (shots or sequences) they need to 'film' in order to tell their story. These methods tend to be presented in heady terms. Authors frequently assert that conscientisation occurs when community members use various media to

produce their own maps and diagrams (see for example, St Martin and Hall-Arber 2007), or look through a video camera's viewfinder to become producers of their own stories/re-presentations (White 2003). There is a belief that visual media, including video, can have a catalytic effect because they are near universal and are independent of alphabetic literacy (Francis 2001). As such they are said to empower the weak and disadvantaged because they level class differences, putting "illiterate viewers and producers on a par with literate counterparts" (Stuart 1989, cited in Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990: 141). The collective dimension is also posited erroneously as a means which "brings everyone to the same level [because] participants are constantly changing roles, from camera operator to subject, from director to actor and the dynamics of power are constantly shifting" (Lunch and Lunch 2006: 56).

Frequently, it is the material components of the participatory methods or video technology themselves which are said to enable self-representation, expression and empowerment. Such assumptions are particularly apparent within mainstream PV discourse, but have parallels with the emphasis placed on the use of local materials in international PD and research applications through which participants are facilitated to produce collective maps and diagrams of their lived experiences. Once positioned behind a camera (or with pen in hand to create a community map) we are told, a person becomes momentarily detached from their immediate surroundings and acutely aware of what s/he chooses to frame and privilege. A person is literally placed "differently in the world" (Grimshaw 2005: 23).

This detachment and the ability to mediate relationships through bounding, orienting and scaling in terms of mapping, or framing, zooming and panning in the case of camera work, is often likened to looking in a mirror (Lunch and Lunch 2006; Riano 1994). This 'new' and more transparent vision is said to enable the shift from an emic to etic perspective, calling into question the often taken-for-granted connections between 'ways of seeing' and 'ways of knowing' for participants. These participants are then able to engage in greater levels of analytical reflection (Riano 1994) about themselves, their place in the world and of the world as subject-to-change.

These processes of framing, mirroring and analytical reflection are akin to the development, in Paulo Freire's (1970) terms, of a critical consciousness: an expanded literacy or new ability to 'read the world'. Otherwise known as conscientisation, this process enables people to express their understandings of 'reality' in ways that resist 'commonsense' understandings or dominant social constructions, and to go beyond the written word to produce new meanings (and therefore political alternatives). People come to realise that the world is subject to change, and that they can change the world in which they live. This realisation is identified as empowerment.

Inevitably, however, these ideas reflect, embody and perpetuate particular technologies of power complicit with Western understandings of the relationships between vision, voice and empowerment. Such understandings centre around the assumption that 'native' vision and by extension voice (via the production of visual materials such as diagrams, maps, photographs or videos) is transparent, and that the production of representations by 'native' informants is empowering (for more discussion and criticisms, see Buckingham 2009; Jackson 2004). They also tend to be posited on the assumption that 'native' participants are not already literate in Western filmic conventions (see Chapter 3) – a situation which is far from the context of 'First World' media-saturated communities like those in Aotearoa New Zealand where Māori are extremely literate with Western conventions of film and TV.

In this chapter, I critically engage with these ideas by working outwards from two vignettes involving participatory methods and group work in the project. These vignettes communicate my clearest memories associated with the generation of visual research material by members of Ngāti Hauiti via Mapping and 'Filming' (Sections 7.2 and 7.3).<sup>73</sup> In association with each vignette, as in Chapter 6, I draw on excerpts of the video footage recorded by Geoff (Appendix G: DVD Clips 7.1 – 7.8), interwoven with additional

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<sup>73</sup> To be consistent with ideas advanced in Chapter 3, I have chosen to use 'filming' rather than film when discussing the audiovisual production process adopted with the Community Video Research Team (CVRT) because we were working with video, rather than 16mm film, technology.

memories that surfaced through working with the footage and reflecting on the incidents under excavation. While I offer less scrutiny of my body language than in Chapter 6, a similar iterative process to working with my memories and the available footage has been followed.

The first vignette is associated with a meeting on 26 November 1999 when I facilitated the production of a community map of Utiku township. I remembered this exercise as taking place a year earlier than it did. I thought that it formed part of the late 1998 pre-production activities prior to the shooting of footage for the Community Video Research Team's (CVRT) training or 'waiata' video, and the completion of the Utiku township video-interview research in January 1999. However, it was actually held in November 1999 at the last official project meeting when I reported back on the Utiku research and Geoff screened the waiata video. I explore possible reasons for this difference in my subsequent excavation, and have chosen to attend to the mapping exercise first in this chapter, in keeping with my memory and the fact that within PD and research projects worldwide such mapping exercises are conventionally carried out before other research or group activities (Chambers 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; Herlihy and Knapp 2003; Peluso 1995; Pretty *et al.*, 1995).

The second vignette relates to my involvement in the production process of the CVRT's training video during December 1998 (Section 7.3). The memories it conveys are of several interactions with CVRT members over three days. As Geoff was primarily involved in the meta-documentation of the process and therefore occupied behind a camera, I engaged with participants in the development of their skills during their visits to various locations in the rohe to film their desired footage. I also handled the boom microphone to enable Geoff's camera to capture good quality audio from our interactions as his camera – and its on-camera microphone – was often positioned some distance away. Rather than being confined to the excavation of one distinct incident, therefore, through these related memories I attend to the cumulative effects of my engagement in this process.

In discussing the vignettes and the incidents within them, the chapter advances several main points about the so-called tyrannies of method and group. These points bring into sharp relief the often multi-dimensional, messy and unpredictable results of my complicity with hegemonic understandings of the power of the 'visual' for transforming research and its representation (Pink 2001). They also extend consideration beyond the visual to consider how my complicity with aspects of PD and PV discourse was extended and made material through the use of, and negotiations around, particular objects. Discussion of these objects (such as pencils, pens, video camera and microphone) connects to the growing interest in material geographies (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004; Jackson 2000; Pain and Askins 2011; see also Latour 2004) and haptic knowledges associated with video as a research method (Crang 2010; Marks 2000) and within geography more generally (for example see Heatherington 2003; Johnston 2010; Obrador Pons 2007; Paterson 2009). Attending to these unintended (and frequently relegated as liminal) haptic dimensions, I draw attention to the physical labour involved in video work and consider how the embodied process of 'filming' may have been complicit with ableist discourses and assumptions about youthful physicality. I also question the belief in much PV literature that working with video equipment is novel and fun: a belief that perpetuates uneven power relations and sustains Western white privilege.

## 7.2 Mapping

Although the project had been running for a while, we still hadn't done much data generation via participatory techniques. I had wanted to facilitate a community mapping exercise for several months, but had kept putting it off in the hope that more whānau would be joining the project. I was concerned about our lack of 'concrete' information. I didn't feel we – particularly me – had enough understanding of Utiku to inform the proposed community research in January 1999. When it became apparent that no more participants were forthcoming, I decided I had to take the next opportunity when people were together to do the mapping exercise. Only one new person showed up to this meeting – a kuia visiting a relative in Utiku that weekend.

In terms of the mapping exercise itself, my goal was twofold: 1) to document who was living where, so we could establish the demographic baseline for this community and identify the households of Ngāti Hauiti members, and 2) to gain insights into how participants 'saw' and related to Utiku township through what they chose to represent and through how they talked about it as they constructed the map. I hoped that the process would generate useful information about the relationships between place, identity and social cohesion at the project's core.

I had no prior experience of facilitating this kind of activity but assumed that it wouldn't be too hard for people to visually represent a place in which they lived, particularly as this was the first activity routinely carried out in PD interventions around the world. However, Joyce and Harry wanted to draw in aspects of how Utiku used to be. I hadn't anticipated this eventuality, but wanted to respect their interests, so suggested that they draw in key buildings or landmarks using hashed lines to indicate where they had been. A second difficulty I remember centred around trying to document – using differently coloured sticky dots for adults and children – which

whānau members lived in which house in terms of gender and age. Within Māoridom, there were different understandings of age and status. These resulted in perhaps a more complex rendering of social stratification in the Utiku households, which was good, but also some seeming inconsistencies and inaccuracies, which we didn't have time to check.

Towards the end of the exercise (and in line with standard international practice), I asked participants to take three post-it notes. Using one post-it note for one idea, I asked them to identify three things they liked about living in Utiku, then put these onto the map. With three differently coloured post-it notes, I then asked them to identify three things they didn't like about living there and put them on to the map. Finally, using another colour again, I asked them to identify three changes they would like to see that would improve their experience of living in Utiku.

During and at the end of the exercise, I felt disappointed about the process and the outcomes. The exercise didn't work as I had expected it to from reading the PD and research literatures and there were ambiguities associated with the attempts to represent everything visually. I was confused about what it all meant and how to use the information and there wasn't time to 'interview' or collectively analyse the map within the meeting because of the need to show the CVRT training video. I/We have never used the community map since and it remains rolled up in my home office.

Community maps are one of the central techniques within Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and PD more widely (Chambers 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; Pretty *et al.*, 1995). They have also become common as part of a repertoire of participatory techniques used by social and other geographers (see Chapter 2) engaging in participatory forms of research. The maps provide outside academics, researchers and development practitioners with insights into local understandings of place and the workings of social relationships. For this reason, I had initially wanted to facilitate the mapping exercise in late 1998,

which may explain why I had remembered it as occurring at that time. I had refrained from doing so, however, because I didn't feel there were ever enough residents of Utiku at our project or training meetings to make any map produced representative and reliable.<sup>74</sup>

In the participatory development and research literatures, facilitators use participatory techniques with 'communities', not just a few representatives of those communities, so I had waited in the hope that more 'community members' would become involved. In particular, I had assumed that more people from Utiku – 'the community' under investigation – would come along to this final project meeting to hear the results of our work and that we would therefore have a wider pool of stakeholders to inform the mapping process. This didn't turn out to be the case.

There were only six whānau members living in the rohe who were present at this meeting, and of these, only four were resident in Utiku. In addition, these four people had been living there for varying lengths of time so had different knowledge and relationships to the place.<sup>75</sup> The remaining three whānau members at the meeting lived outside of the rohe although at least one of them had been born in Utiku. I went ahead with the mapping process, thinking it was better to 'take what I could get', rather than have no map at all. Consequently, the group of 'community representatives' involved in the production of a 'community map' was constituted within the specific and 'invited' (Cornwall 2004) time-space of this project meeting at my behest, as the following interaction illustrates:

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<sup>74</sup> Most Hauiti whānau who normally resided in Utiku had previously declined to participate as collaborators in the research or to take part as video interview subjects. Many of these people explained the reasons for declining as being related to being too busy, or not interested in iwi things or because they didn't personally identify as being a member of Ngāti Hauiti. Their refusals may also have been because they lacked trust in the project as something effectively commissioned by the iwi Rūnanga. This was despite the approach to participate being made by their relative and neighbour in Utiku – Joyce.

<sup>75</sup> Of the four residents, Joyce had been born in Utiku but had grown up with adoptive Pākehā parents in Australia and had only returned to Utiku with the two youngest of her five children the year prior to the start of the project; Rewa had been born in Kawhia, near Hamilton, two hours north of the rohe, but had come to live in Utiku when she married Tupakīhi (Uncle Boxer) who had lived there all his life; and Harry had been born and raised in Utiku but had spent the majority of his adult life living and working in Australia. He had only returned to Utiku a couple of years before the start of the project. They were not typical 'rural' Māori.

- 00.16.35: Sara: What I'd like to do now is ask you to split into those two groups. I'm gonna pull out this table so that the *Utiku residents* can sit around this table and I'll bring you some paper and pens. And then if Kirsty, Neville and Sue can go into the other room, there's a table in there with some pens. Okay?
- 00.16.57: Geoff: Any questions?
- 00.17.00: Harry: Joan, do you live in Taihape here?
- 00.17.03: Joan: No I don't (Harry laughs).
- 00.17.05: Harry: She lives in Waikanae.
- 00.17.06: Sara: Well ... *I'd* appreciate it if you'd participate in this group. ... Okay, great, we'll just move the table into the middle.

(26 November 1999, Tape 73, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.1)

Within this discursively constructed space-time, I sanctioned this disparate group of people to work together as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991) on this task: "So what you'll need to do is *work out collectively* where the boundaries of your community are in terms of Utiku" (00.18.48 – 00.18.54). It is therefore hard to say how representative or otherwise their perspectives were of other Utiku residents, but what was clear, was that while an unspoken consensus emerged about how to work together and what to include, this was never openly discussed or the reasons for it explicitly acknowledged (Plate 7.1).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Neither was there any openly expressed conflict or disagreements. Everyone appeared to enjoy the exercise, and there was a lot of laughter. There was also obvious interest, particularly in Harry's historical knowledge.

**Plate 7.1 (a-f) Utiku Community Mapping Exercise, 26 November 1999  
(Video Stills)**

- a) Starting the Map: Harry and Joyce standing.  
L-R sitting: Rewa, John, Uncle Boxer and Aunty Joan.



- b) Author checks in on progress.



- c) Uncle Boxer takes a closer look at what Rewa, Joyce and Harry have been doing.



- d) Harry gets ready to position coloured dots.



(Source: 26 November 1999, Community Meeting, Tape 73).

In terms of people's individual participation, Aunty Joan (as the only new person to the meeting invited into this group to swell numbers) was engaged throughout the exercise, but didn't pick up a pencil or pen to add to the map. She followed Harry's emphasis on historical dimensions and raised questions that prompted others to add in particular features such as a raspberry farm. Uncle Boxer and John as father and son, who had both individually been interviewed for the Utiku video-interview research, worked as a sub-group of the larger group on the parts of the map closest to them. They occasionally interacted and responded to Harry's requests for them to draw landmarks, and responded to my prompts and suggestions when I felt that they were becoming observers of the other group members' actions. Again, John was keen to represent historical dimensions such as the houses that had been built by his ancestor Utiku Potaka. Harry, Joyce and Rewa did most of the work on the map with pencils, then pens, moving up and around the table at various points to work on different parts of it while talking and laughing with each other, conferring about what to include and where. Overall, Harry gently led the process by drawing in key landmarks – past and present – or by instructing others to do if he couldn't reach across the table.

The map was therefore largely the product of the three members of the CVRT with whom I had the closest relationships although everyone contributed in some way. The map could easily have been constructed with the CVRT at an earlier project meeting or through individual interviews. However, in keeping with the disciplining effects of PD discourse, I created the conditions whereby, within subsequent research reports and presentations, I could legitimately claim this 'product' to be representative of Utiku residents. My "[r]hetorical use of 'community' [in this way] disguise[d] class, race and gender relations and disputes, offering an immunity from these potentially disruptive but vital – sites of domination and resistance" (Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990: 142; see also Guijt and Kaul Shah 1998). It reinforced the already problematic emphasis on 'community' within the project.

Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (2001) identify this privileging of the group, collective decision-making and 'the community' within participatory

interventions as tyrannical because their ideological bases are rarely questioned. They also express concern that as soon as a community or group activity is ‘facilitated’, participants have little choice but to cooperate and attempt to deliver what is requested. The ideological basis of this tyranny in part rests in an idealised understanding of community as the above quotation suggests. Often, marginalised, and rural, people – and here many Māori could be included – tend to have more collectively-oriented cultural systems through which individuals identify and understand themselves through relationships with others and the natural world, particularly through their connections to mountains and rivers close to their iwi marae. External facilitators have therefore assumed that it is more culturally appropriate to work with these people in groups, rather than as individuals, often overlooking the existence of unequal power structures.

Group or collective work is also privileged because of the belief that through regular interactive engagements on a shared task or tasks, an ‘emergent culture’ (Mayer 2000) will evolve through which people share knowledge and gain insights that can lead to self and group empowerment. This culture ideally “incorporates positive aspects of surrounding ... cultures, while avoiding the divisive implications of these cultures, such as essentialistic membership or political agendas” (Mayer 2000: 64). Yet, as the project with Ngāti Hauiti shows – group work can also easily replicate or perpetuate hierarchies within existing cultural and social orders. Just getting people, even from more collectively-oriented societies, into a group with a shared purpose does not ensure equitable interactions, democratic participation or the production of a collective ‘voice’.

Facilitating the use of particular methods therefore becomes paramount if the potentially detrimental effects of the group are to be mitigated. In particular, one of the unique and supposedly radical departures from mainstream research and development practice offered by participatory interventions has been the emphasis on tactile and visual techniques (Chambers 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, but see Campbell 2001). These methods are said to enable those who have limited literacy, confidence or cultural capital within their societies to

participate with more structurally-powerful others. “People can make significant contributions without necessarily having to verbally articulate their opinions, and look at the diagram rather than engage in face-to-face verbal exchange” (Alexander *et al.*, 2007: 115). Mapping as a form of visual diagramming therefore, is thought to engage participants in “visual as well as oral methods to express, organise, represent and disseminate information” (Alexander *et al.*, 2007: 114), ideally facilitating their democratic participation as they directly engage with the objects of the map’s production (such as pens, post-its notes, and paper) as well as each other.

In the mapping exercise with members of Ngāti Hauiti, I provided participants with what I hoped would be appropriate objects and a setting with, and in, which to construct their map collectively and democratically.<sup>77</sup> In the Utiku school classroom, I laid a large sheet of paper down on the top of the table around which participants were sitting and kept paper in reserve. I knew from previous experience that people were often hesitant to begin the mapping process in case they made a mistake. For this reason I also brought over pencils and marker pens of different colours and explicitly said, “if you want to just sketch them [the boundaries and landmarks] out in pencil to start with, you can do that. If you feel like you’ve made a mistake we’ve got heaps of paper so don’t worry” (00.19.06 – 00.19.14, 26 November 1999, Tape 73). While apparently a) benign and b) relaxed, my comments also reflected an underlying assumption in this method, that while participants might make mistakes along the way, they would eventually produce something that could be regarded as ‘factual’.

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<sup>77</sup> I had initially toyed with the idea of asking participants to draw their map in chalk on the school playground outside. This was largely because of my reading and experience in participatory development within situations in the global south where such processes commonly take place in outside spaces using the ground and natural materials such as branches, leaves, stones, sticks and seeds. I thought it could be fun to adapt this process into a rural school playground setting. However, in the end, the vagaries of weather and my concern that participants might regard the use of chalk and playground as ‘childish’ meant that I opted for the more familiar inside space of the classroom and use of table, chairs, paper, pencils, pens and post-it notes.

Interestingly, while most participants used the semi-permanent medium of pencil, which in theory at least meant their contributions to the map were open to negotiation and change, the use of pencils did not foster open negotiation or explicit consensual decision-making. However, what did emerge was Harry's subtle position as leader of this exercise. This was something he never assumed in formal or public settings, but grew organically out of this process, and was influenced by the use of these familiar objects being put towards a new use.

My instructions also carried my desire for the finished product to conform to particular normative understandings of what a 'community map' should look like and contain. While at the beginning of the exercise, my instructions sounded relatively open and flexible oriented towards the production of an emic representation, "What I'd like you to do ... um ... is draw me your map of Utiku ... okay? So I don't want you to think about the maps you may have seen officially, but it's *your map of what Utiku is to you*" (00.18.25 – 00.18.47, 26 November 1999, Tape 73), I quickly followed up – in line with guidance from participatory training manuals – with specifications about how participants should carry out this process.

First, I determined the visual elements that people should attend to by referring to Western compass directions as I pointed to those directions in the air above the map, "So the boundary, say to the North or to the South, East and West. And think about the key landmarks" (00.18.55 – 00.19.05, 26 November 1999, Tape 73). Then, I revealed the implicit intended audience for this map, "[t]he key thing is that on this paper we come out with a map that to *anyone outside of Utiku* would be a good representation of where different things are. ... okay?" (00.19.15 – 00.19.31, 26 November 1999, Tape 73).

Within less than ninety seconds, therefore, I shifted from solely an emic orientation to one that also had to be aware of an external – presumably non-local and non-Māori – audience.<sup>78</sup>

This shift reflected my Western or European conceptions of space and spatial relations, which were inverse to indigenous understandings. As I have since discovered, the Māori word for north is ‘raro’ which means down, below or bottom (Williams 1971), and the word for south is ‘runga’ which means top, upwards or above (Williams 1971). These words and the directions they represent reflect the origins of Māori arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand at the (Western) north of the country and their settlement towards the (Western) south. They also reflect “a subjective orientation that is based on the point of reference of the people and their movement, rather than a supposedly external, objective Cartesian point of view” (McKay and Walmsley 2003: 87).

Further I reinforced an emphasis on the present by requesting that all the houses that were in Utiku at the time of the exercise be drawn on so that those that belonged to whānau members could later be identified in black marker pen. As I discuss in more detail below, I also proposed the kinds of boundary lines that could be used to illustrate geographic and social community borders respectively. Subsequently, I provided participants with a symbol (a cross) to be put on their own houses. I asked for a key and compass orientation to be inserted, and for them to use coloured sticky dots next to whānau houses to illustrate the numbers and sexes of adults and children living there. Once all of this information was included, I asked participants to identify their likes, dislikes and ideas for improvements to Utiku township on post-it notes and put them onto the map.

My involvement in or disciplining of the map was therefore considerable. For, even as I was ostensibly facilitating ‘their’ map – a supposedly qualitative

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<sup>78</sup> It also reflects what Faye Ginsburg (1995b) has called the ‘parallax effect’ (also see Chapter 3), as indigenous producers of visual media are called to develop an ability to ‘speak’ from two locations at once – a dimension I return to in Section 7.3 when discussing the ‘filming’ processes.

and experiential representation – the way in which it was conceived, as well as created, reflected much more than the cartographic perception of the group members. It became the outcome of the power relationships informing their perception (Sanderson *et al.*, 2007) and the disciplinary conventions I literally – albeit it gently and politely – forced upon them.

This ‘force’ was apparent in how I gave my instructions at periodic intervals. I assumed an authoritative position with respect to group members. I remained standing at various distances from the table between Aunty Joan and Uncle Boxer or leaning over to point or move my hands around over the map when I was being more assertive. I never once sat down alongside group members, or crouched down at their level near the table. I frequently held my notes and referred to the instructions on how to do the mapping exercise from my training manual (Pretty *et al.*, 1995). I sometimes left the room to check on the other group, returning to press participants to move onto the next part of the exercise. I conveyed interest in what was being produced, but also an air of anxiety that the process was taking longer than I expected.

Equally important, the disciplining effects of these power relationships, the specific content and embodied intent of my instructions were never total. I met with considerable, but never unpleasant, ambivalence and resistance. As a ‘good’ facilitator, I encouraged participants to establish a consensus on the boundaries and key features of their geographic community as mentioned above. I thought that this would be relatively easy because Utiku was very small in population and area. I had also assumed that it was a discrete geographic entity having been created as a Māori township on land ‘owned’ by ancestors Utiku, and his wife Te Oiroa, Potaka in the last century (see Chapter 6). However, it quickly became apparent that for these whānau members, the boundaries of their ‘community’ were far more fluid than I had expected. They resisted a neat classification in space because their community was socially, as well as geographically defined. Through discussion between Rewa, Harry, Joyce and myself, the boundaries became stretched to include whānau members living at some distance from the township itself, and in a neighbouring hamlet.

What I also thought would be relatively straightforward for people to map were key landmarks. I wanted them to focus on drawing those landmarks that were currently visible within the contemporary landscape of Utiku, as the following interaction illustrates:

- 00.19.53: Joyce: Do you want the old historical ones on there at this time too, like say like the Old Black Bridge and stuff like that?
- 00.19.58: Harry: Yes, yes.
- 00.20.00: Sara: Well, what *I'd* like you to do is the way Utiku is now.
- 00.20.03: Joyce: Oh contemporary things...
- 00.20.04: Sara: Contemporary...
- 00.20.05: Joyce: Utiku. ...Okay.
- 00.20.06: Sara: But like the Bridge, there's still remains of the bridge, so if that's an important landmark, you can put that on.
- 00.20.13: Joyce: Yup.
- 00.20.14: Sara: But it's basically Utiku as it is now so that if I came back with someone who'd never been here to Utiku, th...
- 00.20.21: Joyce: You could find your way...
- 00.20.21: Sara: They could find their way around. They could go over to the Black Bridge. They'd know where the road went, okay?
- 00.20.27: Joyce: Okay.

(26 November 1999, Tape 73, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.2)

Throughout the mapping exercise Harry, then others resisted this orientation. With his energy and knowledge of historical landmarks and sites no longer visible to “someone who'd never been here to Utiku” (above), he became the unofficial leader of the exercise. Others did not question his desire for historical focus. They appeared interested in his knowledge and were either happy to be reminded of Utiku's past or keen to learn more about it.

In some cases, they actively added to this orientation by remembering other sites (00.48.31: Joan: “Didn't they used to have a raspberry garden here?” And later, at 00.48.50: Joan: “Is the Church still there?” 26 November 1999, Tape 73). They productively supported his resistance to my instructions to

focus on contemporary features, and it became clear that like boundaries, key buildings or landmarks were fluid and shifting, only in this case through time, rather than space.

These moments of resistance to my instructions are informative. They reveal my Western understandings of place and time as being discrete and bounded, rather than fluid and shifting. They also indicate my desire for more objective representations of space, even as I espoused an interest in participants' "subjective points of significance and topographical texture" (McKay and Walmsley 2003: 88). At the time of the exercise, I couldn't easily accommodate these ambiguous understandings so I sought to eliminate these 'blank spaces'<sup>79</sup> by asking participants to use hashed lines for the social boundaries of their community and around houses or other historic landmarks that were no longer present or visible in the landscape (see Plate 7.1). For project management purposes, particularly associated with the use of the map to support a report I intended to write about the video-interviews with some of the Hauti residents in Utiku, I wanted to preserve a clear distinction between different dimensions of community (interest versus geographic) and time (past versus present). By relegating participants' more emic understandings of their community boundaries and former landmarks to 'hashed' rather than unbroken lines, I also subtly reinforced their status as subordinate to the elements that were more tangibly visible to and by outsiders at the present time.

Donna Awatere (1984) has argued that the Western/European conception of time is spatialised and through this orientation it has become a colonial tool. "The squeezing of time into the spatial present" (Awatere 1984: 63) she contends has devalued the past, knowledge and experience of the past, and

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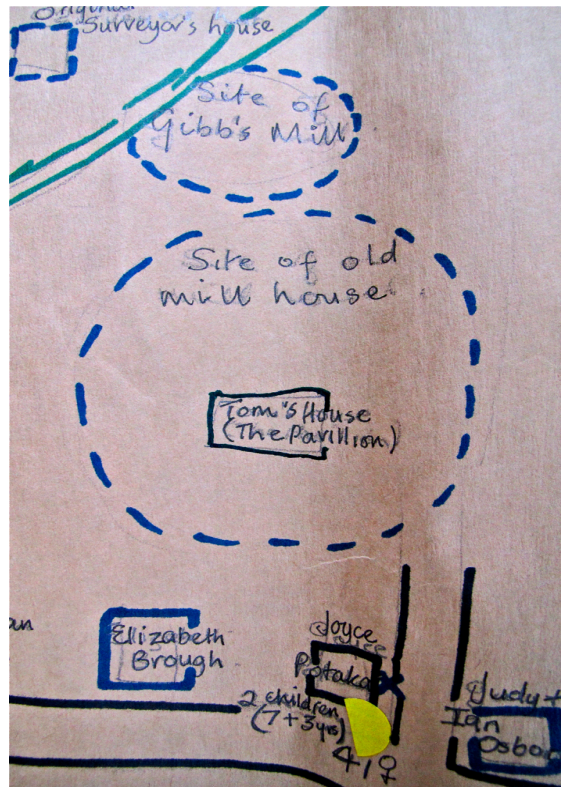
<sup>79</sup> 'Blank spaces' in this context are understood in two ways: a) literally – as empty spaces on a map or diagram where there may be no marks or apparent information, and b) metaphorically – as items or symbols on a map or diagram that may be ambiguous and in need of further discussion to clarify their meaning (Campbell 2001). The desire to eliminate 'blank spaces' is associated with the will to knowledge as manifested in the drive for accuracy and transparency. Within this understanding, information generated by community participants is only valuable if it is represented in ways that may be easily understood by outsiders of the process that produced it.

therefore has devalued old people, ways and things. Consequently, my complicity with Western/European conceptions of time and insistence on the separation between past and present (see also Chapter 6) through participants' use of hashed lines, effectively devalued the very 'present past' for Utiku residents and sought to make them forget the past. Ranginui Walker (1982) says that this is easy for Pākehā to do because our orientation of time is towards the future ahead of us, with the past behind us and out of sight. As discussed in Chapter 6, for Māori this is the inverse and as Rewa (Potaka R., 29 April 2011, pers. comm.) noted in her feedback on this chapter:

You well note that in the initial mapping exercise hash marks were too hastily put through things that existed in the past. To the participants, the present reality rested on the past; it was vitally important that it was the past that connected them to the present and us to each other. Harry and Joyce were reclaiming something [and] I was interested [...] because I had married Boxer.

As a result of my disciplinary practice, I missed the opportunity to fully engage with participants' different cartographic frame and equalise power relations.

**Plate 7.1 Detail of Utiku Community Map Showing Hashed Lines**



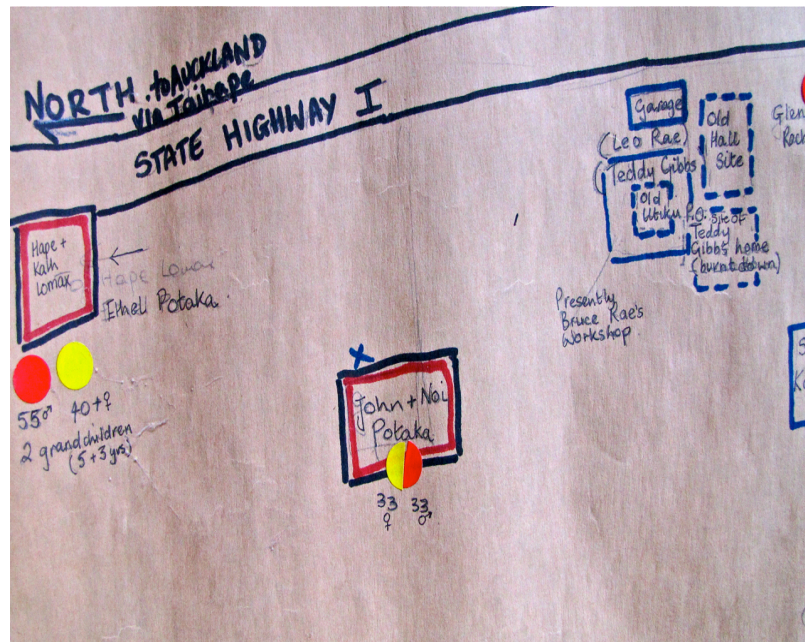
(Source: G. Hume-Cook, 2011)

Such an intervention and attempt at control on my part is evidence of colonial continuities at work associated with the process of mapping (Blunt and Rose 1994; Harley 1989). As Maia Green (2010: 1252) notes, “[p]articipatory processes focus on spatial understandings of the local as territorially located, not as situated within broader nexus of influences which impact on livelihoods and choices”. Interestingly, however, my imposition was only partial and fleeting. Whānau members considered to be part of the Utiku community but living at some distance from the township were protected from ‘capture’ on the map. Participants signalled their existence with arrows pointing off the edge of the paper, so that their actual spatial relationship to the geographic location of the township remained elusive and unbounded (Plate 7.2).

Furthermore, as none of us thought to date the historical landmarks that Harry and a few others had drawn in, the past and present of Utiku – as represented

by the drawing of key landmarks and houses – became co-terminus within the final map, much as they are within Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview) understandings of time ordinarily (McKay and Walmsley 2003).

**Plate 7.2**      **Detail of Utiku Community Map: Stretched out Social Relations**



(Source: G. Hume-Cook, 2011)

The process of participatory mapping is messy, contradictory and frequently problematic. These themes also resonate within the practices of collaborative video production to which I now turn. In the next section, I first present a vignette of the ‘filming’ process associated with the shooting of the CVRT training video and then provide a synopsis of the various activities, participants and locations involved in this production process including myself (Table 7.1). This synopsis provides an overview of several hours over two-three days to give the context within which subsequent additional memories arose and circulated within the close reading of the critical incidents selected for excavation.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> The key incidents with which I engage can be found in Appendix G: DVD, Clips 7.3 – 7.8.

### 7.3 'Filming'

I had been itching to get onto the 'filming' of CVRT members' storyboards. To me they represented the action part of our PAR approach and I was excited to see and support Joyce, Rewa and Harry using the video technology and hopefully becoming technically as well as politically empowered. 'Filming' by these members of the CVRT happened over several days in different locations in mid-December 1998. The exact locations depended upon what people wanted to represent in the training video.

I went on location at the marae with Joyce, as she 'filmed' the wharepuni (meeting house) with Aunty Bo. Joyce wanted to track around Aunty Bo's face so we worked out that she needed to be pushed on a wheeled office chair while holding the camera as steady as she could to 'film'. Originally we asked Arnold to do this pushing as the young male 'muscle' in the team, but he refused. He said it wasn't culturally appropriate for him to put his hands on Joyce, or near her bottom on the chair's seat. I did not fully understand, but interpreted Arnold's comments as evidence that there was a complex relationship between Māori concepts of tapu (sacred) and noa (profane) and how they pertained to men and women's bodies. So, Raihania and I were left with the task of pushing Joyce's chair, which was hard work. It was also fun and I remember us laughing when the chair got stuck or we didn't seem strong enough to push it. All of us then went down to another location to 'film' the pā (fortified settlement) site and the urupā (cemetery) where there was a tractor mowing the grass making an incredible noise. I also went out on location with Harry and Rewa to get shots of the water in the river and to record its sound. For the shots of Aorangi we got up early to ensure the best position in relation to the rising sun. I think that they shot the papa cliffs by themselves on another day.

Geoff documented participants' activities on a separate camera so I took on, what I hoped was, a facilitative role to help participants choose where to set up and how to realise their visions. I had gained

some knowledge of video production from Geoff throughout our work to date, but certainly was not an expert. I hoped that Geoff's role as documentarian of the process communicated his faith in Ngāti Hauiti members to them and that they would see me as a learner working alongside them to do the best they could. I thought that this was a good way of shifting power relations between us as we figured out what to do and how to use the technology together.

I remember feeling a little frustrated at people's hesitance in using the cameras and making decisions. I had expected them to be more confident in their skills and more decisive about what they wanted to do than they were. When on the side of the road looking up to the pā site, I remember jumping in and encouraging Raihania to direct Joyce in terms of what she wanted her to 'film'. Geoff included this clip in the edited sequence he put together for participants, documenting the production process. This mini-documentary of the process accompanies the training video produced by the CRVT and we have shown them together at numerous presentations. I remain uncomfortable about hearing and seeing myself direct Raihania in this way.

**Table 7.1 Synopsis of Training Video Exercise Activities,  
18-20 December 1998**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Storyboard Ideas Filmed</b>	<b>Participants and Roles</b>
18/12/98	Rātā Marae	Joyce: Kuia's face; meeting house	Director/Camera – Joyce Sound – Sara, Arnold Crew – Raihania, Sara Subject – Aunty Bo Tech. advice/Doc. camera – Geoff Additional advice – Sara
18/12/98	Near Ohingaiti Urupā and Otamakapua Pā Site	Arnold and Raihania: Pā and urupā sites	Camera – Joyce Director – Raihania Sound – Sara Subject – Arnold (at urupā) Technical advice – Sara Documentary camera – Geoff
20/12/98	Pukeokahu Meeting of the Waters	Harry: Mount Aorangi, big trees in the area, ancestral hunting Rewa: The Rangitikei River, heart of the home people	Camera – Rewa Director – Harry, Rewa, Geoff Sound – Sara Tech. advice/Doc. camera – Geoff Additional advice – Sara

(Source: 18 and 20 December 1998, Tapes 41 and 42)<sup>81</sup>

One of the first things I noticed when engaging with the footage from the 'filming' process was the use of language Geoff, myself and CVRT members used to communicate the technical processes associated with the camera's operation. I have chosen to call this use of language 'wording' drawing on

<sup>81</sup> Additional footage of part of the papa cliffs south of Ohingaiti and some green bushes and trees (to connect to the birds Harry had in his storyboard) was also shot independently by Rewa and Harry, and footage of the Ruahine Ranges (desired by Hine) was shot independently by Harry.

Freirean (1970) understanding of critical literacy as being a process of ‘wording the world’, or learning to name particular phenomena or processes as a means of gaining political power and the ability to act upon or change one’s situation.

For example, at Joyce’s shoot at Rātā Marae with Aunty Bo, I moved in to help Joyce with the practice of ‘white balancing’. White balancing involves calibrating the camera to ‘white’ in each filmic context so as to remove unrealistic colour casts and ensure “that objects which appear white in person are rendered white” (<http://www.cambridgeincolour.com/tutorials/white-balance.htm>). This means working with the ‘colour temperature’ of a light source (that is, the relative warmth or coolness of white light)<sup>82</sup> so that the end result shows colours which are as “accurate as possible” in terms of what we would ordinarily see with the naked eye. Practically, this involves focusing the camera lens on a white card for a few seconds and pressing a particular button to calibrate the camera.

00.17.30: Joyce: That’s a lovely profile of Aunty’s face. Now *we haven’t white balanced* darling!

00.17.35: Geoff: No you need um an envelope?

(Raihanía retrieves a white envelope from Geoff and passes it to Joyce)

00.17.42: Joyce: Now where’s the white balance button again?

00.17.44: Sara: Closest to where Aunty’s face is. The white balance...

00.17.48: Geoff: W. B.

00.17.51: Joyce: Where can I see that ...?

00.17.53: Sara: On the left hand side.

00.17.54: Joyce: Oh I can see it but I can’t reach my little fingers up in there! I can’t manage that. I’m goin’ to have to do this first. Okay.

(I move over to help.)

Or you can push it and I’ll just tell you when it stops love. Okay...I’m whiting on her white t-shirt there...Okay?

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<sup>82</sup> Colour temperature interestingly describes the spectrum of light, which is radiated from a ‘blackbody’ with that surface temperature – a blackbody being an object, which absorbs all incident light (<http://www.cambridgeincolour.com/tutorials/white-balance.htm>).

(I look at Aunty Bo.)

00.18.13: Geoff: Er, no she's got a blue t-shirt.

00.18.15: Raihania: Blue.

00.18.16: Joyce: Oh well, there's white card...

(I point to the white envelope and help Raihania or Aunty Bo to hold it up – they are both out of frame.)

Okay lovely! Okay stop. Righto! Now *we're right* okay.

(Joyce's Rātā Marae shoot, 18 December 1998, Tape 41, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.3, emphasis my own.)

At first, such a practice may seem obvious if one wants to ensure that the footage captured looks 'normal' or as we might see it with our naked eye, yet Kathleen Gallagher and Isabelle Kim (2008: 105) suggest that white balancing isn't as neutral as it seems because:

camera technology favors the appearance of white skin. 'White balance', in technical terms, remains the default mode to which cameras are set and, in theoretical terms, the default mode to which the researcher's eye has become adjusted.

The connections between the use of light, technology and skin colour did not occur to me as we were filming, but as Caroline Knowles (2006: 512-513) notes in relation to photography:

photography is a materialized manipulation of the (equally manipulated) cognitive processes involved in seeing. Photographs are arrested 'moments' of seeing captured through technical decisions about framing, lighting, aperture, film speed, lens angle: photographers have the ability to make traces of objects, people, places and circumstances into images; a creative process requiring the same kinds of conceptualization as a written text. Just as seeing is part of a dialogue with (raced and ethnicized) social organization; so photographs are part of conversation with what Tagg (1988) calls 'regimes of truth'.

By substituting videography or filming for photography and videos for photographs in the above quotation, the connections made between light, video technology and race are frequently complicit with hegemonic raced and ethnicised social organisation.

Richard Dyer (1997) makes a similar point when discussing how both the technology of lighting and the specific mode of (Hollywood) movie lighting have racial implications.<sup>83</sup> He argues that the “aesthetic technology of light has a tendency to assume, privilege and construct an idea of the white person” and that the development of technology is implicated in “white ways of seeing whiteness” (Dyer 1997: 84). In particular, he reminds us that video technology while technical is also always social, having been produced by particular people, in particular contexts at particular times for particular uses. It, and its uses, are not therefore fixed and inevitable, but humanly constructed and contingent. Specifically, he notes that the “apparatus was developed with white people in mind and habitual use and instruction continue in the same vein, so much so that photographing [or ‘filming’] non-white people is typically construed as a problem” (Dyer 1997: 89).

In our use of white balancing within the production process, the non-white colour of participants’ skin was not construed as a problem and I was not aware of any issues to do with colour balance that arose subsequently in the editing of Joyce’s sequence involving Aunty Bo’s face. That said, what perturbs me in retrospect is that this racially-embedded dimension of the technology and its evolution never even occurred to me. As such, through my ‘helpful’ facilitation of Joyce’s white balancing I was unwittingly complicit with the colonial and racist legacies of what Dyer (1997: 84) has called a “whole culture of light”.

This whole culture of light is founded on the assumptions “that reality can be represented as being on a ground of white, and that light comes from above” (Dyer 1997: 84). Both of these aspects have the effect of advantaging white

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<sup>83</sup> I am grateful to Dr Jo Smith for pointing me to this reference.

people in representation and ... of suggesting a special affinity between them and the light (Dyer 1997: 84). They are literally 'enlightened'. Consequently, the relationship between the video technology and the "variously coloured human subject" (Dyer 1997: 90) is not one of accuracy as commonly discussed in sources like the one cited above. Rather it is a matter of convention and prejudice.

Disturbingly, the "white-centricity of the aesthetic technology involved in photographic media is rarely recognised" according to Dyer (1997: 97), unless the focus is on the 'unique', 'unusual' or 'problematic' aspects of 'filming' non-white subjects. It is therefore even more disconcerting that no one appears to be talking about this potentially prejudicial dimension of practice within participatory uses of video in development and research, particularly given that the dominant subjects both behind and in front of the camera are not white themselves.<sup>84</sup>

As I continued to re-engage with the footage of the production process, I also came to feel uncomfortable about the wider lexicon associated with video cameras (or film before them) and what it might convey about the power relations at work within the production process. For example, terms like a 'take', a 'shot', a 'cutaway', and a 'zoom' convey aspects of aggression, violence or penetration in the act of 'filming'. And, the labelling of acts as 'framing', 'tracking', 'shooting' 'cutting' and 'capturing' footage reflects particular understandings of the subject/object relationship. This lexicon also reflects a particular racial grammar,<sup>85</sup> a set of practices to which race gives rise in the context of film and video work generally. This means that who

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<sup>84</sup> Dyer (1997) goes on to discuss how movie lighting also privileges the individual and disconnects them from their social relationships, how it hierarchises those in the frame, and how it separates the individual from their environment, particularly through the process of backlighting to ensure figures are distinguished from their ground, made to stand out from each other and from their setting. He argues that these conventions as they have been invented, refined, fixed and naturalised convey a distinctly raced (white) view of humanity, which continues to assume and privilege the white subject. These aspects pertain primarily to the Western movie industry and are beyond the scope of what I can discuss here in the context of the CVRT training video exercise, but deserve further scrutiny within the wider discourse of PV.

<sup>85</sup> In much the same way as Barnor Hesse (1999) and Doreen Massey (1999) argue that globalisation has a racial grammar.

does what, in relation to whom (in front and behind the camera), is highly significant (see also Knowles 2006) particularly for practitioners like those using PV.

The lexicon, and its attendant practices of camera operation, also constructs particular understandings of time and space as time may be broken up into ‘shots’ and ‘sequences’ of action which then become fixed and subject to manipulation. Time can be compressed or extended through editing to create particular understandings, which may or may not reflect those of the people being represented. Physical distance during ‘filming’ can be overcome or created using the zoom in/out function to produce extreme close ups or wide shots respectively. Through this function, the normal codes around what is considered to be personal space or privacy in any society can be easily ignored or violated by the camera operator, as the technology enables them access to intimacies that may not be possible in the flesh. Similarly, a sense of voyeurism and omnipotence may be possible through wide shots, which attempt to capture a whole scene.

Further, when thinking about time/space relationships and their connections to a racial grammar, it is significant that video (and film) frames relationships in a horizontal plane: “The medium technically and symbolically is about the horizon, the land on which human beings work and walk” (LePage 1996, cited in Gallagher and Kim 2008: 109-110). As Dyer (1997) and others have pointed out, such an orientation is not intrinsic to the technology but reflects a particular orientation to the world, which has unmarked historical and racial origins. This privileged orientation is currently replicated through video production training like our own and that of organisations like Insight (discussed in Chapter 3), even where such trainings seek to enable participants to work with the medium differently. The following abbreviated exchange between Rewa, Harry and Geoff illustrates this point clearly:

00.48.25: Rewa: ... I mean that's a nice composition.

00.48.29: Geoff: The other thing though is that I don't think, I don't think it's quite horizontal. I think, I think that it's ...

00.48.34: Rewa: No...

00.48.36: Geoff: tilting down to one side...

00.48.36: Rewa: It doesn't look...

00.48: 38: Geoff: I think it's gotta be up...

[...]

00.49.23: Geoff: Oh yeah, right. Because, because the mountain itself is not...

00.49.29: Rewa: Yeah, okay.

00.49.30: Geoff: a pure horizon. Now do you want that down on the left a bit like that?

00.49.34: Rewa: No...

00.49.35: Geoff: Or up like that?

00.49.37: Rewa: Umm ... Yeah, not quite as up as that.

00.49.39: Geoff: There, that's right?

00.49.41: Rewa: There.

00.49.42: Geoff: Okay.

00.49.43: Rewa: I'm holding it at the right place.

00.49.44: Geoff: All right. I've locked it off. You should be able to step away without holding it yeah.

00.49.47: Rewa: (She moves back from the viewfinder.) I think that's right. You have a look.

(Geoff moves in to viewfinder.)

00.49.52: Geoff: (He moves back from viewfinder.) It still looks a bit down on this side to me. You have a look Harry!

(Harry moves around to viewfinder and takes off his glasses to look through the lens.)

00.49.57: Rewa: It's hard to tell isn't it?

00.50.00: Geoff: I mean part, part of it is up to us to make the decision about what looks right...

00.50.07: Rewa: Yes...

00.50.08: Geoff: because, because there's no real right.

00.50.09: Rewa: No.

00.50.10: Geoff: It's all relative to the frame.

00.50.11: Rewa: Well we certainly want it ...

00.50.14: Geoff: Okay so do you want it ...

(He moves down the tripod leg to adjust it.)

00.50.15: Rewa: as horizontal as ...

00.50.17: Geoff: up a bit?

00.50.18: Harry: Yes up a little bit.

00.50.21: Geoff: Is that enough? (Harry looks.) Or is it too much?

00.50.24: Harry: No, no.

(Harry steps back from camera.)

00.50.26: Geoff: Have another look.

(Rewa steps forward up to viewfinder.)

00.50.31: Rewa: Yes...(small laugh) well that's just fine too!

(Rewa and Harry's early morning mountain shoot, 20 December 1998, Tape 42, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.4)

The emphasis placed on locating and framing the horizon in this way reflects the 'realist and everyday' conventions associated with dominant uses of audiovisual media like film, video and television. One need only think of the shape of most TV and cinema screens to realise that the horizontal plane is always wider than the vertical plane, perpetuating the connection to the land and realist representations of everyday life.

Interestingly, Robert LePage (1996, cited in Gallagher and Kim 2008) argues that this convention can be contrasted with the vertical form of theatre, which does not rely upon this orientation and is therefore able to put people in touch with the gods through its spiritual dimension. Theatre, for example, can be performed on many different kinds and shapes of stages including the round, and it has its origins in open venues like amphitheatres, which were open to the sky (and in some cultures, therefore to the Gods).

What constitutes the horizon is also culturally-specific and related to associated concepts of time and space. Bill McKay and Antonia Walmsley (2003) for example, reflect on how the very idea of the horizon is closely associated with a culture's relationship to the landscape and people's haptic knowledges gained from moving through it, in time. They refer to a drawing from an unknown Māori from around 1860 which:

portrays a landscape, but not in the form of a picture that we are familiar with from [a] Western perspective, a framed window on the world. This drawing has no up or down; it is like a map or plan and relates its four sides to the horizon – with the observer’s point of view at the centre and the edges of the drawing extending to four quarters of the world (McKay and Walmsley 2003: 88).

As such, this example highlights that “[t]he relationship between what we see and what we know is never settled” (Berger 1977, cited in Knowles 2006: 515) and that we cannot assume there is only one way of viewing the world, or orienting ourselves to it. The apparent lack of discussion about the culturally-specific constitution of the horizon in current PV discourse highlights the colonial continuities at work within it and the perpetuation of empire in Kapoor-ian terms.

Questioning, as LePage (1996, cited in Gallagher and Kim 2008) advocates, why no one has yet produced a vertical projection screen for videos and films, or how the horizon might be represented differently in audiovisual productions reveals an unmarked cultural and racial privilege imbued within the current design and use of video technology. It raises questions about what video *as a vertical form* or video with a multi-sided horizon could enable in terms of potentially more culturally or spiritually-resonant productions.

The lexicon of video production and its associated racial grammar clearly convey and construct particular orientations to the world which reflect and perpetuate colonial continuities associated with particular ways of thinking about and representing relationships, time and space. Our ‘wording’ (and related ‘framing’) in this PVR project while opening up a new lexicon to CVRT members and providing them with a sense of command and mastery, also reflected complicity with hegemonic discourses, and perhaps simplified some of the participants’ complex understandings of temporality, spatiality and relationality. Yet, as the above exchange and Geoff’s attention to the arbitrariness of what constitutes the horizon illustrates, understandings of key

terms and practices (like white balancing, framing or finding the ‘horizontal’) are never total and can be opened up to scrutiny and re-interpretation.

From thinking about ‘wording’ and ‘framing’, I now move to thinking about ‘looking’ in relation to the training video exercise. In reference to the preceding discussion, Gallagher and Kim (2008) argue that the researcher’s eye is by default ‘white’, and that the lexicon associated with video reflects this and its colonial roots. ‘Participatory’ video – not unlike participatory mapping and other similar techniques – has been promoted as a means to replace this ‘white gaze’ with that of an ‘other’.

Frequently, the act of ‘handing over the camera’ to non-professional ‘community participants’ is promoted as the key means through which participant/native/emic representations can be produced. The Lunch brothers (2006), as the current vanguards of PV within international development, go as far as to advocate that outside crew do not touch the cameras *at all* during the training of participants. This is in order to communicate their faith in community members’ abilities to use the equipment effectively to generate their own videos. Placing technology in the hands of non-professionals, it is thought, can challenge otherwise masculinist, adultist and colonialist ways of looking and enable a destabilisation of power relations between researcher and researched. They may reflect a feminist practice of ‘looking nearby’ (Kindon 2003) which can have consciousness-raising effects and translate into individual and collective empowerment (White 2003).

In the processes of visualising and storyboarding facilitated by Geoff with members of Ngāti Hauti (4, 8 and 15 December 1998), CVRT and other whānau members had very specific ideas about what they wanted to see in their training video that would communicate wāhi tapu and their lived understandings of relationships between place, identity and ‘social cohesion’. For instance, Harry wanted to see big native trees in the northern part of the rohe in the final video. In part this was to reflect the importance of the forests to his ancestors for hunting and timber. It was also because an important ancestor had left a taonga in the region where the trees were located. Rewa

wanted images of people at the marae, shots of the papa cliffs as well as shots of the Rangitīkei River to represent the life-blood of Ngāti Hauiti. Joyce envisioned close-up images of a kuia's lined face. To her this represented people's intimate connections to the land and the ways in which 'the old people' have so much life knowledge gained through the passage of time. Hine wished to see the Ruahine Ranges represented because her ancestors had crossed them to arrive and settle at the Otamakapua pā site in the district, which she now called home. And finally, Arnold wished to communicate the centrality of mauri and how it infused the wairua of everything including people and place relationships. He wanted to see this represented through shots of the same pā site as Hine and a nearby urupā near Ohingaiti, as well as shots of a soaring eagle over the landscape (8 December 1998, Tape 35, Production Topics Meeting, Utiku Schoolhouse).

Hearing/reading the clarity of these visions, it is tempting to romanticise the gaze of these subject-community members as somehow more authentic or less imperial than what outsiders like Geoff or myself could have envisaged or produced. However, ultimately this binary is not helpful.<sup>86</sup> Simply putting a non-white body behind the camera lens does not necessarily challenge the naturalised modes of film or video research production at play, particularly within 'first world' media-saturated communities like those in Aotearoa New Zealand where Māori are extremely literate with Western conventions of film and TV.

It is important to remember that, "The gaze [of the camera operator] could be feminist, sexist, racist, colonialist, or orientalist" (el Guindi 2004: 222), independent of their embodied or structurally-positioned characteristics. This is because seeing is a form of social practice dialogically informed by the 'constant flow of life' (Knowles 2006: 515). The tendency to romanticise the 'native's gaze' within much participatory video discourse (see authors and commentators in Lunch and Lunch 2006; White 2003) and visual

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<sup>86</sup> Much early work in visual anthropology romanticised the 'native' perspective and while more recent work takes a more critical perspective, there is still a tendency for authors in anthropology and geography to talk about native or subject-generated footage as being somehow more 'authentic'.

anthropology, also occludes attention to racial grammar of the technology itself, as well as the relationships within and through which subject-community members ‘learn to see’ (see Jenks 1995; Knowles 2006). It perpetuates a form of naïve empiricism (Pink 2006). It also obscures the ongoing presence and influence of the researcher, facilitator or trainer, which may actually be desirable (Pauwels 2004).

In our case, Geoff trained whānau members in class over a five-week period after which participants put their theory into practice through the ‘filming’ of footage for the training video.<sup>87</sup> Whānau members remained in the subject position of ‘student’ during this training exercise even as we ‘handed over the stick/camera’ to them. Everyone was aware of this arrangement, even if it felt at times as if it were at odds with our supposedly egalitarian and participatory approach. However, as Gallagher and Kim (2008: 113) note, “[w]ithin the context of a post-positivist research paradigm, it is not useful to aim to replicate what feels ‘natural’ or unobtrusive in a research site, as Trinh has warned”.

CVRT members regularly sought (or were given) directorial and technical guidance from Geoff and myself. As the following excerpt from Joyce’s first shoot at Rātā marae shows, Geoff advised Raihania about moving Joyce on the makeshift ‘dolly’. He also advised Joyce about framing, focusing and shooting:

- 00.16.38: Geoff: Okay. And that way (talking to Raihania) you’ll be pushing Joyce (moving to show her) all the way around, all the way around, but you’ll do it in several goes. You’re not going to do it all in one go Joyce.
- 00.16.49: Raihania: Okay...
- 00.16.50: Geoff: Because you’ve got different framings...
- 00.16.52: Joyce: Okay.
- 00.16.53: Geoff: So for each set of frames which you are gonna do...
- 00.16.56: Joyce: Just call out ‘stop!’

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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of the actual process and programme of activities.

- 00.16.57: Geoff: Yeah. ... So you have the camera rolling...
- 00.16.59: Joyce: Yeah.
- 00.17.00: Geoff: And then you start your ...um dolly operator...
- 00.17.02: Joyce: Yup!
- 00.17.03: Geoff: And then call 'Halt!' after you've actually got to the part of the shot you want, then you turn off the camera. Okay? And then, reframe, refocus, and then start the next one.
- 00.17.14: Joyce: Okay then.

(Joyce's Rata Marae shoot, 18 December 1998, Tape 41, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.5)

This interaction highlights that while Geoff (and myself implicitly) had liberatory intentions for the process of video training and capacity building, we inevitably guided CVRT members like Joyce into particular ways of looking. As Grasseni (2004: 17) notes, "Camerawork is not an unproblematic record of reality, and shooting for a film directs one's attention to objects, facts and events in a particular way and order" (Grasseni 2004: 17). Through our desire to 'help' and enable iwi members learn video production skills, we potentially perpetuated colonial and hegemonic forms of gaze, and subjectified participants within dominant media conventions and disciplinary practices associated with the use of the camera.<sup>88</sup>

The work of Audre Lorde (1984, cited in Jackson 2004) about nativist reappropriations is salient here, specifically, her discussion about whether slaves can use their master's tools to actually dismantle their master's homes. She, like Gayatri Spivak (1998) reflecting on 'can the subaltern speak?' raises questions about the limits of marginalised or subordinated groups to 'speak back' to more dominant others when using the same means (that is, language, technology) that have oppressed them in the past.

With reference to the literal 'tool' under scrutiny here – video – John Jackson (2004: 35) translates these concerns into the question: "how clean is the methodological baby formerly washed in Westernized bathwater?" His

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<sup>88</sup> And this is certainly what some audience members have accused us of when viewing this work (see thesis Prologue and Chapter 8).

question reinforces the point made earlier that video and other digital technologies “carry the weighty legacy of history and the always fraught politics of representation” (Gallagher and Kim 2008: 103). Concerns must persist about the post-colonial possibilities for nativist and visual anthropology even within more collaborative uses of PV.

Yet if I was to stop my interpretation here, some of the complex and contradictory dimensions of our particular case would be missing, for the story is not quite this simple. If we ‘zoom out’ from this micro-scale interaction to consider the wider discourses at work and the historical exigencies that informed the interaction above and others like it then it becomes apparent that a) these disciplinary practices were desired and requested by members of Ngāti Hauiti, not ‘forced’ upon them, and b) Geoff sought to mitigate these practices’ negative consequences by infusing his training with a critical awareness about their historical origins and their potential effects.

Early on in the negotiations of our relationship with members of Ngāti Hauiti, as we were scoping the project and establishing its kaupapa, some senior iwi members associated with the Rūnanga asked if project participants would be able to get an industry qualification or jobs as a result of our video training.<sup>89</sup> Their focus and desires reflected their perceptions that wider employment opportunities were needed for iwi members resident in the rohe. These concerns exceeded any interests they might have had in issues of self-representation or the use of Hauiti-produced videos for advocacy or political purposes, despite us framing the potential of the project in this way.

Industry certification was not possible at the time and the likelihood of employment after the end of our project was low. The goal of the video production training therefore became to provide iwi members with basic video training so that they could then decide if they wanted to carry on to gain

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<sup>89</sup> There was no such desire expressed for the participatory research training aspects of our work together. This had the effect that I often felt like a ‘poor cousin’ in relation to Geoff in terms of the value I could bring to the collaborative partnership, which was a contributing factor in my facilitation at various points.

formal qualifications. Geoff's goal, which I supported, was to engender participants' awareness about the situatedness and contingency of mainstream video production discourse and practice. It was not something that was explicitly requested by senior iwi members or eventual participants and could be regarded as evidence of Geoff's and my own surplus political idealism as criticised by Kapoor (2005) and discussed in Chapter 4. Collectively, our aspirations came to be that participants might be able to use video in conventional and proficient ways within the project, then in more critical and strategic ways for themselves and their iwi in the future, if so desired.<sup>90</sup>

To realise these collective aspirations, participants wanted and needed to develop 'skilled vision' (Grasseni 2004) in their use of the video cameras. As discussed in Chapter 3, skilled vision was originally a concept used to describe how outside anthropologists learnt how to see in the same ways as members of the cultures they were studying. However, I use it here to think about how Joyce, Harry and Rewa – as subject-community members within the project – learned to look at and generate representations of localised knowledges in ways that both rang true for others in their communities and effectively reached distant (implicitly non-Māori) audiences (Grasseni 2004). However, for these CVRT members, 'skilled vision' involved becoming proficient in dominant modes of televisual communication in terms of the types and lengths of shots captured, the use of light and sound, as well as how to interview people using video, composing them within the frame, in order to represent what they experientially 'knew' about relationships between place, identity and social cohesion.

In the final training video produced by the CVRT with Geoff's assistance, the emerging skilled vision of the team members was evident in their production of a text that resonated with near and distant audiences. Both relatives at other

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<sup>90</sup> As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 3, our process was therefore neither standard industry training nor 'Participatory Video' as it is commonly practised. More accurately, it could be understood as being a video training process allied to a participatory research training process, through which Geoff and I hoped to build iwi capacity in these areas and generate research insights about place, identity and social cohesion along the way. As a result of this 'framing', Geoff and I could be accused of methodological tyranny for in some respects, the training in video and participatory techniques drove the research process.

project meetings, as well as members of academic audiences in Dunedin, Palmerston North and Wellington, connected emotionally with the production (see also Chapter 8). Of course, as it was the CVRT's first attempt, the degree of 'skill' in their manipulation of the technology was limited. Raw footage included shaky or very fast camera movements as members attempted to tilt, pan or zoom. Some shots were out of focus or the focus came and went, and there were some long and 'rambling' shots in which it was hard to distinguish what was the central feature or aspect being represented. However, in terms of what was 'captured', or the skilled vision that was represented, CVRT members succeeded in producing a gaze that was simultaneously local/particular and pan-tribal (see Ginsburg 1995b).

Through their ability to see or speak from two different locations at once – those of their 'subjects' and themselves, or those of their audiences and themselves (Jackson 2004), members of the CVRT produced a video, which defied a singular reading,<sup>91</sup> and which evidenced a gaze through their emerging skilled vision that was neither completely native/authentic, or colonised. The process of looking, and its product, illustrated both the enabling and constraining aspects of complicity, and the importance of reconceiving the gaze as 'intersubjective' – a point I return to in the conclusion of the thesis. Finally, I noticed that the practice of skilled vision by CVRT members was intimately related to their physicality and physical ability. This aspect of the relationship between sight and corporeality is not something I have seen discussed in the literature so attend to it next.

While being aware of the power and complicity within 'the gaze', it is vital to remember that video making is also intrinsically an embodied and tactile practice, and "[w]hat becomes ... critical is the researcher's consciousness of how bodies (including his/her own) are positioned relative to the space and the camera's eye" (Gallagher and Kim 2008: 113). 'Filming' requires the exertion of energy, freedom of movement (Gallagher and Kim 2008), and collective teamwork (Lunch and Lunch 2006; Tomaselli and Prinsloo 1990).

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<sup>91</sup> Although plenty of singular readings or interpretations have been offered by differently situated audiences. I explore some of these in more detail within Chapter 8.

It is also a material practice through which participants must touch – hold, manoeuvre and manipulate – what are often foreign or unfamiliar objects such as a camera, tripod and a boom microphone. They must be aware of power cables and their location, or the level of charge and time available if shooting on battery power.

During the ‘filming’ process for the training video with members of Ngāti Hauiti, there were many times when I was struck by the physical agility, ability and labour required of CVRT members. They had to carry and set up heavy equipment – cameras, tripods and microphones – hold cameras steady on shoulders or microphones up high for considerable periods of time. They also had to, literally, get to grips with the camera and learn how to move their hands and fingers around its body, to press particular buttons, pull the focus ring, and control the pan handle to get smooth pan or tilt shots. Furthermore, they had to manoeuvre their bodies into sometimes unusual or uncomfortable positions to look through the viewfinder, whilst taking care not to knock or bump the tripod. As the following interaction from Rewa and Harry’s first shoot illustrates, participants’ whole bodies were involved in the process of ‘filming’, and this was tiring:

01.10.09: Rewa: I was very jerky at one stage, or two stages.

(Harry walks from looking closely at Rewa’s hand position back to his previous position behind her and the camera, replacing his glasses as he does so.)

01.10.15: Sara: I think you might also have been moving the focus ring...

(I point to the focus ring with my left hand even though Rewa continues to look through the viewfinder, keeping hold of the boom mike with my right hand. I then bring my arm back to my body.)

... with your little finger.

(I hold my hand up showing what I saw Rewa doing with her left hand on the camera.)

01.10.20: Rewa: Oh really?

(She moves around from viewfinder to look at her hand position on the camera.)

So how do you stop doing that?

01.10.24: Harry: Lift your little finger!

(I – Sara – chuckle and raise up my left hand with my little finger sticking up into the air.)

01.10.25: Sara: Like you are drinking a cup of tea.<sup>92</sup>

(Rewa moves away from viewfinder to look at her hand position which now has her little finger sticking up into the air, then focuses on the position of her middle and ring fingers.)

01.10.27: Rewa: There's that finger and that finger instead...

(She goes back to look through the viewfinder. She then breaks her position and lets her left arm fall to her side with a large gesture and brings her head around the back of the camera to talk directly to me and Geoff.)

Your arm aches!

01.10.36: Geoff: (Out of shot, behind his camera.) It does! (Everyone laughs.)

(Rewa and Harry's early morning mountain shoot, 19 December 1998, Tape 42, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.6)

In addition, it wasn't just the participants using the camera who had to work hard or experience discomfort. I experienced the weight of the boom mike first hand during the shoots when I was recording sound for our documentation of the process. I grew weary of needing to keep holding and moving it smoothly and efficiently to pick up the most important audio (such as conversation) at any given moment. It required strength, stamina and concentration. In other instances as illustrated by the excerpt below, whānau members like Raihania, who hadn't attended the video training but joined the CVRT at the production process stage, were asked to use their physical abilities to enable the camera operator to realise their vision: in this case to push an office chair as a make-shift dolly around in an arc so that Joyce could film Aunty Bo's face:

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<sup>92</sup> While there isn't space to go into a detailed reading of this statement here, I think it's important to note my very classed, gendered and ethnocentric reference to how tea is drunk. My statement and accompanying gesture perpetuate dominant gendered, classed and raced tropes of white, upper-middle class ladies sipping tea in the colonies. They also demonstrate how easy it was to replicate forms of colonial continuities in my desire to 'help' (also see Heron 2007). My instruction also represented an exertion of my power as I sought to get Rewa's fingers to conform to disciplinary practices associated with mainstream video camera operation.

00.18.41: Joyce: (She tucks her feet up onto the base of the chair.) Okay I'm starting ... now!

(Raihanian, kneeling on the ground, attempts to move the chair.)

00.18.52: Raihanian: Stop! (chuckles) I can't move it!

(Joyce's Rātā Marae shoot, 18 December 1998, Tape 41, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.7)

Then later in the same shoot, Joyce (00.19.44) acknowledged the physical exertion involved in the non-camera work when she said jokingly said to Raihanian, "And try to keep the grunts to a minimum darling!"

Video production is literally 'work' for those holding the camera as well as for crew members moving dollies or microphones. It required CVRT members' physical strength and ability. This work also required participants' agility and dexterity to move around the camera body with purpose and control. Yet the discourse is silent about these dimensions of corporeal engagement. It is as if the cameras and their associated tripods and boom microphones were weightless, or cyborg-like extensions of participants' bodies that do not inform or affect participants' experiences of 'filming' or their abilities to engage with what they wish to film or each other.<sup>93</sup>

Throughout the collaborative process of 'filming', and particularly through being asked to operate the boom microphone by Geoff as participants filmed, I became aware of the physically-demanding nature of this work and how it was qualitatively different to other kinds of research work in which I had previously been involved.

In addition, through being asked to look through the viewfinder by Rewa and Joyce or being involved in moving Joyce on her makeshift dolly with Raihanian, I came to realise that each of the CVRT members was grappling with some kind of physical impairment and that these, each in their own ways,

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<sup>93</sup> See Donna Haraway's (1991) critique of this phenomenon in natural science research.

effected participants' technical abilities with the camera and/or their ability to stay involved in the work beyond January 1999.<sup>94</sup>

Before starting out on this work, I admit I did not think about the size, shape or weight of the equipment or how it might affect participants' abilities to capture the footage they desired or sustain their involvement over time. By failing to consider these embodied dimensions fully before starting the 'filming' process, I was therefore complicit with ableist assumptions in the literature. However, I also know that, despite some of the physical limitations CVRT members faced, they appreciated being supported to 'give it a go' and gained a sense of accomplishment as a result. For example, Joyce's delight when she came to grips (with one hand) with the technology was palpable: "Gotcha! Okay. I can work this camera now Geoffrey!" (Joyce, 00.14.28, Rātā Marae shoot, 18 December 1998, Tape 41).

In keeping with the discursive silence around the work involved in PV and the ableist assumptions evidenced by comments like 'everyone can do it' (see below), PV is promoted as being a quick and easy way of enabling people to engage with each other and mobilise for local action. In particular, PV discourse privileges the idea that using a camera is both fun and pleasurable. 'Having fun', at least in international development applications, is thought to enhance participation and democratise the process and knowledge it produces (Gomez 2003). As Nick Lunch has commented:

What I'm grateful for with PV is that one can offer something immediate in return for people's time and the sharing of knowledge. It is fun, it is usually new and unusual to handle a camera, everyone can do it and have a go, and the result is immediate and amusing. (Nick Lunch reflecting on his use of PV at an NGO workshop session in India Sept 2005, in Lunch and Lunch 2006: 109.)

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<sup>94</sup> Between them, the CVRT members' suffered from a chronically bad back, poor eyesight, a congenital heart problem and a withered left forearm and hand from a childhood car accident.

In contrast to the situation Lunch found himself in, in India, cameras were not such a novel feature of CVRT members' lives, even if they had had little experience of using them prior to the project. In addition, while clearly pleased to be learning something new, participants found the work involved quite demanding of their time and energy. For example, Rewa and Harry got up earlier than usual one morning for their mountain shoot with Geoff and myself, and it was challenging to work with the light conditions and the landscape to compose the shots they wanted for their storyboard. It involved a lot of discussion and practice. Therefore, when the camera automatically turned off (to save wear on the tape by being held in Rec/Pause mode) just as Rewa was about to carry out her shot, her mounting frustration spilled over:

01.01.49: Geoff: Have you unlocked the pan mechanism?

01.01.51: Rewa: No.

(She leans around the back of the camera to see the mechanism more clearly and Harry comes in to help her.)

01.01.54: Harry: That one there.

(Geoff steps back away from the camera.)

01.01.58: Rewa: I'm not going to pan!

01.02.00: Geoff: You might a little.

01.02.01: Harry: Yes.

01.02.02: Geoff: When you go in and out...

01.02.03: Rewa: You are quite right.

01.02.04: Geoff: On your rehearse, you'll decide...

01.02.08: Rewa: Right, oh right I have to rehearse. Of course ... so what is my finger doing there? Okay now I'm going to go in ... I'm goin' to hold it first eh? Hold it first for a few seconds, then go in and, oh bugger! The thing's gone off!

(Harry and Rewa's early morning mountain shoot, 20 December 1998, Tape 42, Appendix G: DVD Clip 7.8)

In contrast to this situation, one would think, from the available literature, that PV is frustration-free and easy to practice for everyone. Certainly I had assumed that it would be easier for participants and myself than it was. What I overlooked was that the experience of 'fun' is a shifting and contingent

rather than absolute process, dependent largely on the novelty for participants of working with video and of seeing themselves represented on screen.<sup>95</sup> It therefore reflects dominant and frequently stereotypical assumptions about the lived experiences and material resources of so-called ‘marginalised communities’.

By attending to the haptic and corporeal dimensions of our work together in this section, what I have come to understand about my complicity with hegemonic discourses is fourfold. First, PV discourse’s lack of acknowledgement of the racial grammar inherent within its lexicon and technology can perpetuate colonial continuities within the construction of vision being replicated and represented. Second, the physical labour and effort involved in its embodied practice, continues to reflect and perpetuate Western, white and able-bodied privilege. Third, assertions about novelty and fun are predicated on the existence of significant structural power differentials between outsider facilitators and subject-community members in terms of their access to resources such as technology, leisure time and good physical health. All these dimensions perpetuate the workings of empire, as defined by Kapoor (2005) for PD. Finally, four, despite all the preceding aspects, engaging members of subject-communities in video production processes can also enable participants to gain new skills and terminology with which to more critically engage mainstream productions, as well as provide a sense of accomplishment from learning how to produce an audiovisual production. These aspects can lead to the adoption of new subject positions and further opportunities for personal development and intra-iwi cohesion.

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<sup>95</sup> A similar argument about novelty and democratisation was made in the mid-1990s about Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques (see Leurs 1997). Then practitioners began to record instances of ‘PRA fatigue’ or community resistance to participate because they had already been ‘PRA-ed’! Novelty is predicated on the existence of significant structural power differentials between outsider facilitators and participating community members, associated with their differing access to the video technology and leisure time, or available ‘time to have fun’. PV as a less widely accessible technology than those used in PRA, may weather resistance more easily than PRA has done. Or, participation fatigue may increase as PV becomes more commonplace within development and research interventions, or as other media supercede PV.

## 7.4 Critical Reflections on Mapping and ‘Filming’

Participatory methods like community mapping and PV while being promoted as visual, collective, authentic and empowering, are also aural, embodied, tactile, intersubjective, and shifting and contingent in their effects. These attributes raise a host of complex issues associated with power relations and knowledge production, which are only just beginning to be explored.

These methods are also mobilised within the highly charged contact zone between outside academics, researchers or development practitioners and participating subject communities. As technologies developed primarily outside the contexts of their application, they are imbued with historically-specific racial grammars. Somewhat paradoxically, this means that they frequently perpetuate the very colonial continuities and inequalities they are ideologically being used to overcome. They continue to be frequently discussed in rather neutral or idealistic terms within PD, and more recently geographic, literatures. However as this chapter has shown, many assumptions about their benevolence and ability to facilitate participant empowerment continue to ignore the colonial complexities of power within which they are imbricated.

The complex multiplicity of embodied relationships between, and within groups of people involved in participatory mapping and video practices continue to be ignored or downplayed in written accounts of their application. Instead, what gets perpetuated are rather undifferentiated notions of community and a tendency to overlook the interscalar dimensions of these relationships and how they are unavoidably informed by reference to ‘Thirds’ beyond the immediate project space such as: Western/European cartographic and scopic regimes; localised understandings of culturally-safe research practices; as well as ideas about Western entitlement and the moral obligation to intervene and ‘help’.

Yet all these aspects continue to ensure that a participatory research process and its outcomes – like those under scrutiny here – involve subtle and explicit negotiations of power/knowledge, and both constraining and enabling dimensions of complicity.

My approach to facilitation of the community mapping exercise and to providing technical support to the CVRT's production process was complicit with the aspects of PD criticised by Kapoor (2005). The rendering technical what was in fact political (Green 2010) through my adherence to participatory mapping, and my apparently benevolent 'help' (Heron 2007) with the technical procedures of 'filming' served as vehicles for my surplus political idealism, but didn't really generate anything new or unexpected research-wise.

Both the community map and to a lesser extent perhaps, the community training video represent somewhat banal information (see Murray Li 2007). This may have been partly because of the specific ways in which I facilitated the mapping process and supported the 'filming' process. The mapping exercise in particular was a far more utilitarian and extractive exercise than I had intended or desired initially. The banality may also be a product of the imposition of Western/European cartographic and scopic conventions as well as the relative simplification required in both the map and the video because of the resource and time constraints under which we were all operating. Participants were perhaps not able to represent the kinds of information that would have been more subtle and insightful for their own self-reflection and for research purposes. Furthermore we did not collectively analyse the map or the video due to pressures on everyone's time, so products provoked more questions than answers for me about local conceptions of place, identity and social cohesion.

As I worked with the audiovisual record of my interactions with members of Ngāti Hauiti on location shooting their storyboards, I noticed various moments when my terminology and my direct actions reflected complicity with hegemonic understandings of audiovisual practice and wider relations of power. The complicity produced (mostly) disciplined subjects with a

particular level of technical mastery able to reproduce dominant conventions in their subsequent footage. There were also moments, which despite the repetition of hegemonic practices enabled new insights and subjectivities to emerge. Through the nexus of etic and emic understandings that was a collaborative endeavour on these storyboards, there were both moments of constraint and enablement. These moments were apparent in three key spheres of ‘wording’ – the use of language or the lexicon of audiovisual communication; ‘looking’ – the kind of gaze or vision being enacted; and ‘moving’ and ‘touching’ – the ways in which people’s bodies were involved with the camera in the process of ‘filming’.

The emphasis on a participatory process, which placed the objects of knowledge production into Ngāti Hauiti members’ hands, also enabled new subjectivities to emerge. For example, Harry emerged as the leader of the mapping process, and Joyce and Rewa gained a sense of technical empowerment as camerawomen on their shoots. Joyce, Harry and Rewa (and to a lesser extent Raihania) became visually-literate subjects within a new regime of knowledge and practice, taking their first steps towards becoming critical, independent producers of their own productions. Through this process, and the socially-mediating role of the objects within our research and training process, they experienced new ways of being and became more critically-informed viewers and consumers of mainstream media.

Perhaps, most significantly, they became authorities on their own production process capable of talking to other audiences about their experiences and knowledge. Most obviously this was in various project meetings where they reported back to the Project Working Party on their learnings and activities. However, in mid-2001, this also involved Joyce talking to members of one hapu of a much larger iwi in the central North Island, Tuwharetoa who were interested to learn from other Māori about this way of carrying out research. Joyce, Geoff, myself and six other members of Ngāti Hauiti participated in a hui at their marae where Joyce spoke confidently and with considerable emotion about her experiences of being involved in the project. Her whānau and our hosts treated her as the authority on the process and its outcomes

because of her status as the only CVRT member present and from memory, Geoff and I said relatively little.

In addition, Joyce then went onto to pursue tertiary studies, something that she attributed to her involvement in the project:

I was a mum at home with kids and a young baby and was a bit house-bound. I had a routine of kōhanga ... dinner, watching TV. So to go and do a creative exercise was an opportunity ... and it lead to a lot of interesting things for me. ... I didn't know a lot of my family, my own history or anything like that, as I was adopted as a child by Pākehā .... So it gave me an opportunity – just boots and all, straight in ... We learned right from the beginning: from story boarding to lighting, proper camera shots and technical knowledge. I wouldn't have had another opportunity to learn these sorts of things. I found for myself, well six years down the track, that this lead to other things for me. It lead to me doing a diploma at Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Raukawa Tertiary Institution/University) ... That was because of my participation in this type of research. So I feel that this sort of research does have a lot to offer and that you take what you want from it, you take from it what you feel that you can use. ... And that's where I've found myself. Being able to pick and choose and I've now got more choices in my life than I had before (Hume-Cook *et al.*, 2007: 127).

Explored together, as I have done here, these aspects highlight the complex terrain of shifting power within which the participatory video for research (PVR) work took place. In these, and perhaps other ways that I am yet unaware of, this PVR project both perpetuated and challenged the workings of empire, something I return to in Chapter 9.

# CHAPTER 8. RECEPTION

## 8.1 Introduction

Collaborative and participatory uses of video are promoted as being able to foster empowerment for participants (Pink 2006). This empowerment is thought to come about through their collaboration in the production of a “document of self-definition” and their travelling with it to speak publicly to various audiences (Pink 2006: 97; see also authors in White 2003). Sarah Pink (2006: 99) goes on to state that sharing the products of collaborative or participatory uses of the medium in this way “can bring hidden experiences into a public domain in ways that will intervene both to produce shifts in the lives of those who participated ... and to highlight issues to concerned audiences”.

Others in the field support similar views arguing that “video is a language of transcendence” (Rieken *et al.*, 2006: 275), which can “break down [in this case] stereotypes about indigenous people for the non-indigenous community ... thus playing an important role in enabling cross-cultural dialogue” (Meadows 2010: 520). The power of participant-authored audiovisual representations are therefore promoted as being able to “create a shift in the imagination” (Harris 2009: 546) of those in more structurally-powerful positions, in ways that other media – most notably the written text – do not.

This ‘video power’ (White 2003) is posited by Pink (2006: 121) as being related to the idea that:

film and video communicate synaesthetically.<sup>96</sup> The visual evokes taste, feel, and sound to imply that which is not visible, creating an interplay between different dimensions of sensory experience, that combined with the interaction between linguistic and visual signification is essential to how linear film/video communicates.

What these perspectives tend to overlook is firstly the fact that audiences are never singular, but always already composed of multiple viewers or spectators. Secondly, current literature is quiet on how audiences viewing the products of collaborative and participatory video (PV) *actually* engage or respond to these products (Evans *et al.*, 2009), particularly if these audiences are culturally-different from the video producers. Thirdly, these perspectives assume that if and when audiences *do* respond, they will do so in positive ways that support and empower the video producers.

Such views are perhaps not surprising given that where discussion does exist, it tends to focus on the overwhelmingly positive responses from locally-situated audiences, and that these audiences are assumed to be homogeneous. These intra-cultural audiences are usually constituted from people already involved in a PV process or from the communities being represented through it. They are intimately familiar with the people, issues and values represented in the films or videos produced. In some cases, where the process is more oriented at advocacy, audiences for these products may include others within the same culture or society who occupy different structural positions or geographic locations from the producers. Both of these audiences were part of the original Fogo Process for example (as discussed in Chapter 3) and their viewing and engagement with the ‘films’ produced resulted in profound and constructive social changes for the fishing communities involved.

What is less apparent in discussions of PV processes (and in participatory research and development more generally) is attention to how film and video

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<sup>96</sup> Pink’s use of synaesthetically is metaphorical, not literal (Hume-Cook, G., 8 June 2011, pers. comm.).

products are received by culturally-different others. Yet, how the products of PV processes travel to, and are engaged by, inter-cultural audiences is critically important, as differences in structural power frequently trace inter-cultural contours. There seem to be many assumptions that these products can travel unproblematically *across* or *between* cultures to effect constructive change for those involved in their production.

In this chapter I question the above assumptions that PV outputs produced in one context/place/space can travel easily into other spaces and achieve desired political effects. Instead of perpetuating the dominance of accounts attending to production, here I focus on the politics of audience reception. I do this by considering how audiences responded to the project with Ngāti Hauiti as it was represented through a number of presentations including audiovisual texts.<sup>97</sup> I specifically consider the interplay between the audiovisual texts, their producers and their audiences as well as with the spaces in which these texts, authors and audiences met. Through this spatialised analysis of audience reception, I raise questions about the complex and often unpredictable process associated with presenting from fieldwork or research, a process referred to by Julie Cupples and myself as “sharing the field” (Cupples and Kindon 2003: 224). Such questions are important because aspects of my complicity and the role that participatory video may play in forms of empire building were not confined to the internal spaces of project activities such as training, video production and post-production. They stretched into and informed the external spaces within which the presentations about the project were made. Furthermore, attention to audience engagement with the products of PVR projects is worthy of closer scrutiny if social geographers interested in repoliticising participation and in working with visual media are to “move beyond the journal article” (Cahill and Torre 2007: 196-205) and effect the change they seek beyond the invited spaces (Cornwall 2004) of their research projects.

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<sup>97</sup> The specific audiovisual texts with which I engage are in Appendix G: DVD listed as Audiovisual Production (AVP) 8.1 April 1999 and AVP8.2 December 1999.

The five presentations with which I have chosen to engage here took place between February 1999 and May 2001. I was involved in them all, either as part of a team or as the sole presenter, and they were made to a variety of mostly academic audiences in different institutional spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Table 8.1). During this chosen time period, there was also one other presentation made by Geoff and Thomas Curtis (in his capacity as a Project Working Party (PWP) member and an editing committee member for the awa hīkoi documentary that grew out of the project) to a documentary conference in Auckland in 2000. This presentation focused on the process involved in ‘filming’ and collaboratively editing the awa hīkoi documentary. Because I was not involved, and it focused on the documentary rather than the project, it is not included in my analysis here.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> In addition, there have been a total of five collaborative presentations (involving at least one person from the iwi) since the start of the project until the time of the writing of this thesis and I have made at least six presentations independently on our work to audiences in the UK and the USA at conferences or as an invited speaker to various universities. For full details of all presentations associated with the project, see Appendix D.

**Table 8.1 Presentations Selected for Excavation**

<b>Presentation and Type</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Presentation Title</b>	<b>Presenters</b>	<b>Type of Audience</b>
International Geographical Union Gendered Sights/Gendered Sites Conference [Conference Workshop]	University of Otago, Dunedin	Feb 1999	Keeping Rights within Sight: An analysis of participatory community video in feminist geographic research in rural Aotearoa New Zealand	Sara Geoff	Academic – mostly Pākehā, female, feminist from Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. A range of ages, and mostly early career and postgraduate students.
VUW Geography Programme [Research Seminar]	VUW, W’ton	April 1999	Participatory Community Video in Geographic Research	Sara Geoff on projector Kirsty <sup>99</sup> in audience as support	Academic – mostly older Pākehā, male academics, some younger students of varying ages, sexes and ethnicities.
New Zealand Geographical Society Conference [Conference Paper]	Massey University P’ton North	July 1999	(Re)Framing and (Re)Presenting: Participatory Community Video in Geographic Research	Sara	Academic – mostly middle-aged and Pākehā. A range of ages. Even mix of sexes.
New Zealand Film and History Conference [Conference Paper]	Rialto Cinema, W’ton	Dec 2000	Re-Membering the Rohe: A Participatory Video Research Partnership exploring Social Cohesion, Place and Identity in the Rangitikei, Aotearoa New Zealand	Kirsty Sara Geoff (Thomas and Joyce co-authors on paper)	Academic – mostly middle-aged and Pākehā; some professional filmmakers and bureaucrats. Mix of sexes and ethnicities.
International Community Development Conference [Conference Paper]	Tama Te Kapua Marae, Rotorua	May 2001	As for NZFHC (above)	Sara (Kirsty, Thomas, Joyce and Geoff – co-authors on paper)	Academics, community practitioners, bureaucrats. Mix of ages and sexes. Strong Māori presence.

<sup>99</sup> Kirsty Woods was a member of the PWP at the time of these presentations and became a key member of the editorial collective for the awa hīkoi documentary based in Wellington.

The five presentations I discuss here shared an emphasis on detailing the project's research process. Each also screened either some raw footage of the work together, a version of a 'making-of documentary' about the process involved in making the CVRT training video, and/or the CVRT training video itself (Appendix G: DVD AVP 8.1 and AVP 8.2). The audiovisual texts were used to give audiences an indicative insight into particular aspects of the PVR process, and to demonstrate some of the positive outcomes of our research partnership.<sup>100</sup>

I have selected these five presentations for scrutiny because of the memorable and diverse emotional responses they provoked from one or more audience member(s). Of course, I am able only to analyse my memories of the spoken emotional responses of audience members, and given the heterogeneous nature of audiences, individual responses selected do not necessarily represent audience reception as a whole. There were silences and other responses, which have remained hidden from my analysis because of the academic and social protocols operating within the presentation spaces at the time.

The presentations were also chosen because of the opportunity they provided to complement my own memories and interpretations of these events with the reflections and engagements of research partners within Ngāti Hauiti. Such an opportunity was important given the collaborative nature of the project and our ongoing research and social relationships.

On 9 June 2001, I facilitated a meeting with 12 members of Ngāti Hauiti at which Geoff, Kirsty and myself reported on the presentations and various audience members' responses to them. By this stage, the people present had been working with Geoff and myself for approximately four years. While we were not seeking explanations or interpretations, people present at the

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<sup>100</sup> Post-production and the practice of editing are rich areas for closer scrutiny (Laurier *et al.*, 2008). I do not focus on this aspect here because it was carried out by CVRT members with Geoff's support, so possibilities for the analysis of my own complicity are somewhat limited. That said, there were implications of their editing practice for how the project, and how I and 'we', were 'read' by various audience members. I acknowledge this dimension where appropriate in the subsequent analysis.

meeting responded with analytical reflections about why they occurred and how they felt about them. Through this process of ‘theorising back’ (Tuck 2007), participants identified new subject positions for themselves which resisted and countered audience members’ interpretations. They also offered their perspectives on our research relationship and the potentially fraught nature of bicultural research, aspects at the heart of my inquiry here.

I do not include a detailed analysis of my bodily performance at this meeting (as in Chapter 6) because that is not the focus of this chapter. In accordance with a collective decision with Ngāti Hauiti members, I have also not included a video clip of the meeting in Appendix G in order to protect the identity of a prominent audience member whose responses we discuss. I have, however, included two video stills from the start of the meeting on the next page to enable readers to gain a sense of the setting in which our discussions took place and to put faces to names in the following excerpts of discussion (Plate 8.1a-b).

**Plate 8.1a-b Community Feedback Meeting, 9 June 2001, Utiku Schoolhouse (Video stills)**

**a) LHS of Room: Neville, Hape, Mina, Joyce, Rewa**



**b) RHS of Room (5 mins later): Aunty Erina, Sue, Cookie, Uncle Boxer, Raihania and Uncle Jim, with Kirsty and Author in foreground.**



Finally, these presentations and the collective discussion of some audience members' responses have enabled me to more fully explore aspects of my own complicity, power and desire within this phase of the research partnership; a phase which is often overlooked in reflexive ethnographic accounts, yet one which is critical, as noted earlier, to the social justice orientation of much participatory geographical research.

In the next section, I attend to each presentation chronologically to highlight some of the iterative processes at work from one presentation to another, as well as to articulate the nature of the audiovisual components used within each presentation. Engaging in this way has allowed me to accommodate the shifting and contingent nature of the relationships between presenter, audiovisual text and audience in the various institutional presentation spaces.

For each presentation, I offer a vignette of my memories associated with it,<sup>101</sup> along with audio transcript excerpts of how Kirsty, Geoff or I (re)presented audience members' responses at the June 2001 meeting. I then discuss the multifaceted and contradictory ways in which differing audience members positioned Geoff, myself and members of Ngāti Hauiti either presenting with us or represented in the audiovisual texts being used, integrating the explanations and reflections of members of Ngāti Hauiti at the 2001 meeting along with my own interpretations. I use these multiple perspectives to further think through aspects of my own power, complicity and desire in Section 8.3 before offering some conclusions about the politics of reception within PVR processes in Section 8.4 at the end of the chapter.

Overall, I aim to complicate the simplistic discussions associated with the sharing of PV products with different audiences that dominate the literature. By diving into the complex, messy and often unpredictable aspects of reception and interpretation, I call attention to the competing discourses at work whenever PV products are shared. I highlight the need to consider the ethical implications of researcher complicity within these external project spaces.

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<sup>101</sup> Vignettes are shown as indented text as in Chapters 6 and 7.

## 8.2 Tracing Complicity through (Re)Presentations

The first of the selected presentations took place in Dunedin in early 1999 to the International Geographical Union (IGU) Gender Conference. I presented with Geoff on our work with Ngāti Hauiti. Because we had opted for a workshop session, we had more time than an ordinary conference paper presentation and were able to contextualise the project and its relationships in some detail. The presentation included a range of clips from raw footage of project planning meetings, some from the CVRT video production process and the final version of the edited CVRT training video.

In response, a few female academics (who were in the majority at this conference) commented upon our courage. They articulated their respect for what they perceived to be the ways in which both Geoff and I had navigated the difficult territory of bicultural relations and had managed to carry out culturally-safe research. In particular one woman – at the time, a colleague and PhD supervisee of mine from Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), and a friend of both mine and Geoff's – was moved to tears and spoke out, through these tears, to the assembled group.

A Pākehā academic with more than 20 years of experience working in Māori and Pākehā relationships, and an openly-expressed commitment to practising an embodied ecofeminist approach to her work, expressed a sense of a profound connection on multiple levels with what she saw and heard in our presentation. She talked particularly about what the training video represented to her in terms of the kinds of research relationships Geoff and I had been able to establish with members of Ngāti Hauiti and how – in her reading – they had enabled participants to successfully represent significant aspects of their lived experiences and understandings using video. She went on to mention specifically the spiritual dimensions of what she felt our work was able to convey and demonstrate. She expressed relief that this kind of sensitive, bicultural work was possible, particularly because of the negative legacies of much colonial and present-day research involving

Māori. She also knew from her own professional experiences, how challenging it could be to work biculturally, and expressed her respect for us because we had facilitated this kind of process. She was overwhelmingly positive about the project and talked about being inspired, and feeling ‘healed’ and rejuvenated to keep working in her field as a result of our presentation.

At the 9 June 2001 meeting with Ngāti Hauiti, I re-presented this experience to the assembled group:

00.28.35: Sara: Some people, we’ve actually had some people in tears watching that short [CVRT-produced] video, they’ve been so moved. People who understand more about, I guess, tangata whenua and relationship to the land. They’ve been moved because they recognise the significance, even though they don’t know ‘Oh this is Rātā, this is the Ruahines’, they just pick up on it.

I was surprised by my student and colleague’s manifestation of public emotion at the IGU meeting. I was curious about what had provoked it because in my experience it is unusual for academics to express what are usually considered to be private feelings or emotions at academic conferences. It is also perhaps unusual for someone not intimately connected with the specific places represented to be emotionally moved. Yet, no one from Ngāti Hauiti at the June 2001 meeting commented on this woman’s response as being surprising or unusual. This may be because they felt similarly, so her response was not remarkable to them. For example, Aunty Joan and Sue who were not immediately involved in the project, but supportive of it, had talked about the CVRT video as representing ‘home’ and capturing a sense of their place when they saw it in November 1999. Sue expressed at the 2001 meeting that she thought it was “amazing” and that she would like a copy of it (00.40.52).

The female academic at the IGU Conference also positioned the project as innovative and benevolent, enabling a truly collaborative research partnership

in which Ngāti Hauiti were active participants. To her, it represented how it was possible to do decolonising participatory research and as such, I think the project represented hope for her about the future of academic research practice with Māori in New Zealand. It may have been this sense of hope, as well as her connection to me as her colleague and PhD supervisor, and her existing friendship with both Geoff and myself, that provoked or enabled the expression of her tears in this particular space.

Later in April 1999, there was a similarly strong reaction to the project from a different audience member, but this time it was highly critical rather than affirming. It occurred when I presented a lunchtime research seminar on the project to my colleagues and postgraduate students in Geography at (VUW). For this presentation, Geoff had edited together a short documentary about the process involved in making the training video which included subtitles of key phases like pre-production, storyboards and so forth (Appendix G: DVD AVP 8.1 – April 1999). His editing logic and use of subtitles inevitably reflected a process of ellipsis (Cizek 2005), and was designed to help audience members who were unfamiliar with filmmaking to understand what they were seeing. Editing is powerful in that it enables producers to see, organise and analyse data in new ways (Gallager and Kim 2008). It also enables new levels of meaning to be created by both producer and audience members (Cizek 2005), something, which became most apparent at this presentation and the one following it. Geoff inserted the making-of documentary into a sequence that first showed the CVRT training video, then the documentary, then the CVRT video again with subtitles in te reo Māori. Members of the (PWP) approved the audiovisual material before its use.

In my presentation, I stood at the front of the room, talked about the history, evolution, aim and process of the project using overhead transparencies and showed the audiovisual sequence Geoff had prepared. Geoff sat at the front of the room and enabled the projection of the video from his portable editing equipment. Kirsty sat directly in front of me in the front row of the audience to support us and represent Ngāti Hauiti.

The critical response came from one of my ten male, middle-aged, Pākehā colleagues during question time. Throughout the presentation, he stood at the back of the room. When he spoke, he was angry about the project and indifferent towards its process and ‘results’. He spoke forcefully stating that he thought that the project did not reflect sound research practice and lacked credibility because it appeared to have been captured by Ngāti Hauiti for their use and benefit, to the detriment of any real research outcomes. He trivialised the training video produced by the CVRT with Geoff’s support, as being “only a home movie”, citing the fact that “everyone has the same surname and were from the same family” as evidence that it was ungeneralisable and therefore meaningless.

This audience member’s response both surprised and intrigued me, raising questions about how such a different reading could be made of the collaborative research process compared with the response that Geoff and I had received at the IGU (above). I was not expecting such an intense emotional public response, particularly from a self-acclaimed objective scientist. In his eyes, the project represented a waste of the University’s time and resources because it had only produced a ‘home movie’. In his positioning of me therefore, I was far from the innovative and benevolent facilitator inferred by my colleague and student at the IGU Conference in Dunedin. In this man’s estimation, I was an incompetent, ‘politically-correct’ researcher who had been duped by Māori into providing them with free resources at the expense of generating useful scientifically rigorous research ‘outputs’ for the University.

Of course, other work strains may have influenced this strong public reaction, associated with previous professional disagreements he and I had had, or concerning ongoing institutional competition for research funding. But, as these weren’t mentioned in his remarks, his criticisms of the project came as a shock to me.

When I re-presented this interaction to iwi members at the 9 June 2001 meeting, it provoked the following discussion:

- 00.37.19: Sara: ... we showed the making of the short waiata clip<sup>102</sup> ah... one of my colleagues then said “Oh well, you know, what is this? This looks like a home movie. This is a family movie. How’s this research?” ... And so we talked about the process, and then he said “And I noticed, you know, on the people involved, well they all came from one family! They all had the same surname!”
- 00.37.54: Joyce: Oh duh!!! [*All the women laugh.*]  
00.37.55: Sue: What ‘Potaka’? [*Others still laughing.*]  
00.38.01: Joyce: Did you say “How astute and sharp!” and give him an ‘A’ for that? [*Other women laugh.*]  
00.38.05: Sara: No. I think Kirsty stood up and said something.  
00.38.07: Kirsty: I can’t remember what I said.
- 00.38.08: Sara: Like um “It depends on your definition of family and whanau” or something. You said something like “Whanau can be many extended families who don’t all live in the same house”. [*Women burst into laughter.*]
- 00.38.23: Joyce: Yeah, we’re a bunch of over-stayers!  
00.38.24: Kirsty: Who live all around the country. It’s a much bigger group than he’s yeah...thinking about...
- 00.38.31: Joyce: Well the thing is really too that it was actually important for us eh? For Hauiti to be involved in it, you know, that’s what was the value in it for me, I suppose, you know. I got to know a lot of my family through this project eh?
- 00.38.45: Cookie: Yeah bro! [*Laughs.*]  
00.38.49: Joyce: So, you know, really I suppose, that would have to be considered by your scholarly friends wouldn’t it eh? [*Rewa laughs.*]
- 00.38.57: Sue: They probably wouldn’t listen.  
00.38.40: Joyce: Eh?  
00.39.01: Kirsty: No, they won’t change their minds.  
00.39.03: Joyce: No, I’d just hate to think that there was a perception out there that, you know, in academic circles, the interest in Māori were only purely socio-economic you know? And not like intrinsically, and deeper...

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<sup>102</sup> Previously I referred to this as “that short video” when talking about the CVRT-produced video set to one of the iwi waiata.

- 00.39.16: Sara: Mmm.
- 00.39.17: Joyce: You know... that... I think that, you know, deeper you know, that people should take that seriously. It could be the key to a lot of the social problems that Māori people have. They should look at it.
- 00.39.30: Sara: Yeah. Well we're sort of sharing this because we've had so many different responses to this process and I think part of what happened with this one colleague is that it challenges, what we've been involved in, challenges all the traditional, Western types of research.
- 00.39.45: Joyce: No, I don't suppose I'd feel happy if I thought that, you know, professors and that thought that we were er, you know, objects of derision, and to laugh at eh?
- 00.39.56: Sara: He wasn't laughing. He was more questioning *me* actually.
- Kirsty: About the research...
- 00.40.00: Joyce: Oh, okay.
- 00.40.01: Sara: [He was asking] "So, so this is what you do?"
- 00.40.03: Joyce: Oh okay. I wondered... did they think it was serious research?
- 00.40.06: Sara: Um...
- 00.40.07: Joyce: On your part, too?
- 00.40.09: Sara: No. I think some of them could see that it was of benefit to Ngāti Hauiti, but it was like "Well how's it, how's this research? What are your findings? What results have you got?"
- 00.40.24: Mina: What would they do with that?
- 00.40.26: Uncle Boxer: [Adopting the 'voice' of the academics] "What's in it for us?" [*Joyce and a few others laugh.*]
- 00.40.28: Mina: What will they do with that information do you think?
- 00.40.30: Sara: Well I don't think they'll do anything with it, other than...
- 00.40.38: Joyce: Well hey, it's obviously interpreted on different levels by different types of people eh?

In the first part of our discussion (00.37.19 – 00.38.24), participants responded to the information from me that my colleague had read their production as a 'home' or 'family movie', rather than as a research product. Through their use of humour, they were critical of my colleague's failure to understand the concept of 'family', and its significance within a Māori context for the generation of audiovisual knowledge. He had missed the

centrality of relationality to their (and other Indigenous) understandings of research (Cram 1997; Smith, L. 1999; Wilson 2008), and what made the process and its resulting video relevant to their lives.

Recognising that their video product had not been read in the way she had intended it to be, Joyce hoped that my colleague, and other academics, would have at least taken seriously the video's use and importance to Ngāti Hauiti. Other participants, however, responded cynically positioning academics as close-minded and uninterested in what was useful for Māori (00.38.31 – 00.39.01). Joyce connected these responses to a wider issue of concern – the stereotyping of Māori as simultaneously a 'problem' within research and an object of derision (00.39.03 – 00.39.45).

These tropes are commonplace and reflect colonial representations of Māori in mainstream media and economically-oriented forms of research. The development of kaupapa Māori research as a counter-hegemonic research approach has worked hard to challenge these representations (Smith, L. 1999), and to foreground the importance of Māori as producers and users of their own knowledge. Such an approach has supported many Māori academics to practice research differently, but it is still very easy for non-Māori academics to avoid engaging Māori in research, let alone considering how research may be useful for them.

In the last part of this discussion (00.39.56 – 00.40.38), it is therefore perhaps not surprising that I shifted the frame of analysis back onto myself. In this recuperative strategy, which could be seen as a form of benevolence or samaritanism (Kapoor 2005), I sought to diffuse the mounting tension and relieve participants of their potential hurt by positioning myself as the main recipient of my colleague's criticisms. In doing so, I was perhaps overly-protective of Ngāti Hauiti members' feelings while also wanting them to understand something about ongoing epistemological differences within my discipline. This act also could have underestimated their abilities to negotiate such challenges and could be read as the further exercise of my structural privilege.

Alternatively, as Geoff pointed out when providing feedback on the thesis:

In direct contrast to the Kapoor-ian critique, this is in fact simple ‘relating’ to the audience, the non-academic, Hauiti audience, who have an interest in, and an exposure to, those ‘real’ others, via you (us). And, as such you have an ethical responsibility to distinguish between the agro sh\*\* directed at you ‘because of’ other reasons (i.e. feminist and immediate threat to this audience member’s ‘hold-on-power’) and the ‘academic’ mis-understandings of the empirical bases of qualitative versus quantitative forms of academic work (Hume-Cook, 8 June 2011, pers. comm.).

I think now that there were elements of both interpretations at work, and what has become clearer to me is the ethical imperative of all presenters to project themselves into the spaces of their presentations and to talk through any potential issues from other relationships and spaces that may influence the responses of particular audience members to the particular presentation being given.

My statement and discursive positioning also had the effect of side-stepping the inferred racial dimensions of my colleague’s (mis)reading of the training video and some of the meeting participants’ subsequent responses to his (mis)reading. Not once did my geography colleague refer to Ngāti Hauiti members as Māori within his criticisms. Neither did participants in the meeting refer to academics as Pākehā, yet in both instances, ‘race’ was implied as a factor informing the audiovisual product and how it was interpreted.

In these respects, I am reminded of Nancy Fraser’s argument that “societal inequality infects formally exclusive existing public spheres and taints discursive interactions within them” (Fraser 1993, cited in Meadows 2010: 521). In this case, the inequalities associated with the gendered relations within my academic programme such as those pertaining to struggles over research funding and course content, as well as legacies of colonial race

relations continued to ‘infect’ and ‘taint’ the spaces and interactions associated with the presentation of our collaborative research.

Sensitive to these dimensions of my professional life and how I was potentially implicated within Hauiti members’ statements about (Pākehā) academics, my refocusing of the discussion onto myself communicated my desire to position myself alongside Ngāti Hauiti, and therefore in opposition to my geography colleague and as distinct from ‘academics’ more generally. Earlier in the meeting (and as I discuss next), I had referred to myself as “an English woman here” (00.29.04) when beginning to summarise some of the responses I had received from audience members at another conference. I used my Englishness to subtly remind participants of my relatively recent arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand and my tauiwī, as opposed to Pākehā, status. Here, I also used the epistemological difference from mainstream social science that our participatory research praxis represented as a proxy for race in an effort to position myself in a similar structural position to my Ngāti Hauiti collaborators, in solidarity with them and as ‘Other’ to the (Pākehā) research mainstream. By providing this evidence of my own decentred position, I hoped that it would exempt me from my research partners’ potential criticism – at least on the basis of my recent arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand. I also used it strategically to reaffirm our alliance.

A couple of months later in July 1999, I presented alone on our work, this time at the New Zealand Geographical Society Conference at Massey University in Palmerston North, two hours north of Wellington. Reflecting on the previous experience in my own institution, I chose to emphasise the importance and value of the extended process of framing and then naming of the project and its relationship to this conference audience. I did this partly as a defensive strategy to hopefully avoid the kinds of criticisms made by my departmental colleague, but also in response to the work on decolonising methodologies by Smith, L. (1999) who stressed the importance of these aspects and how they tend to be overlooked in colonising approaches to research.

At this presentation, I showed the same audiovisual sequence of CVRT training video, making-of documentary and CVRT training video with subtitles as had been shown to my VUW colleagues (Appendix G: DVD AVP 8.1 – April 1999). I also talked over and into parts of the making-of documentary to further explain or contextualise certain points.

“You are so courageous!”

“You wouldn’t catch me attempting what you’ve been doing, but I admire you for it.”

“Your work is a model of how to work effectively with Māori. I’m really impressed with the passion and commitment that was evident on the film. It speaks volumes to your relationships.”

“Rather you than me! I wouldn’t dare work with Māori... You’re really brave.”

Comments such as these filled my ears after my presentation. They came from Pākehā, male and female colleagues. I remember feeling a sense of relief to be re-positioned as a skilled, bicultural, participatory researcher after the earlier ‘attack’ from my VUW geography colleague. Still, I remained intrigued about why my actions were considered to be courageous by these audience members, and why a number of them expressed trepidation at working in this way with Māori.

Publicly, in the invited space of the conference session, audience members emphasised the role of the video technology in ‘giving [sic] participants a voice’ or they focused on ‘the innovative methodology’ we had developed for research in geography. They also acknowledged the passion and commitment of those involved. There may also have been a whole range of feelings and engagements occurring within those audience members who chose to remain silent both during and after the presentations, of course, but I was not privy to their thoughts. However, what was of particular interest to me as a result of this presentation was that the various audience members who expressed admiration for my courage, or talked of their own trepidation or fear at carrying out research in a similar way, chose to do so *privately*. In the

somewhat subdued comments proffered in corridor and transitory spaces between one conference room and another, they interpellated me within more moralistic as well as gendered and racialised discourses.

Such whispered comments positioned me as ‘noble’ and ‘courageous’, reflecting ongoing colonial discourses about the ‘good, white woman’ (Haggis and Schech 2000). These quiet asides also reflected the struggles and sensitivities that existed around the Treaty and its implications for how Pākehā should (or should not) engage Māori in forms of bicultural research in the 1990s (Bishop 1992; Smith, L. 1999). They may also have reflected the culture of the conference, where fewer audience members were known to each other, and therefore speaking out about challenging subjects may have been perceived as being too risky. I think that my colleagues were aware that to express such sentiments publicly would have conveyed an implicit racism and thereby exposed them to criticism from others. They therefore chose to voice these more intimate – and less ‘acceptable’ – thoughts privately, away from public scrutiny. In so doing, they positioned me as complicit with them – an ally – by virtue of my white skin and English heritage.

When I re-presented these responses to the June 2001 meeting, I emphasised the contradictory nature of audience members’ responses rather than the spaces in which they occurred.<sup>103</sup> My rendition of people’s responses provoked a series of comments that focused on the nature of Geoff, my and Ngāti Hauiti members’ working relationship and how this perhaps informed our different conceptions of Māori from those expressed by my colleagues at this conference. In particular, Mina and Joyce, then Uncle Jim, offered potential explanations for my colleagues’ lack of confidence or desire to carry out work with Māori research partners:

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<sup>103</sup> The spatial dimension was not forefront in my mind at the time I shared these accounts. It has become more prominent through the process of my hyper-self-reflexive approach to excavation for this thesis.

- 00.27.46 Sara: So when I presented the paper that you've got in your hands on re-framing and re-presenting<sup>104</sup> – talking about that version – and showed the er making of, the short music video,<sup>105</sup> you know, the video that you did, [*I can't hear a few words here because Hape coughs.*], it got really mixed responses. There were a whole group of people who said “Wow! This is absolutely fantastic! I've never seen anything like this. How amazing that you've gone in, you've worked collaboratively, and you've got this fantastic record now, and this was produced by Ngāti Hauiti. ... And isn't that wonderful! You know that that was able to happen so quickly” ... And people who've said to *me*, as an English woman here, “God, rather you than me!” You know it's like, “You wouldn't catch me trying to work with Māori!” [*A few people chuckle.*] And saying things like, “You're really brave!” And I was thinking, “I don't think I'm really brave. I think I just like having fun!”<sup>106</sup> [*I smile and people laugh.*] And it's really odd that people respond like that, when my experience, well and Geoff's, has been so positive here, because we've never been made to feel like we shouldn't
- 00.29.37: Uncle Boxer: Outsiders [*He talks over 'we shouldn't'.*]
- 00.29.38: Sara: Yeah, we shouldn't be here, be working with you.
- Mina: [*The beginning is inaudible*] I was working in Australia when the *Once Were Warriors* video came out, and he says “So you're Māori from New Zealand?” and I went “Oh yeah!” and then he went “But I watched the video and you guys, it's so vile!”, You know that's the interpretation they got, and I said “Well yes we we're probably the first ones that actually brought it [family violence] to the fore, but it does happen in all cultures”.
- 00.30.07 Joyce: Yeah in every culture.
- 00.30.09: Sara: Yeah definitely. So there's a lot of misperceptions I think around ... Māori and also around what it means to work cross-culturally you know? So that's been quite...
- 00.30.22: Hape: [*He is speaking to Joyce, but its inaudible.*]

<sup>104</sup> See Kindon (2000).

<sup>105</sup> Elsewhere referred to in this meeting by me as ‘that short video’ and ‘the short waiata clip’.

<sup>106</sup> My use of fun here is also indicative of my desire to position myself differently to other Pākehā researchers. It is also very reminiscent of dominant PV discourses advanced by the likes of the Lunch brothers as discussed in Chapter 2.

- 00.30.26: Joyce: That was just another assumption that researchers have that Māoris are problem people to deal with, and their assumptions actually kept them in a mindset. They can't break out of it. It could be just an excuse on their part too you know?
- 00.30.42: Uncle Jim: Or they haven't had much contact with Māoris.
- 00.30.45: Rewa: No.

In a similar vein to the discussion about my VUW geography colleague's response, Mina and Joyce focused on the possible influence of commonplace stereotypes about Māori as violent and as warriors (Wall 1997) or as a 'problem', whereas Uncle Jim and Rewa acknowledged that some academics have had very little exposure to Māori and that this may explain their fear or trepidation around working with them.<sup>107</sup> Arising out of these reflections, Joyce then chose to articulate how she thought that Geoff and myself were different to and distinct from these (Pākehā) researchers, who generally continue to perceive Māori in stereotypical ways or fail to engage them at all.

- 00.37:12: Joyce: You know I just wanted to know how this research was received by other people who don't love Māori like you guys do! [*Smiles.*] But you know what I mean. I'm serious. It's a serious question.
- 00.52.43: Joyce: Possibly, and I've had a wee think, possibly some of your colleagues who sort of didn't, who quavered at the thought of working with Māori people, it's possibly because they realise they haven't got the skills or the inclination that you and Geoffrey have had to, you know, not burst in there and break dams, but to allow yourselves to be accepted and become, almost like you know, like the family you know what I mean?
- 00.53.33: Sue: They are the family! [*Other people echo, 'they are!'*]
- 00.53.34: Joyce: And I would imagine too that a lot of researchers would imagine that that type of familiarity is almost unprofessional, I don't know, but you know, if seriously if they really do want to get into grassroots research well perhaps you do just have to, you know, get

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<sup>107</sup> Such an exchange was also interesting in terms of highlighting the saturated media landscape that Māori negotiate every day, and for thinking about how these aspects may have informed their own approach to image making.

- down with the people, which is what you and Geoffrey basically have done and you know, if other researchers find to be faulty research I find that, I can't see that because it's honest and straight research isn't it?
- 00.54.06: Mina: Although [*I can't make out her words but they provoke a lot of laughter.*]
- 00.54.12: Joyce: Apparently Margaret... I think it was Margaret Mead apparently went round many years ago and interviewed lots of people and developed a certain thing but never got in with them and apparently she got told lots of fairy tales you know? She got told what the people thought they wanted her to hear whereas we can't fool you guys eh? [*Kirsty makes a comment and there's laughter, but I can't make out what she said.*] But you know what I mean? And also you've demonstrated that you can treat with respect some things that, and that might be the other thing, that the other iwis aren't comfortable sharing their taonga like that you know? And there could be number of reasons... but yeah, I wouldn't like to think that you know that academics thought the study of Māori was a frivolous object, I'd never go back there again eh?
- 00.55.04: Kirsty: I don't think it's that.
- 00.55.06: Sara: I think it's more the process.
- 00.55.08: Joyce: Oh okay.
- 00.55.09: Sara: The fact that it's been participatory, you know, it's not *objective*...
- 00.55.16: Joyce: What? We're not under a glass cage in New Zealand [*I can't make out the next few words.*]! Oh okay.

Joyce positioned Geoff and myself within an affective network of familial associations and saw this as a positive thing for our ability to work effectively with Ngāti Hauiti and Māori more generally. Her analytical reflections also called into play some of the principles of Māori research discussed in Chapter 2 (see Box 2.5) associated with love, respect, trust and humility. Her sentiments were echoed and reinforced by Sue and others in the room, which was affirming given the audience reception I was to share with them next and the doubts that it had raised in my own mind about my inability to embody Māori research principles and my ongoing complicity with colonial research practices.

Fifteen months after receiving comments from audience members' about being 'noble' and 'courageous' at the NZGS Conference, I was forced to once again reconsider quite dramatically my position and complicity within the research project with Ngāti Hauiti. This was because of a public and vociferous wero (challenge) from a Māori audience member at the next presentation. The wero came in response to a 20-minute presentation made by Geoff, Kirsty and myself to a session on Māori filmmaking at the New Zealand Film and History Conference held in Wellington in late November-early December 2000 – as outlined in some detail as the prologue to this thesis and, therefore, not repeated here.

In this presentation, Kirsty spoke first about the historical evolution of the project and its kaupapa. Geoff outlined the video production training process and introduced the video – the same audiovisual material as had been used for the geography seminar and NZGS conference in 1999, and then I spoke about the participatory process and the project's current and anticipated outcomes. We had deliberately organised the presentation in this way to foreground Ngāti Hauiti's agency via Kirsty and to demonstrate the integrity of our collaborative process. What we had not planned to do was show the audiovisual material used for the geography seminar – this was an error I return to later.

At the 2001 meeting with other Ngāti Hauiti members, Kirsty and I talked about it as follows:

00.43.17: Kirsty: Yeah, and then there was us and I spoke first and introduced the project and talked about the process we'd been through, and the fact that we'd developed a Memorandum of Understanding, the kind of approach. We'd worked out a whole lot of things about how we would resolve issues around [*inaudible word*] and talked about the process mainly and from our point of view what we were getting out of it and then we showed some of the footage of the

- 00.44.03: Sara: making of the waiata [video],<sup>108</sup> that's what it was, wasn't it? And then Geoff talked a bit during and after that about the process and so that footage had, you know, had pictures of Geoff talking to you, you were in some of it... We've actually got this, what we showed was what we also showed to my colleagues in geography so it's the one with text over scenes such as Harry talking about images he wanted. There's you [*I am talking to Joyce*] talking about the lines on the face. There's Rewa talking about having the people outside the marae singing...when you were doing the storyboards...
- 00.44.24: Rewa: Yes.
- 00.44.25: Sara: So that whole process of the making of, and then showing what you made.
- 00.44.31: Kirsty: And then Sara kind of wrapped up talking about the research approach...

While centrally important to members of Ngāti Hauiti, these dimensions were apparently inconsequential to a prominent Māori filmmaker in the audience. As a keynote speaker earlier in the day, he had talked about the importance of Māori telling their own stories through film. Kirsty, Geoff and I had been excited about the possibility that he might attend our presentation because we thought we were demonstrating the perfect example of what he had been talking about. It was of considerable surprise to us therefore, after listening to our presentation, he publicly challenged us and then stormed out of the room.

- 00.44.31: Kirsty: and at the end [named Māori filmmaker] was in the audience, and at the end he stood up and, now [*talking to Geoff and Sara*] you have to correct me with the words because I can't quite remember but he was, [*talking back to group*] he said "I can't *not* say anything. I'm going to stand up and say this, but I'm appalled by this and I'm going to write to the Chancellor or Vice Chancellor of Victoria University and stop this process 'cos clearly it's..." Um...[*turning to Geoff and Sara*] now, how is it? [*Kirsty, Sara and Geoff all talking at once.*]
- 00.45.03: Geoff: He said, he said it was the worst kind of...
- 00.45.06: Geoff & Kirsty: "Colonisation!"

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<sup>108</sup> Elsewhere referred to by me in this meeting as 'that short video', 'the short music video' and 'the waiata clip'.

In targeting his criticisms, this Māori filmmaker honed in on Geoff's use of the storyboarding technique with CVRT members as it was represented in the short making-of documentary. Kirsty related this dimension when she said "And he was pointing at Geoff essentially, [*she raises her voice*] "Storyboards! What's a storyboard?" (00.45.07). By focusing on this particular convention (and its representation in the audiovisual material included in the presentation), the filmmaker overlooked our accompanying commentary, which had detailed the context in which our relationships had evolved, the ways in which this technique had been taught and used, and what it had enabled in terms of CVRT members' agency and self-expression.

Furthermore, before we could remind him of these aspects, or Geoff could point out that the video shown had been produced for a different audience unfamiliar with production processes and therefore radically simplified the complexity of what had actually been taught and how, he stormed out of the room. We were left feeling shaken in our attempts to respond to his challenge and to answer other audience members' questions, which variously advanced some of his criticisms or sought to provide us with space to put across our perspectives and 'defend' ourselves.

- 00.45.26: Kirsty: And I just felt really angry because I, and I, and you see... [he said] "I know what you are going to say! I'm not going to stay and listen!" And he walked out before I could even answer! ...
- 00.45.50: Kirsty: I was just in shock! No, I could see Sara's face 'cos Sara, I was sort of, yeah we were facing different ways and I saw Sara sort of going like this [*She pulls a face, but it's out of shot*] and I thought "Well I have to say something here!"

In his wero, this filmmaker insinuated that Ngāti Hauiti had been duped by me and were being exploited for the University's benefit. These were points refuted by Kirsty and Joyce as the conversation continued.

- 00.45.50: Kirsty: ... and I said... I mean I was sort of basically trying to get the message across that this is something we chose to do and who was he to

- 00.46.12: Sue: tell us how to do something! Who does he think he is um...  
 00.46.14: Kirsty: Putting his view...  
 00.46.14: Kirsty: Putting his view across like that! And this was something that we'd chosen to do, and okay we might be working with other people and learning skills but in the end that gives us something that we can use and do whatever we want out of it...  
 00.46.24: Joyce: Well we're getting more than beads and blankets this time darling, aren't we?! Yeah! [*She and other people laugh.*]  
 00.46.27: Kirsty: Absolutely!

He also implied that Ngāti Hauiti were being exploited by Geoff's private company and that they had little choice in the matter of how to work with him and me.

Although Geoff had no commercial interests in the project, unfortunately, this perception was reinforced in the inaccurate conference report published subsequently in the New Zealand film studies journal *Illusions* (Peters 2000: 41):

In my experience of film conferences it's rare that no controversy or progressive tension arises from issues discussed in relation to representation and cultural custody of indigenous images. This panel session was no exception. Perhaps it's something of a relief that my commentary is circumscribed by not being able to attend the session (my paper presentation was scheduled in a concurrent stream). Nevertheless, having attended a version of the paper "Remembering the Rohe: A Creative Participatory Video Partnership in the Central North Island" at the Documentary Sites conference in Auckland, some critical purchase is available.<sup>109</sup> At first sight the similarities between this joint venture between researchers

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<sup>109</sup> As mentioned in Section 8.1, the Documentary Sites Conference paper earlier in the year, presented by Geoff and Thomas Curtis, was different in that it focused on the awa hikoi documentary. It is therefore debateable that this author had, in fact, any of the critical purchase she claimed. What was similar was the emphasis that Kirsty, Geoff and myself placed on detailing the collaborative evolution of the project and the careful negotiations of our research relationships, but these points were conveniently overlooked.

from the Institute of Geography at Victoria University of Wellington and Hutt Valley Polytechnic, members of Te Runanga o Ngāti Hauiti, and Encantado Communications Ltd. and the oral history project discussed above, seem more apparent than the differences. But at second sight and with a closer ear to the rhetorical structure and framing of each paper, a crucial difference seemed to lie in the extent of institutional control exercised by the funder universities – the Te Kaha project initiated and organised by tangata whenua of the area for the use of maori, and *the outcomes for 'The Reawakening of Ngāti Hauiti' project being more closely tied to its use value of the video production company and research institution* (emphasis added).

Through a subsequent conversation that Geoff had with the offended filmmaker, it became clear that his outburst had been fuelled by his ongoing anger that universities and other agencies continued to employ Pākehā rather than Māori filmmakers to work with Māori, and that Māori filmmaking was generally underfunded and underrepresented (Gauthier 2008).

00.48.23 Geoff: I went up to speak to him afterwards and um it was very clear that he had a political agenda to do with universities across the country having not employed people like him – Māori filmmakers, established Māori filmmakers – to contribute to courses, and so he was basically seeing that the amount of money spent by Sara from the Victoria University funds had been spent on a Pākehā filmmaker teaching 'traditional' filmmaking techniques to Māori.

In a similar way to some of my geography colleagues at the NZGS Conference in 1999, this man expressed one version of his criticisms in public, and another in private. The public version here explicitly mobilised the (more publicly-acceptable) discourses and frequently essentialist colonisation and Māori resistance to position him as a defender of Ngāti Hauiti. His public expression also centred on his criticism of what he perceived to be the

institutional wielding of colonial power through me; hence his threat to write to the Vice Chancellor and have the project stopped. It also called attention to the technical practice of storyboarding as concrete evidence of our colonisation. He sought to “tell the rest of the audience, who were people interested in Māori filmmaking that he was staunch, that he was the right authority” (Geoff 00.49.40), and that they should not believe or trust what we presented. In choosing to leave before we had a chance to respond to his points, he literally communicated to others present that he was dismissing us; as should they.

Yet, within the private space of the subsequent conversation with Geoff, his reasons for being critical of our presentation appeared to be more personal. He had obviously experienced first hand what may have been institutional racism through the limited employment opportunities and funding made available for Māori filmmakers. This criticism was more circumscribed than the whole scale dismissal of our process and project as ‘colonisation’ within the conference session and was certainly something that Geoff and I could appreciate, however, it did not engender much sympathy from participants in the 2001 meeting.

- 00.50.22: Joyce: Did he feel qualified [to have been able to work on the project] just because he’s Māori?
- 00.50.24: Uncle Boxer: Sour grapes that’s what it is.
- 00.50.26: Geoff: He’s a, he’s a seasoned filmmaker...
- 00.50.30: Joyce: Yeah but, that basically that was what, that [being Māori] was his ticket in as far as he was concerned.
- 00.50.32: Rewa: A grudge.
- 00.50.33: Geoff: Yes, I mean it was a perfect opportunity...
- 00.50.36: Joyce: But he wasn’t an academic was he though?
- 00.50.38: Geoff: No, but...
- 00.50.39: Joyce: Well no. Well you see he couldn’t have carried it could he? He couldn’t have carried the project. ... He could have carried the camera! [*People laugh.*] He could have carried his bag! But he couldn’t have done the rest.
- 00.50.53: Uncle Boxer: No, it’s just sour grapes because he never got the job innit?

In this exchange, Joyce was critical of the audience member's race-based claims that appeared to be at the centre of his criticisms when she inferred that Geoff and my involvement in the project had nothing to do with us being or not being Māori, and everything to do with us being academics. Uncle Boxer also minimised the racial dimension of the filmmaker's criticisms and chose to emphasise the personal nature of his 'sour grapes' about not being employed; a point echoed by Rewa.

In addition to this audience member's arguments about race, he expressed a gendered and age-related analysis of the situation to Geoff when he said that he felt sorry for me as "that young university woman" (Geoff 00.49.56) and Kirsty as "that other young lass" (Geoff 00.50.03), presumably because we were victims of larger institutional forces. These additional layers, which could not it seems be shared publicly, complicated the politics of the interaction and were interpreted by Ngāti Hauiti meeting participants as his inability to recognise and respect Kirsty, both as Māori and as their iwi representative at the conference presentation:

- 01.23.15: Kirsty: Maybe they he just saw me as a weak woman or something? [*People speak quietly and it's impossible to make out individual comments.*]
- 01.23.24: Geoff: 'Cos you know he was in like the, Thomas and I stood up and talked at one conference<sup>110</sup> and [named Māori filmmaker] was there and didn't say anything. [Here] Sara stood up and talked, Kirsty stood up and talked, I stood up and talked and then he had a...
- 01.23.38: Kirsty: He had a go! ... Well that's why I thought I have to say something here. [*Uncle Jim says something and people laugh, but it's inaudible.*]
- 01.23.47: Cookie: Well he probably didn't realise [you were Māori]!
- 01.23.49: Kirsty: No, I'd told him, I'd said...
- 01.23.52: Uncle Jim: Did you tell him who you were?
- 01.23.53: Kirsty: No, I introduced myself as being
- 01.23.54: Cookie: Māori.
- 01.23.55: Kirsty: Ngāti Hauiti yeah.
- 01.23.57: Cookie: Maybe not [*The rest of what she says is inaudible.*]...

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<sup>110</sup> The Documentary Sites Conference, Auckland University, August 2000.

- 01.23.58: Kirsty: Neither did he mind you!... Well I said it quite clearly.
- 01.24.02: Neville: After all his name's not exactly Māori is it?  
[Laughs.]
- 01.24.04: Sara: His name isn't ...
- 01.24.05: Kirsty: Well exactly! ... No, so... so no I thought I made that reasonably clear, I could be wrong but... that I was there on behalf of Ngāti Hauiti...

In light of the above exchange focusing on whether Kirsty identified herself clearly as Māori and Ngāti Hauiti, it is pertinent to note that her complexion is considered by many to be 'fair' within the commonly identified range of 'Māori' skin tones. Being of Māori, Scottish/Irish, other European (around Poland or Russia) and German descent, she also has green/grey eyes, a thin face and long nose. She and I have frequently been mistaken for sisters, and in one case I was asked if I was Kirsty by a distant relative at an iwi gathering. The issue of how our bodies – particularly Kirsty's – were read by this audience member highlights the complex and subtle interplay of racialised and gendered subjectivities with wider epistemological assumptions.

It also re-emphasises the power of the gaze and the dominance of sight with its assumed connection to knowledge. At both this presentation, and the one to my VUW geography colleagues over a year earlier, what the two openly critical audience members *thought they saw* in the video took precedence over anything they may have heard from Geoff, Kirsty or myself as the presenters.<sup>111</sup>

- 00.48.23 Geoff: And I said to him afterwards, "You don't know what I taught" I said. "We talked about traditional and non-traditional, radical and other ways of making films." He said, "Well you didn't show that!" I said, "No, but it was a 20 minute presentation of which I had 10 minutes." He said, "Well, you know, I talk about what I see."

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<sup>111</sup> The privileging of 'vivid' information in visual or audiovisual form – that is, information that will excite the imagination and attract attention (Nisbett and Ross 1980), tends to have the effect that information from less vivid sources may be discounted (de Roiste, M., 29 April 2011, pers. comm.).

The filmmaker's assertion that he could only talk about what he saw and my colleague's use of people's surnames as evidence that they had only produced a 'home' or 'family' movie reflect realist understandings of vision and representation. While perhaps this could have been expected from people such as my colleague trained in natural rather than critical social science, it was surprising to hear from the filmmaker who has made his name by promoting his craft as Indigenous and counter-hegemonic, as Rewa and Cookie remarked:

- 01.14.26: Cookie: You lived and breathed it...
- 01.14.29: Neville: That's what [named Māori filmmaker] was talking about as if that's what you've done, just gone and taken... [*Others agreeing with Neville saying 'that's what he's saying'*]
- 01.14.34: Rewa: Is that what he was saying?
- 01.14.35: Neville: Yeah, yeah.
- 01.14.36: Rewa: But surely he's not that dumb?! He can see what you were doing?
- 01.14.38: Neville: But well, perhaps...
- 01.14.40: Rewa: No really!
- 01.14.40: Cookie: In a five minute clip, he couldn't see it like that?
- 01.14.44: Rewa: No, it was more than five minutes! [*Lots of people talking at once.*]
- 01.14.46: Kirsty: [*I can't make out the first part*] about the whole way we did it. He knew. I mean...
- 01.14.51: Neville: But as er he said to Geoff, he can only take what he saw in the ten minute clip.
- 01.14.58: Sara: But, but what he said by doing that was actually ignoring
- 01.15.02: Neville: Ignoring.
- 01.15.03: Sara: What [*I can't make out what I'm saying*]
- 01.15.05: Mina: Sara, you know, knowledge is important when it's shared widely and there are unfortunately people who don't have that point of view, so (shrugs) to each their own eh?

The surprise and disbelief that our work together could be so misinterpreted, particularly by another Māori professional with specific knowledge and expertise in filmmaking then prompted Rewa to connect this to the challenging politics of bicultural research:

- 01.16.42: Rewa: Yes you see you are actually treading on eggshells... I do believe because um in the past it has been that Māori have been ripped off and so the response has been “Look Pākehā! You going and do it over there and we’ll do our own!” and that attitude is still there in Māori academia. I must admit I have shared it and... I do feel now that there is now historically a time when Māori and Pākehā do have to um... recognise that there are *areas* which they can share, some that they can’t, but some that they can. And I have to admit myself to a certain scepticism about the project because I come from that old school. It’s too much research has been done and Māori haven’t... and even then I thought well... um, well you know, academics getting their degrees and doing their things and um... it’s still the same process in a slightly more subtle way. ... But I begin to see now that, you know, the time has come but I do agree with those people who say “You are in the forefront of this movement” and you are likely to get hit from time to time, and I think that Ngāti Hauiti is a particularly, from my experience, a particularly... I don’t know what the word is... [*smiles*] pleasant group of people [*laughs, Kirsty does too*] who won’t be unreasonable, too harsh, because of their own history.
- 01.18.52: Kirsty: Mmm. ... It’s probably got a lot to do with that.
- 01.18.53: Rewa: I think that has a lot to do with it. Working with other iwi might not be quite as easy. ...
- 01.20.10: Rewa: Yes and this is just one little area of this whole bicultural thing, just a tiny little area isn’t it? ... It’s a bed of thorns. [*laughs*]
- 01.20.25: Sara: Which is why it’s good to write about.
- 01.20.28: Rewa: Yeah.

Rewa’s analysis in some respects provided a bridge between valid criticisms of much Pākehā research, which historically has taken place *on* Māori, and the situation as she saw it now in which bicultural and collaborative research was possible and perhaps even desirable. Her metaphors of us “treading on eggshells” and the area of bicultural research as being a “bed of thorns” convey aptly some of the challenges associated with researching in the contact zone (Pratt, M. L. 1992). The implication of these metaphors was that it was painful, even dangerous,

for Geoff and myself to be working in this way. A perspective reinforced by her comment that because we are “at the forefront of this movement ... you are likely to get hit from time to time”.

This contact zone was therefore fraught, but not only for Geoff and myself. It was also risky for members of Ngāti Hauiti to be involved in research with us, as Hape went on to comment:

- 01.20.30: Hape: [You said] we have the opportunity of breaking down a lot of barriers but in doing so we make ourselves vulnerable, that is Ngāti Hauiti, we make ourselves vulnerable to the criticism of
- 01.20.44: Kirsty: Yeah.
- 01.20.45: Rewa: From other Māori.
- 01.20.46: Hape: That very academia with which you are, Māori, such as whats-his-name. But if we participate in influencing others, we [should] do it in a way that is acceptable to tikanga Māori.
- 01.21.04: Rewa: Yes.
- 01.21.05: Hape: They make their own decisions or we are there to introduce the take (issue). They make up their own minds.
- 01.21.15: Neville: Same as we made up our own minds about joining with you.
- 01.21.17: Hape: And that’s what Tino Rangatiratanga is about...
- 01.21.19: Kirsty: And I thought the thing that annoyed me most about what [named Māori filmmaker] said was [can’t make out a few words] it was more like an insult to what everyone had said, about us making up our own minds and forming a partnership agreement. And who is he to say that and then walk away without taking any response! I thought that was rude.
- 01.21.40: Uncle Boxer: It was.
- 01.21.41: Hape: But you know to ask for a response could again leave us open to, make us vulnerable to criticism. I mean the fact that he walked out on... It, he doesn’t know what tikanga Māori is!
- 01.21.58: Kirsty: Mmm.
- 01.21.59: Rewa: That’s true.
- 01.22.00: Hape: You see within Māori, if you are going to make a statement, you stand there and face the consequences...
- 01.22.06: Kirsty: That’s where some of the ripples in the audience were coming from...
- 01.22.09: Hape: So him walking away...

01.22.11: Kirsty: Mmm.  
 01.22.12: Hape: Shows his  
 01.22.14: Rewa: Disrespect  
 01.22.15: Hape: Lack of knowledge of tikanga Maori.  
 01.22.16: Uncle Boxer: Well it's...  
 01.22.18: Neville: Arrogance.  
 01.22.19: Uncle Jim: Lack of tikanga really.  
 01.22.21: Neville: From our, from our point of view, I don't think  
 it's worth even responding...  
 01.22.24: Uncle Jim: No.  
 01.22.24: Uncle Boxer: No.  
 01.22.26: Neville: Or thinking about it.  
 01.22.28: Hape: You leave yourself vulnerable.  
 01.22.29: Kirsty: That's right!  
 01.22.30: Uncle Jim: A waste of breath.

Hape's explicit and repeated use of the descriptor 'vulnerable' is significant, and he himself elaborated on this point when providing feedback on this chapter. He stressed that Ngāti Hauiti (like many Māori) were vulnerable because of the legacy of historians' mis-interpretations of Māori culture, and how when Māori have tried to correct these, they have been questioned or ridiculed (Lomax H., 15 May 2011, pers. comm.).

As I mentioned at the opening of this chapter, the literature about participatory and collaborative uses of video in research and development is overwhelmingly positive about the benefits of participation and public presentation to subject-communities. Yet, clearly from the discussion above, the involvement in such research, and particularly in the promotion of it within public forums such as conferences, also carries risks associated with how subject communities may be perceived and criticised not only by mainstream academics like my VUW colleague, but more significantly, by others from their same cultural group – that is, by both inter- and intra-cultural audiences. The risks associated with presenting in public spaces may also be exacerbated if the supporting audiovisual material being used isn't explicitly tailored to each particular audience.

Interestingly, throughout the above exchange, participating members managed to hold that while they might have left themselves vulnerable by participating in this kind of research process, they also always had a right to exercise their Tino Rangatiratanga as they saw fit and if any other Māori wanted to challenge them on this right, then they should do so in culturally-appropriate ways. They also called on a more fluid understanding of what it meant to be Māori to counter the sense that the filmmaker was critical because he was working to some assumed racialised notion of what it meant to be ‘Māori’, and produce videos ‘as Māori’.

- 01.24.52: Sara: So it’s interesting, I mean it’s interesting telling that story [about the Māori filmmaker’s response] because it’s not just the bicultural stuff that we’ve been confronting, it’s also intra-Māori and all the negotiations of what’s appropriate for Māori. There’s all that negotiation so you know the challenge to Kirsty representing Ngāti Hauiti like “You are being colonised!” Well who is he to say “You’re being colonised” you know, and you’re not doing things in the, “It should be this way, in the ...”
- 01.25.19: Cookie: Traditional Māori way.
- 01.25.20: Sara: Whatever that is you know.
- 01.25.22: Uncle Jim: What is the Māori way? I’m still trying to work that one out! [Others laugh.]

In relation to the more constructive understandings of complicity presented in Chapter 4 (as being a necessary element of collaboration, participation and responsibility), Rewa’s sentiments above when taken along with previous comments from Joyce, Sue and Cookie, and comments from Hape, Neville and Uncle Jim convey that, at least in their eyes, I (and we) were not perpetuating colonial-type research because I/we were “treading on eggshells” and “negotiating a bed of thorns”, that is, making ourselves vulnerable *with* them; a form of solidarity via researcher displacement or conscious marginality, if you will. In addition, it was apparent that many participants at the meeting felt that Geoff and I had negotiated research in the Māori world well and had provided “more

than beads and blankets” throughout the process because of the ways in which they felt we had treated them, their knowledge and our relationships.

I would, therefore, propose that alongside and intermingled with the obvious moments of ‘acting-in-complicity’ that I’ve excavated in previous chapters which clearly did replicate or perpetuate colonial power relations, there was a larger process of ‘responsibility-in-complicity’ at work through our sustained relationships, and our willingness to defend our collaboration together in the face of both Pākehā and other Māori criticisms. It bore fruit as a result of the next presentation I made, sixteen months after the NZFH Conference to a mostly Māori audience at the International Community Development (ICD) Conference in Rotorua.

In response to this presentation, the audience was engaged and positive in their comments and questions. More significantly, after the session, a senior female member of, and community worker for, Te Iwi o Tuwharetoa in the Central North Island approached me with a request.

The iwi development worker was very excited and passionate about what she had seen of our process and the resulting CVRT video. She wanted her whānau to be able to do something similar, particularly with audiovisual histories of some of the old people before they died. She identified that I, and by extension Geoff as the project’s audiovisual specialist shown in the AV material of the making-of documentary, had useful skills and resources. She said she could pay for me to come and work with her hapu as a consultant. I explained that I would not be able to do this because my work involved Geoff and members of Ngāti Hauiti in a collaborative partnership, but that we should talk more. We exchanged email addresses and phone numbers and arranged to meet with Geoff when she was next in Wellington.

My presentation at the Rotorua conference was inevitably informed by the experience of being radically challenged at the NZFH conference. In this presentation therefore, I spent more time situating myself in relation to my positionality and genealogy. I was careful to detail the evolution of the project and to explain that Ngāti Hauiti had made a deliberate choice to work with Geoff and myself. I also focused on the negotiation of our relationships and project kaupapa. I hoped that by articulating these dimensions explicitly I would avert possible criticisms of colonisation from this predominantly Māori audience.

I also framed the project within debates about participatory video as a tool for globalisation from below as this connected to the conference theme. This framing emphasised the locally-embedded and empowerment orientation of our work together and privileged an understanding of PV as a tool for Indigenous representation. I used a different version of the ‘making-of’ documentary from the one used previously. This newer version was one that Geoff had put together for whānau participants and was what he had intended to use at the NZ Film and History Conference the previous year. In contrast to the version used in previous presentations, it had less onscreen text (about techniques) and more short clips of all participants in the process. What didn’t change was its position in the presentation sequence – it remained located between the CVRT training video without subtitles, and the version of the video with subtitles in te reo Māori (Appendix G: DVD AVP 8.2 – December 1999).

00.57.32: Sara: [S]he was really excited by the presentation, and she was, she came up and initially she said “I really want you to come up and work with my people because I think what you’ve been doing for Ngāti Hauiti is so great!” Um and I said to her “Well, it’s not me, this is a partnership.” So she said “Well can we have a meeting? You know, with you, with Ngāti Hauiti and talk about the process?” (...)

01.01.32: Sara: They’re interested in exploring something similar [to our project] but perhaps not so research focused, more just recording

stories, perhaps not quite so involved, but they're really keen to learn so it's a really good opportunity to actually, in a sense, validate and share the knowledge that we've built up collectively and promote that to people in Tuwharetoa to give them something to think about, but also to let them know what's been going on here. ...

The response of, and subsequent meeting Geoff and I had with this iwi worker was significant for members of Ngāti Hauiti because of their whakapapa connections to her hapu and iwi, and the opportunity her interest in the project represented for them to rekindle these historical relationships for potential future benefit. It also had positive outcomes for the relationships within the project as we arranged a hīkoi to her hapu marae to share our experiences. This planning and the resulting hui provided an opportunity for a more collective identity to emerge and for Ngāti Hauiti members to take greater ownership of the process, as the following exchange illustrates:

- 01.03.09 Sara: I was really excited because I felt like it was a real endorsement of what we've been doing and it's got other people excited and she was quite in awe of the process in respect of what had been achieved, and it just presents a good opportunity to build some bridges you know? So kind of, in a sense, what we were doing in the project was connecting people through the work of the project and the training and the research, and now it's got bigger you know? It's not only between members of this iwi. It's now iwi to iwi, which is quite exciting.
- 01.03.50: Uncle Boxer: The trail blazers!
- 01.03.51: Hape: It's quite interesting that that um you may be looking at developing some relationship with Waitetoko [hapu marae to which we were invited] because you'll find there is a whakapapa link with those people of Waitetoko and us here and it's an extension of the issues of whanaugatanga which we tried to, to um, to emphasise in this project, and that will allow it to lead on *if*, there is continuance with the work with them so it's very interesting because some of them you'll find are also, can whakapapa link back to Ngāti Hauiti too, one way or another. So

it all blossoms out doesn't it? Once you've, once you've watered the rose its blossoms certainly open up. (...)

- 01.19.06: Neville: I can't see any problem coming up with us working with them because, as Hape said before, the close relationship is between Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Hauiti.
- 01.19.37: Rewa: Oh yes I understand that and obviously the issue of the invitation has come from Tuwharetoa, a hapu of Tuwharetoa, not the whole iwi, and perhaps Hauiti will act as some sort of a I don't know, a forerunner, a forerunner to something that will make other iwi say "Well, mmm, we can participate in this process".
- 01.20.09: Sue: Or like a catalyst.

The changes I made to the framing of the process and using the different version of the making-of documentary may have influenced the favourable reception I received in Rotorua, however, I do not think that they alone were responsible for it. Specifically, I think that the woman from Tuwharetoa's response was connected to her own desires for her people and her sense that I (we) could support her vision. Afterall, audiovisual products are always received into existing social contexts and perceptual frameworks and speakers never have control over how their messages may be received.

Whatever the influences, what was apparent was the ways that new, constructive subject positions emerged for Ngāti Hauiti in the face of the previous challenges and the sense of vulnerability that had been identified in earlier discussions. As a result of this audience member's invitation to share our experiences with her whanau, Uncle Boxer suggested that Ngāti Hauiti were "trailblazers", Rewa thought that they might be a "forerunner" for other iwi, and Sue identified that they could be "like a catalyst". In some senses then people's subjectivities shifted positively as a result of this particular reception to our work. In addition, Hape picked up and recast Rewa's earlier rose metaphor, and suggested that "once you've watered the rose, its blossoms certainly open up".

Such discursive shifts suggest that despite numerous moments when I perpetuated empire through my facilitation of meetings or video production processes (Chapters 6 and 7), the constructive workings of complicity throughout our relationships and the challenges associated with taking our audiovisual products into other spaces ultimately enabled a small number of members of Ngāti Hauiti to identify and claim new empowering subject positions. Such paradoxical aspects draw attention to the complex politics at work when products of participatory research processes (whether involving video or not) travel outside the spaces of their production. It is to some of these complexities and ambiguities that I now turn.

### **8.3 Complexities of Presentation: Ambiguities of Reception**

Considering the five presentations that took place in spaces external to those of the project as outlined in Section 8.2, I can say that our work and my role within it have generally met with ‘positive’ audience receptions.<sup>112</sup> If people (other than the two men mentioned above) were critical, they chose not to voice their opinions publicly. Audience members – from what clues I gained from their body language – generally appeared to appreciate the collaborative approach that Geoff, members of Ngāti Hauiti and I had taken in the project. They recognised the significance of the CVRT training process and the production of their video for what it enabled in terms of capacity building and some degree of technical and cultural empowerment. They also conveyed interest in the content of the video and seemed impressed by the passion and commitment of everyone involved in producing it.

Where I or we met with ‘negative’ receptions, these seemed to have centred on differing interpretations of what was thought to constitute ‘serious’ or ‘rigorous’ academic research and what might or might not be the appropriate uses of video technology by Māori. These interpretations often drew on different readings of the audiovisual material within the presentations, rather

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<sup>112</sup> I have used scare quotes around ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ here to convey the ambiguity inherent within these terms, which I have explored within this discussion.

than on what was said by the presenters themselves. They also were infused with readings of the presenters' bodies in terms of their age, gender and 'race'. The disparate interpretations struck at the heart of issues central to Aotearoa New Zealand society as a whole – the colonial and gendered legacy of, and ongoing issues, associated with power relationships between Māori communities and Pākehā researchers.

In the instance of my immediate colleague, his 'negative' reception in April 1999 was related to his sense of outrage that the University (as represented by me) had apparently been duped and exploited by members of Ngāti Hauiti who had derailed the research project into the production of a 'family home movie'. Such sentiments highlight the ongoing gulf in values and worldviews as they pertain to research between many Pākehā and Māori. It was apparent that my colleague could not understand what he saw in our video from within the worldview that had generated it. Hence he did not recognise that research within a Māori worldview happens through the context of extended familial (whanau) relationships and emphasises the collective over the individual. Rather he read into the text from his own perspective on research, which was simultaneously infused with his racialised interpretations of what constituted 'family' and how this informed the power relations at work in our collaboration.

In the second instance of the Māori filmmaker in December 2000, at the heart of his public criticism was that the University (again represented by me) was perceived, along with Geoff's production company, to be exploiting members of Ngāti Hauiti for our own benefit and colonising them with Western conventions of film production. This understanding of our project was developed (as was my VUW colleague's understanding) despite both Kirsty and Geoff being present with me, and Kirsty talking explicitly to the basis of our negotiated partnership and the establishment of our MoU. In this case also, the audience member read the text (the same audiovisual text as read by my VUW colleague) from within his racialised interpretations of what constituted 'industry training', and how this informed the project's power relations.

In both of these audience members' articulations, their criticisms and strong emotional reactions to our work centred on who was perceived to have more agency in the research relationship – the Pākehā audience member perceiving Māori to have more agency, and the Māori audience member perceiving Pākehā to have more agency. Yet their criticisms were not framed in these racialised terms, perhaps because of an awareness of the potential conflict that might be unleashed by 'treading on [such] eggshells' or leaping into such a "bed of thorns".<sup>113</sup> Rather, it would seem that these two men chose to mask their racialised critiques by recourse to apparently unmarked institutions of 'the family', 'the University' and 'the film industry' (via the specific emphasis on the technique of using storyboards). Such institutions however, are actually 'Western', 'Pākehā' or 'White' – meanings that were implied, but deferred.

As such, I think that these aspects served as more publicly-palatable vehicles for the expression of institutionalised racism on the part of both audience members. And while there was more explicit discussion of the racialised dimensions at work in these interactions by people at the June meeting, members of Ngāti Hauiti resisted capture in these terms and reclaimed the fraught ground of bicultural relations by affirming their Hauiti-tanga within a diverse and fluid understanding of what it meant to be Māori. They also took Geoff and myself into this ground with them in an act of solidarity. Paradoxically the complex challenges of these particular audience members produced new empowering subject-positions for Ngāti Hauiti members and for Geoff and myself, which disavowed race as a critical factor in our relationship and yet simultaneously reinforced it, as a necessary basis for our productive cross-cultural partnership.

In addition to these racialised dimensions to these audience members' receptions of our work, there was a positioning of me by both in terms of gender. As Barbara Heron (2007) and others have noted, gender and race are

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<sup>113</sup> This may also be why the Māori filmmaker chose to leave the room after laying down his wero, and why he was then accused by the kaumatua of Ngāti Hauiti of not knowing his cultural protocol.

intimately connected within colonial ideologies and the ongoing effects of (post)colonisation. It seems that both regarded me (on some level) as incapable of independent thought and subject to the whims of more powerful (and dangerous) Others, that is, as stereotypically feminine in my passivity. In the first case I was perceived to be complicit with Ngāti Hauiti and their iwi development agenda. In the second, I was perceived to be complicit with the colonialist and capitalist demands of my University and my male collaborator (Geoff) respectively. Specifically, the prominent Māori filmmaker expressed to Geoff that he felt “sorry for that lass from the University”, when Geoff went to talk to him after the conference session. Perhaps I should have expected to be positioned in these ways given the frequency with which women, regardless of their race or ethnicity, are constructed as passive and lacking in agency in relation to their male counterparts and powerful institutions.

The result of these paradoxical racialised and gendered positionings was that I was simultaneously constructed as being passively complicit with counterhegemonic, feminised and Indigenous (subaltern) claims for ‘special treatment’, as well as complicit with dominant, masculinist, white, colonising discourses and practices. In both cases, I was denied my own agency but was still subject to criticism (because of my association with with Māori in one case, and with the University in the other) for perpetuating what these audience members perceived to be undesirable outcomes associated with the production of the CVRT training video.

Such multifaceted and contradictory responses to me and our work have of course provoked me to question how much of these perceptions were ‘fair’, and what I could have done differently to communicate in ways that might have resulted in different responses. Drawing on the work of Pink (2006: 88), however, has been useful for coming to terms with the fact that I can never make a presentation that is free from complicity or determine audience responses, for as she says:

Film and video are especially good at representing aspects of human experience, through their use of visual and verbal metaphor they encourage the audiences' empathetic interpretation of emotions, sensations and other dimensions of experience that might superficially appear to be common between different cultures. Nevertheless [...] the idea that we can feel other people's feelings and sense their sensory experiences by viewing how they are metaphorically represented in audiovisual media, can mean that without written cultural contextualisation we will actually experience what we think are their experiences in terms of our own cultural and individual biographical knowledges.

Another way of thinking about this is that our presentations – particularly the audiovisual material shown – were received by these men into already 'socially organised perceptual frameworks' or ways of seeing (Goodwin 1994, cited in Laurier *et al.*, 2008), and that whatever or however we had presented would have been interpreted in these polarised ways. Pink's (2006) comments and the notion of existing ways of seeing into which the products of participatory video processes are interpellated, highlights the ongoing need to contextualise audiovisual material and the challenging situations that can result if this material is thought to be simplistically real and self-evident. To date these aspects of the politics of reception do not figure as much as they ought to in discussions about the value of collaborative video endeavours, yet they raise a multitude of ethical and logistical concerns.

In addition, I now understand these two male audience members to have read our presenters' bodies along with the audiovisual text being shown and that these aspects of our embodied presence also informed their challenges to us. This understanding may also help to explain why the racialised dimensions of their criticisms were sublimated, because they wanted to avoid the perception that they were criticising us *personally*, which might expose them to attack from others. Consequently I would argue that when considering the politics of reception associated with the screening of PVR products in inter-cultural spaces, there is a need to simultaneously attend to how our bodies

(particularly those of our subject-community members) are also likely to be read inter-textually and received into ‘socially organised perceptual frameworks’ by audience members.

The current emphasis on the empowering effects of subject-community members accompanying their PV products into inter-cultural spaces does not take into account the very real (and inevitable) intertextual readings that audience members will make out of the audiovisual text and the presenters’ bodies. This absence of discussion effectively positions the texts outside of the embodied relationships that produced them, and potentially exacerbates the risks involved for subject-communities’ members associated with travelling into the external spaces of PV projects to speak to their work. Again, this raises ethical issues associated with the desire to have research products travel, and highlights another previously hidden aspect of academic, researcher and development practitioner complicity.

# **CHAPTER 9. REFLEXIVITY, COMPLICITY AND MULTIPLE HORIZONS: TOWARDS CRITICAL PARTICIPATORY VIDEO FOR RESEARCH**

## **9.1 Introduction**

Critical questions persist about power, complicity and desire within cross-cultural research, even if it claims to be participatory. At their most basic level, these questions concern matters of conceptualisation, engagement, implementation and representation: Who defines the terms within which participation and its process are introduced? Who sets the agenda and timeframe within which a participatory project takes place? Who selects subject-community members to participate? Who decides where participation occurs? And who owns the necessary equipment and facilitates access to it, especially beyond the life of a participatory project?

Within research involving Indigenous collaborators additional questions concern what colonial continuities may exist and how relationships can be fostered that actively work towards decolonisation. Where video technology is an integral part of the methodology, questions must be asked about the conventions informing the production of audiovisual material and about its authorship and ownership.

Within the context of the participatory video for research (PVR) project with members of Ngāti Hauiti which has been the focus of this thesis, I was interested in the above questions and more particularly, in the concept and practice of complicity as it infused deliberate attempts to ‘do research differently’. Informed by the 2005 article by Ilan Kapoor about the workings of power, complicity and desire within participatory (international)

development, I sought to investigate what could be learnt from adapting and extending his ideas from within the postcolonising context of Aotearoa New Zealand and my role within an academic-iwi participatory research partnership using video. I wanted to understand why colonial continuities were so hard to avoid, even as I sought to practice reflection-in-action (Schön 1983) and participatory methodologies. I wanted to consider how this work could productively inform the future potential of participatory research within social geography.

Specifically the questions that provoked the writing of this thesis were:

- a) How did my complicity manifest in the project with Ngāti Hauiti?
- b) How might the use of PVR have acted as a vehicle for, or challenge to, empire building?
- c) What are some implications of this project for the repoliticisation of participatory discourse within social geography?

In the rest of this chapter, I provide an overview of how some aspects of my complicity manifest throughout the PVR project with members of Ngāti Hauiti, focusing on the years 1998 – 2001. I connect these manifestations to the use of video as a central aspect of our work together to consider how empire, as defined by Kapoor (2005), may or may not have been perpetuated through my efforts at facilitation and through the medium itself. In the third section, I spend some time reflecting on the approach taken in this thesis – hyper-self-reflexive auto-ethnography. I consider the contribution that video can make to reflexive practice, as well as some of the value and limitations of this form of reflexivity. Building out of these reflections, I return to the central concept and practice infusing the thesis – complicity – to argue the importance of ‘thinking-through-complicity’ as central praxis for repoliticising participation within social geography. I conclude by charting some future research horizons for critical PVR, which may support efforts to decolonise geographic knowledge production.

## 9.2 Manifesting Complicity and Perpetuating Empire

Chapters 6-8 communicated many instances when my complicity manifested in the project with Ngāti Hauiti. These were predominantly associated with the workings of participatory discourse and practices associated with Western conventions of video production. These instances revealed the legacies of colonialism working through my *conscious* choices of how to dress, where to sit, how to speak about the collaborative project with Ngāti Hauiti members, how to re-present Joyce's mindmap and how to facilitate project activities such as community mapping. These traces were present even as I was striving to avoid their replication. In other cases, particularly associated with my gestures, comportment or assumptions about time and space, and my facilitation of video production training exercises, these aspects were *unconscious* and only 'showed up' through my close readings of the audiovisual material associated with key incidents, in light of writings on Indigenous research and media.

Teasing out the complicity inherent in my facilitation was complex. Uncritical, not fully 'self-reflexive' advocates continue to overlook the intricacies involved in facilitation of PD, Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Participatory Video (PV), perpetuating structuralist and modernist understandings of power as something held by facilitators or shared with others, who have less or no power. Worryingly, such understandings continue to fuel the many "blanket endorsements of fully collaborative, participatory methods" (Isenberg *et al.*, 2003: 124) flourishing within and beyond academia. They have almost become synonymous with research or development "with a clear conscience" (after Kapoor 2005: 1206) and may help to explain the current depoliticisation of participatory research and development, despite its resulting tyrannies (Cooke and Kothari 2001).

With the benefits of poststructuralist, postcolonial, feminist and psychoanalytic perspectives mobilized in this thesis (Kapoor 2004, 2005; Heron 2007; Mills 2005; Smith, L. 1999; Spivak 1988, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998; Žižek 1989, 1999), it has become clearer to me that the noble and

progressive agendas upon which facilitation rests, rely in part, on the power and complicity of their enablers with colonial continuities of thought.

As a result of these and similar issues, Mike Kesby (2007b: 203) has suggested that:

facilitation will only avoid being out-rightly oppressive, didactic, patronising and neo-colonial if it anticipates its own limits and situatedness, acknowledges the unfinished becomings of adults and engages in genuinely collaborative processes of life-long learning.

Yet, even with the anticipation of facilitators' limits and situatedness, and an orientation towards becoming and life-long learning, facilitators – as my own experiences amply demonstrate – may continue to be oppressive, didactic, patronising and neo-colonial; they occupy a dual and ambiguous status, and unavoidably represent (and replicate) forms of structural power and institutional privilege (Francis 2001). Finally, the practices of self-reflexivity and reflection-in-action posited as being essential for effective facilitation are ultimately limited by the impossibility of deep (MacDougall 1998) or transparent (Rose 1997a) reflexivity (as discussed in Chapter 5). As Leslie Devereaux (1995: 60) reflects:

Self-knowing, which is the condition for knowing the other, is not an achievable state but a process within the act of knowing and perception, a process that accomplishes itself through encounter with the other. An anthropology of difference begins with that attitude of openness to self within the conditions of encounter.

Thus, while I thought that I was open to the self within my encounters with members of Ngāti Hauiti during our early project work discussed in Chapter 6, I was not *at ease* with the self. In trying so hard to be a 'good' participatory facilitator rather than to open to myself in the space of my encounters in this

meeting, I repeatedly reinscribed the colonial discourses I sought to dismantle (Spivak 1988) thereby perpetuating my complicity with them. I return to the limits of reflexivity in Section 9.3.

Shifting from facilitation as means through which my complicity manifest, to a consideration of the methods used and the group setting in which they were applied, (audio)visual methods like participatory mapping and PV are often posited as being able to bridge the cultural gap between facilitator and participants because power relations are thought to be equalised and participants are not required to have literacy to engage in written texts (like surveys for example). The methods or techniques are promoted as facilitating empowerment for participating individuals and subject-communities, as well as providing deeper 'more authentic' cultural knowledge for facilitating outsiders. There is also the assumption that through the production of an (audio)visual product that can be 'openly' and democratically discussed in a group, outsiders can gain more reliable and representative insights into their participants' worlds in their own terms (Rietbergen-McCracken and Narayan 1998).

The following quotation from Renuka Bery (2003: 105-107) with regard to PV summarises these uncritical aspects well:

The participatory video process puts communication tools into the hands of ordinary people who have something to share. The strength of the tool, however, is only as powerful as the person using it. These communicators learn to use the tools and then plan and shape the content, perspective, and impact of the stories they wish to tell. Through this process, local producers learn to identify issues and to articulate them clearly. However participatory communication can provide local people with new opportunities to gain self-confidence, to think for themselves and to speak out [...] Participatory video is also a tool that enhances a video producer's status in the community, often reinforcing the internal confidence building that has begun to take place.

From my research for this thesis, however, such claims are too idealistic. They underestimate Western cultural practices of visual literacy required by participants to produce externally identifiable and accessible (audio)visual products. They also overlook the role of the researcher/facilitator in the process (see also Buckingham 2009). As I discussed in Chapter 7, these methods required participants like Joyce, Harry, Rewa among others to discipline their ways of seeing and to represent their worlds in ways that could be externally verified. As such, the process and technologies associated with the production of community maps or videos tend to perpetuate a colonial type of relationship between facilitator and participants, and produce particular ways of seeing and representing complex phenomena and relationships.

Secondly, participatory techniques, PV and participatory approaches to ethnographic film have been frequently promoted as being quick, easy and fun (Lunch and Lunch 2006; Rouch 1973, cited in Pink 2007b). Yet these ways of working can actually be time consuming, hard work for all involved, and not necessarily easy to facilitate. Being collectively-oriented, they usually engage people in discussions about how they are going to proceed with a designated task, particularly if they don't know each other that well. Such discussions are infused with wider structures and negotiations of power within their community, and are never conflict-free. They require the development of trust and a certain degree of affection if they are to work well (Cooke 2001). They may also take time because they require simplification of what are hugely complex lived experiences and haptic knowledges (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995, cited in Green 2010: 1253) into a visible, two dimensional form, and/or because they demand a reconciliation or disciplining of these knowledges within the facilitator's culturally-specified cartographic or videographic conventions. Further, because these approaches involve participants in doing – in physical activities like drawing, mapping and 'filming' – they may need more time to accommodate the impacts of participants' physical wellbeing and abilities than other approaches.

Thirdly, the power effects of the group work and (audio)visual techniques discussed in this thesis were always already embedded within the power relations at work in the various meeting spaces of the project – whether invited or popular (see Cornwall 2004). As such, the forms of complicity they perpetuated were spatialised and took material form through the production of mindmaps, a ‘community’ map and videos. Within this work, emphasis on the collective voice of the group and a privileging of consensus may have overlooked the issues most difficult to address concerning intra-iwi differences and challenges for social cohesion (see also Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Mosse 2001; Kapoor 2004b), in favour of a focus on what could be tangibly represented on paper or video. As such, the fantasy of consensus as it frequently manifests through participatory processes may have become “the expression of hegemonic privilege and subaltern loss” (Kapoor 2005: 1210), which while never total, tended to perpetuate colonial continuities associated with the scopic and other regimes of the technologies employed.

As a result of the above points, I would argue that the so-called empowerment potential of PVR (referred to in the earlier quote by Bery) exists in a fraught and tenuous relationship with vision. It is disciplined through the colonial continuities of wider participatory practice (facilitation and participatory techniques) and ethnographic filmic conventions at the same time as it claims to be transformational: “people say they ‘see’ things differently” (Francis 2001: 82). It is also spatially, temporally and discursively constrained. The terminology associated with the use of video in a research process, comes to define and replicate what is considered to be legitimate or normal media practice. As members of Ngāti Hauiti increased their confidence and abilities to adopt and use the terminology and video production techniques, they were simultaneously subjectified by this dominant discourse. These implications highlight various ways in which PVR acted as a tool for empire building in the ‘Kapoor-ian’ sense of the word.

That said, as discussions and the extensive excerpts of dialogue in Chapters 6 – 8 demonstrate, there were many moments of resistance, resonance and enablement that occurred within the project. At various times, participating

members resisted my instructions or priorities, assumed new or unfamiliar subject-positions, understood and became critical of dominant media, and carved out ways to (audio)visually represent their own understandings of time and space, or their relationships with others and the land. These were in part related to the critical perspectives advanced by Geoff in his training sessions and to the carefully negotiated founding kaupapa of the project, which was based on mutual respect and learning. The waiata training video therefore was the product of an intersubjective gaze, as well as the embodied and haptic knowledges of CVRT members' emergent subjectivities as co-constituted in the particular times and spaces of the collaborative project. It reflected CVRTs members' increasing understanding of dominant media conventions and their desires to challenge ways in which those conventions had been used to represent the iwi in the past. It was a product of a process of 'responsibility-in-complicity' (Schaffer 2004).

Co-presenting on the project in various spaces as discussed in Chapter 8, also demonstrated the productive, and occasionally painful, dimensions of acting-in-complicity. Various 'Thirds', such as discourses associated with the 'Treaty', Western social science and/or Māoritanga, in some cases interpellated us as complicit with colonial continuities (in negative terms). In others, they enabled the experience of more productive forms of complicity as affinity (Gunaratnam 2003) as we rallied against their mobilisation by particular audience members. In particular, the shared experiences of receiving criticisms from both Māori and Pākehā audience members reinforced the central importance of trust in each other and prompted a heightened sense of 'responsibility-in-complicity' within our research relationships as we struggled to make sense of these criticisms. The experiences also drew attention to the limits of current thinking about ethics in relation to PAR and PV, as they highlighted aspects of vulnerability and risk that are associated with travelling with video products to present in different spaces to diverse and ultimately, unpredictable audiences.

### 9.3 The Value and Limits of Hyper-self-reflexivity

What we are calling for as the first step ... is a genuine and rigorous reflexivity. ... This means going beyond the evident narrowness (verging on narcissism) of the existing self-acclaimed 'self-critical epistemology' (Chambers 1997: 32) to draw on a deeper and more wide-ranging set of analyses than has hitherto been the case. ... Ironically, though, authentic reflexivity requires a level of open-mindedness that accepts that participatory development<sup>114</sup> may inevitably be tyrannical, and a preparedness to abandon it if this is the case. Thus any meaningful attempt to save participatory development requires a sincere acceptance of the possibility that it should not be saved (Cooke and Kothari 2001:15).

As the above quotation illustrates, there has been something of a reflexive turn within participatory development over the last twenty years. Yet challenges persist in how academics, researchers and development practitioners can be appropriately reflexive in their work so as not to perpetuate hierarchical or neo-colonial relationships and representations. While acknowledging the limits of transparent reflexivity as highlighted by Gillian Rose (1997a; Chapter 5), I have sought to advance an alternative – more genuine and rigorous - reflexivity inspired by the work of Gayatri Spivak (1988, 1990, 1993). Working with video enabled me to develop and practice retrospective hyper-self-reflexivity through the replay and interpretation of audiovisual information, particularly where information pertained to my historical self as a would-be critically-reflective practitioner (Thompson and Thompson 2008).

I focused on myself as the primary site of analysis, positioning myself at the centre of critique and seeing myself as a resource for understanding (Glesne and Peshkin 1992). By writing this self-implicating performance (after Sanders 2002: 179) I have sought to identify new possibilities for future

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<sup>114</sup> And I would argue, PAR and PV.

ethical encounters. While relatively common in other practitioner-oriented research, such an approach is still unusual within geography.

Perhaps geographers – especially participatory geographers – have been slow to embrace such an approach because it may attract criticism. Critics attack autoethnographic accounts for being too self-indulgent, introspective, narcissistic and individualised (Coffey 1999; Sparkes 2000). These criticisms may be valid if the accounts do not make connections between the author's experiences and wider social theory or debates. However, even if an account doesn't make these connections, criticisms that focus on narcissism overlook the fundamental point that knowledge is constructed through relationships. Researchers accumulate experiences in relationship to themselves, each other and the discourses at play within their environments (Stanley 1993).

If this relational understanding is accepted and brought to bear within critical analyses of auto-ethnographic work, it could encourage empathy and connection beyond the self of the author. It could foster more ethical relationships and offer an alternative means of writing social experience (Mykhalovskiy 1996). Criticisms of autoethnography and self-reflective practice are therefore too simplistic and there is value in this approach when it is carried out within a relational frame. Specifically in relation to Spivak's hyper-self-reflexivity, as the guiding approach in this thesis, Kapoor (2004: 643) argued:

[it] can hardly be accused of being a navel-gazing exercise that reinforces Western ethnocentrism when it is expressly carried out in order to clear the way for an ethical relationship with the Other.

Such a relational understanding and a clearer pathway for ethical relationships has been the motivation for writing this thesis.

Of course the use of audiovisual material as a source of 'evidence' has not been unproblematic. While the clips (Appendix G: DVD) are observational and reflexive because they are about my research experience (see Pink 2006),

they are also consciously-framed realistic recordings, which simultaneously reflect the subjective vision of whomever was directing the camera at the time (see also Pink 2004b). The clips therefore represent the camera-person's view (usually Geoff's, but sometimes members of Ngāti Hauiti) as well my own representations of myself. As I have been unable to attend to other's views my readings are inherently partial and contingent (see Section 1.4).

My practice has also been historical and revisionist. This aspect could raise criticisms that it is 'too late' and therefore irrelevant for the practice of ethical or decolonising research relationships. However, through the multi-layered and multi-dimensional steps I took to reflect on my own practice within the project (Section 5.3), I would argue that the detailed readings of key incidents through memory work and use of audiovisual texts can provide a tangible means of deepening and repoliticising the work with Ngāti Hauiti.

It is fundamentally my commitment to these long-term relationships, which has compelled me to practice this form of self-inquiry. The process has been a slow and sometimes painful one, and I feel it is important to acknowledge the very real emotional challenges associated with viewing oneself in action in this way, particularly if one has been seeking to practice research 'differently'. This kind of work cannot be rushed. It has to be re-membered, re-lived and re-cast. In a sense then, the timeframe within which I have been working, and that would advocate to others desiring to work in collaborative ways, has been one akin to that of the 'slow food' movement (Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010), which argues the health and societal benefits of taking time over food preparation and digestion. I would contend that as research-practitioners – particularly in activist, action-oriented and participatory geographies – we have an ethical responsibility to slow down and periodically take stock of our practice and digest its wider implications before preparing to re-engage. For me, this approach has provided an opportunity to learn deeply from the past in order to inform my future engagements with Māori and culturally-different others in more ethical ways.

Yet, as there is no escape from discourse and any attempt to reject or even critique dominant discourses involves reinforcing them in some ways, I have come to realise that reflexively researching complicity for this thesis has also involved ‘doing complicity’ (c.f. McDowell 1992 on ‘doing gender’). While I approached the key incidents and their associated texts with a commitment to inhabit and negotiate the discourses at work by unsettling them rather than critiquing or attempting to discredit them, I have had to recognise that I was (and still am) mired within the processes and practices I facilitated and participated in with my research collaborators in the project. I continue to intimately inhabit the very institutional and embodied structures I am seeking to work against (Spivak 1990, 1993).

In this respect, it is important to acknowledge here that my hyper-self-reflexive approach only extended to a consideration of complicity within my relationships with members of Ngāti Hauiti as I saw them at the time of carrying out the interpretation. What became obvious in the feedback process was that I had not been able to simultaneously analyse and account for Geoff’s presence and contribution to the key incidents and my practice, which I was excavating. The multifaceted web of interconnected subject positions and relationships we each navigated prior to, during and since the 1998-2001 period under scrutiny was ultimately a) too complex and b) too potentially destabilising for me to also subject our relationship to such close scrutiny for the purposes of this thesis.

As such there were definite limits on the self-proclaimed *hyper-self-reflexivity* of my approach, through which I effectively privileged attention to axes of ‘race’ and class within the context of the cross-cultural relationships with members of Ngāti Hauiti, excluding the more intimate heteronormative dimensions of my relationships with Geoff. Yet these might have been equally or, in some cases, more significant within the manifestations of my complicity excavated here.

In this thesis therefore, I have attempted to provide an example of taking seriously “that with which one is familiar, to acknowledge that one is seduced

by it, even as one engages in a persistent critique of it ... to try and negotiate by persistently transforming conditions of impossibility into possibility” (Spivak 1988, cited in Kapoor 2004: 640). Yet, I have clearly encountered limits associated with what was intellectually and emotionally conceivable for me to ‘tackle’ during the process of excavation and ‘writing in’ (Mansvelt and Berg 2010).

These limitations noted and accepting that we are all subject-effects of discourse, I value the detailed (albeit partial) excavations I have carried out. They have provided me with a means to move beyond the rather one-sided and overly negative approach to complicity advanced by Kapoor (2005) and Spivak’s (1988, 1990, 1993) rather general pointers about how to be more self-reflexive in cross-cultural encounters. Clearly, there is still more work that could be done, not least in terms of rethinking ‘excavation’ as the central practice of such a self-reflexive approach.

At the beginning of this research, excavation felt like a liberating approach to me. It enabled me to delve ‘below the surface’ and think critically about the power relations at work in the various key incidents I had remembered. Over time, however, this process came to feel constraining in its linearity and its implicit promise of finitude. Instead, as I elaborate in the next section, I have become more interested in an ongoing practice of ‘thinking-through-complicity’. This practice, as a means to support hyper-self-reflexivity, I argue offers the potential to become a ‘way of being’ in research relationships. It provides a means through which academics, researchers and development practitioners can slowly and carefully attend to the micro-analysis of power relations in their work in order to inform interscalar engagements oriented towards social change.

The approach adopted in the thesis also continues to inform and add value to the ongoing relationships with members of Ngāti Hauiti as research collaborators, friends and colleagues. Privileging the continued importance of these ongoing relationships – not least through various people’s involvement in the production of the awa hikoi documentary and in providing feedback on

this thesis – has also drawn me towards the centrality of ‘inter-personal reflexivity’ (Nicholls 2009) as a future alternative to hyper-self-reflexivity in this kind of work. Within the concept and practice of inter-personal reflexivity, values and practices of relationality, respect and reciprocity, so central to Indigenous research, enable a more explicit orientation to others, to ambiguity, to action and to resistance (Schaffer 2004).

Such an orientation to being may also enable more engagement with the very (inter)personal nature of some relationships within research contexts. Confronting and embracing ‘the Real’ of participatory research practice in this way could offer others an alternative means through which both the inevitable tyranny of participatory endeavours and their potential for transformation can be better acknowledged *and* held in productive tension (c.f. Cooke and Kothari 2001: 15).

#### **9.4 ‘Thinking-Through-Complicity’**

As noted above, Kapoor’s (2005) attention to ‘the Real’ of participatory development (PD), as an apparently benevolent and empowering ideology, acted as the catalyst for my approach to the excavation of my own complicity within the PVR project with Ngāti Hauiti at the centre of this thesis. Kapoor’s (2005) engagement with complicity, however, was primarily expressed in ‘negative’ terms. It involved paying attention to how institutional, personal and cultural aspects of professional practice may perpetuate complicity with colonial continuities and empire building via the reinforcement of unequal power relations and the perpetuation of various forms of hegemony.

I too, looked and listened for these aspects of complicity in my research practice by tracking moments or practices espousing magnanimity, benevolence, consensus as well as moments of narcissistic samaritanism, transference, coercion, exclusion, panopticism, disciplinarity, inducement,

seduction, collusion, abetment, connivance or domination within the context of my research relationships, speech and actions.

To work with the specificities of my entanglements with participatory and video technologies in this cross-cultural partnership, however, I found it necessary to expand upon Kapoor's framework in two main ways.

First, I moved beyond Kapoor's textual and discursive focus to attend to embodiment or corporeality (comportment, gestures, movement, actions), objects (camera, paper, pens) and space (context, use of, movement within). These dimensions enabled me to explore how they may have maintained, reinforced or disrupted exclusionary constructions and power imbalances; and supported or destabilised processes of racialisation, minoritisation and subjectification (see Gunarathnam 2003; Panelli 2004).

Paying attention to these important material, corporeal and spatialised dimensions within the often messy business of my research interactions also enabled a direct grounded engagement with Spivak's concerns associated with the impacts of intellectuals' representations of marginalised others. Finally, I complemented their ideas with readings on Foucauldian discourse analysis (Kendall and Wickham 1999; Rose 2001; Waitt 2010) to enable me to question contingencies as a means through which to interrupt the political spaces (Denzin 2004, 2008) under inquiry and consider alternatives.

Second, by working with George Marcus' (1998) idea of 'Thirds' – I was able to track key moments when various 'Thirds' such as 'Western realist filmic conventions', Western social science research, dominant understandings of biculturalism, te Tiriti o Waitangi, Tino Rangatiratanga, Kaupapa Māori research, and ideologies of participatory research and development were endorsed or challenged by my practice within the project. By working with an understanding that all participants within the project shared a relationship to these various 'Thirds' and that these 'Thirds' and our relationships to them were often necessary for our collaborative action to take place, I also conceived of complicity as something necessary and at times

constructive within the context of cross-cultural research relationships. Therefore along with the negative aspects outlined above, I sought out moments of involvement, responsibility, collaboration, participation, support, negotiation, resistance, authority and empowerment, which produced alternative subject-positions, subjectivities, power relations and/or knowledges and understandings to emerge. Importantly, it was at these times when members of Ngāti Hauiti, Geoff and myself oriented around a larger complicity – aspects of our affinity (Gunaratnam 2003) or our foldedness of human-being (Sanders 2002) – rather than around our racial, cultural or other differences, that some of the most significant learnings and shifts in power happened.

For example, some of these more enabling aspects of complicity were most apparent in the experiences and subsequent discussions of our co-presentations to various audiences during 1999-2001. In these moments, the productive, and sometimes painful, dimensions of acting-in-complicity were thrown into sharp relief as our different and combined relationships to various ‘Thirds’ such as discourses of Western social science and/or Māoritanga were articulated. Our shared experiences of receiving criticisms from both Māori and Pākehā audience members reinforced the central importance of trust in our research relationships and prompted a heightened sense of relational, interpersonal reflexivity (Nicholls 2009). This aspect in turn shed new light on our collective understandings about our work at a range of scales; from the local engagement of whānau in video training to the epistemological challenge our work represented to mainstream Western social science research conventions.

Thinking of complicity in this way as something necessary and potentially constructive also served to reinforce the importance of relationships to effective cross-cultural research. Reconceiving of complicity also as affinity (Gunaratnam 2003; Sanders 2002), opened space for these relationships and the significance of their embodied, affective and spatial dimensions. Such a ‘both/and’ approach to complicity recognised that complicity, like power, is both enabling and constraining. It also indicates that it is ever-present and

cannot be avoided. As such, ‘thinking-through-complicity’ as both a challenge and a resource could offer a useful lens through which to repoliticise participatory discourse and social geography.

For example, the possibility of more resilient and participatory research is most likely if collaborators and participants are able to ‘think-through-complicity’ as I have advocated in this thesis, and if these new understandings are incorporated into the process of intersubjective analysis (see Browne *et al.*, 2010; Cahill 2007a; Cameron and Gibson 2005). Here, video – as a negotiating technology and actor (Shrum *et al.*, 2005) within a research relationship – clearly facilitates such a process.

The importance of working productively with difference in this way, and of engaging aspects of *both* researchers’ and participants/co-researchers’ shifting positionalities and subjectivities can also mitigate against some of the concerns about tyranny associated with facilitation, group work and participatory methods currently prevalent within the literature. As Yoland Wadsworth (2001: 420) reflects, if all who are relevant or who have an interest are able to participate, then facilitation becomes “a more collective undertaking shaped by the micro action of all participants”.

Epistemologically then, a process of ‘thinking-through-complicity’ can contribute to participation’s repoliticisation through its acknowledgement of “the open-endedness of what is said and done in the research event and the multiplicity of sometimes incommensurable ‘truths’ that it admits” (Whatmore 2003: 99, drawing on the work of Isabelle Stengers). This incommensurability is particularly significant within the context of cross-cultural research.

Finally, social geographers’ experiments with non-verbal methods (Crang 2003), and their rising interest in emotions, embodiment, non-representational theory and affect (see for example, Bondi *et al.*, 2005; Longhurst 2008; Thrift 2004; Tolia-Kelly 2006), provide opportunities to challenge the methodological parochialism currently apparent within much participatory

discourse and practice (Cooke and Kothari 2001) and to broaden the range of participatory interventions. In a sense I would argue that social geographers prepared to ‘think-through-complicity’ will move slowly towards a means of being able to engage *affect with effect*, and may be better able to spread and sustain the effects of participatory enquiry (see also Kindon 2010 and Kindon *et al.*, 2007).

## **9.5 Charting a Course towards Multiple Horizons**

In 2000, Nigel Thrift made a call to geographers to be more imaginative in their research practice and move away from the rather conservative methods common in qualitative research – interviews, focus groups and ethnographies. I too have issued a similar call, particularly in relation to how more imaginative methods can enable a practice of negotiated ethics (Kindon and Latham 2002). However, as I reflect on what I have learnt from writing this thesis from a project which sought to be innovative, and from attempting to practice an innovative form of reflexivity, I would add another call; one which requires more considered reflection. This call is for geographers to earnestly ask themselves *why* they wish to be more methodologically innovative.

Christine Milligan (2005) has argued that methodological innovation is important because it can enable new insights and the generation of new forms of knowledge; however as I hope this thesis has demonstrated, methodological innovation is always already implicated within existing regimes of power/knowledge and is imbued with complicity and desire. It is this desire for ‘something different’ that may replicate the very inequalities and power relations that academics, researchers and development practitioners seek to challenge.

For this replication to be less common, I would argue that in addition to attending to participatory epistemologies and the benefits of visual

technologies like video, social geographers must think through their inevitable complicity. In other words, participation in social geography, and social geography itself, cannot hope to be repoliticised – whether using PVR or not – unless researcher complicity is acknowledged, embraced and negotiated. This means first attending to when we are acting-in-complicity, as a means of developing responsibility-in-complicity. Such responsible geographies (McLean *et al.*, 1997) may not be rewarded by the academy in the short term, but the central role of space in many people's oppression (Ruddick 2004) means that social geographers are uniquely positioned to adopt more participatory ways of researching which build collaborative communities of inquiry and foster social equity and justice.

As such, and in keeping with the recognition from Chapter 7 that our commonly-held notion of 'the horizon' is a socially-constructed and Western imposition, I wish to 'conclude' by charting a course towards multiple horizons for future research. It is my intention that these horizons encourage others to grapple with implications from this thesis for the future practice of more critical PVR and for forms of repoliticised participatory research within social geography.

First, given that Welsey Shrum *et al.*, (2005) propose that digital video may represent a new way of practising research, and Kathleen Gallagher and Isabelle Kim (2008) suggest that it can open up postcolonial possibilities, then what might this new way involve? How might digital video (including participatory uses of it) be mobilised in ways that do not replicate colonisation? Associated with this possibility, how does the terminology associated with video research reflect its colonial, neocolonial or decolonising applications? Currently the terminology associated particularly with PV is quite monolithic and homogenising of very different practices on the ground. Research is needed that documents the evolving genealogies and geographies of PV work if academics, researchers and development practitioners are to be more aware of its potential effects in their work in order to engage the medium in more decolonising ways.

Second, associated with the need to be aware of the legacies of the medium, more work is needed that challenges the notion of an ‘authentic’ or ‘native’ gaze within development and research applications of PV. Such a notion currently serves to individualise and objectify the producer, and perpetuates binaries associated with Indigenous/settler, researched/researcher, colonised/colonist. It also does little to recognise the limitations inherent in conceptualisations of the research or development relationship as enabling practices of ‘looking nearby’ (Kindon 2003). I would like to see more research, which works productively with the notion of the ‘intersubjective’ gaze as a vehicle for better understanding the terrain of power within which the technology is being mobilised.

Third, attention to the gaze, while important, is not enough. Most research concerning the role of video in research to date has tended to privilege discussions of vision and of the power relations that prevail between the viewer (most commonly behind the camera) and the subject being ‘filmed’ in front of the camera. The result has been that subject-community members have been put behind as well as in front of the camera in an effort to equalise perceived power imbalances. From the project with Ngāti Hauiti, however, this emphasis overlooks the embodied and haptic negotiations of power that occur between people in the spaces *alongside* the camera, that also inform the process of ‘filming’ and the audiovisual texts produced. To better understand the culturally- and politically-embedded ways in which the technology is mobilised and to what effect within participatory and collaborative research endeavours, I would therefore encourage more work, which explores the micro-political negotiations that occur behind and alongside the camera between outsiders and participating members of a subject-community, as well as *between* the members of the subject-community themselves.

Fourth, related to the need to engage relationships around and alongside the camera, Indigenous perspectives are particularly important here as they provide insights into different understandings of relationality between humans, and between humans and non-human entities (Deger 2006; Howitt 2011; Kobayashi and de Leeuw 2010; Panelli 2008; Johnson, J. *et al.*, 2007;

Smith, L. 1999; Tupa and Panelli 2009; Wilson 2008). How these inform research relationships as well as the use of video in research offer exciting possibilities for social geography's repoliticisation.

Finally, in light of my experiments with a form of hyper-self-reflexivity in this thesis, I would welcome others' explorations in a similar vein, particularly if they were oriented towards how inter-personal reflexivity (Nicholls 2009) and the practice of 'thinking-through-complicity' may work towards decolonising practice in different contexts. Thinking about the 'Real' of our research encounters with the critical and participatory use of video technology means embracing messiness, contradiction and the 'sting of memory'. Such actions may be personally confronting, but represent important steps in the professional struggle to decolonise geographic research.

# **APPENDIX A. PROJECT INFORMATION 'PACK' APRIL 1998**

14/4/98

## **Community Video in the Rangitikei**

Dear Utiku,

This letter is a follow up to the initial discussions with you the week before last about the possibility of working in the Rangitikei. We have put down the following information about the project for you to consider before we talk again:

- a) Project Team: who is involved from outside the Rangitikei
- b) Project Outline: the overall goal, objectives, methods, relevance and anticipated outcomes of the project
- c) Project Expectations: what would be needed from any community that wanted to work with us
- d) Project Team Expertise: curriculum vitae for the project manager and video specialist

We would like to speak about the values and experiences that informed the creation of the project at a later time in a more appropriate setting. We will be in the Rangitikei district from 14 - 19 April and will telephone you to discuss this information and the possibility of a meeting to discuss the project further. This information is as brief as we could make it, but we felt that we should give as much as we would like to receive. We look forward to the opportunity of talking with you and other members of Ngati Hauiti soon.

Yours sincerely

Sara Kindon

a) *Project Team*

Project Manager

Sara Kindon is a Lecturer in Human Geography and Development Studies at Victoria University in Wellington. She does participatory research with rural communities and is interested in working with people in the Rangitikei region on the topic of community, cultural identity and place. She has been involved in research in the North Hokianga and has worked on community development projects in Indonesia and Costa Rica. She has been living in Aotearoa/New Zealand for the last four years.

Video Specialist

Geoff Hume-Cook is director of Encantado Communications Ltd. and is a collaborative film-maker and screen producer who likes to see communities become producers of images and sounds that work for them; ones that they own and use as they see fit. He has been living in Wellington since mid-1996 after leaving Victoria, Australia. He has become familiar with parts of the Rangitikei over the last 12 months.

Graduate Students

Sara and Geoff will be joined by two graduate students in Human Geography to make up the research team for the project. It is our intention to offer one of the graduate student positions to a Maori and look forward to receiving suggestions from Ngati Hauiti for a suitable candidate.

## b) *Project Outline*

### **Title of Project**

Community Video in the Rangitikei: An Investigation of Place, Identity and Social Cohesion in Rural Aotearoa/New Zealand

### **Goals and Objectives of Project**

General Project Goals are to:

1. apply Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods in the production of community video(s) with two rural communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand;
2. develop and document collaborative research between the team and members of two rural communities;
3. understand how people in these communities think about themselves, their communities and where they live in relation to concepts of 'social cohesion', place and identity.

Specific Project Objectives are to:

1. train members of two rural communities and graduate students in the skills of video production;
2. facilitate a collaborative research process which is empowering for all participants;
2. document, using video, how people think about themselves, where they live and their communities, and how these ideas compare with those of developers and tourism boards;
3. analyse why certain identities and senses of place are selected over other alternatives;
4. assess the benefits and/or losses coming from these selections and their implications for 'social cohesion' in these communities.

### **Research Methods**

The project is designed to run for one year initially. It consists of three phases of participatory fieldwork (in two selected rural communities) and continuous monitoring and evaluation of the process and data generated. It

uses methods of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in conjunction with community video production. Despite worldwide use by community groups and non-government organisations, true PRA has not been used by experienced practitioners in Aotearoa/New Zealand to date. PRA offers a creative and culturally-sensitive approach to information gathering in which groups of community members generate and analyse their own knowledge through methods such as field-based group mapping, diagramming and interviewing. The training of community members in video production skills enhances the process of PRA and enables people to create vital documents about who they are and where they live.

### **Relevance of Project**

Since 1984 in Aotearoa/New Zealand, political ‘reforms’ have resulted in the ‘rationalisation’ of many services in regional areas. Global economic forces, adverse climatic and local environmental conditions have combined to change the social fabric of rural Aotearoa/New Zealand. One response to these changes by some community members has been the promotion of particular places and identities for tourism marketing purposes. Such promotion has often been aimed at attracting visitor-based investment (e.g., promotion of Taihape through branding it as “Gumboot City”), and at re-inventing a sense of geographic community and enhancing local economic development (e.g., promotion of the Rangitikei district as the “Undiscovered Secret”).

Recent statements in some government documents suggest that ‘social cohesion’ is important to the development and maintenance of ‘strong’ communities. There has been little published academic research which has investigated how particular senses of place and identity are selected and promoted by rural residents (Maori and other), or what impacts these selections have on ‘social cohesion’ and future community development. Thus, it would seem essential to understand what processes contribute to the development or loss of ‘social cohesion’ in particular places.

This research will contribute significantly to critical contemporary debates on community and social policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It will do this by clarifying the sense of ‘community’ at different geographic scales and developing local understandings of the concept of ‘social cohesion’.

### **Research Outcomes**

The project will add important skills to the participating communities. In an Information Technology dominated era, the ability to create meaningful images and sounds for community purposes becomes critical.

Communities will gain an understanding of the basics of video production and retain their own productions. Once it has been approved by the community committees, the jointly-generated information on the community-based research processes will be distributed in a/v format to the United Nations archives, New York and the International Institute of Environment and Development, London. There will also be internal (VUW) reports and other academic papers, which will have been approved in draft form by the partners before submission to editors and eventual publication.

#### *c) Our expectations of community partners in the project*

The following is a dot point summary of our expectations. To be sure that we each understand what they mean, and what we each can really give, or expect, we know that we need to meet and discuss these points directly with you.

- **Time** – estimated involvement with team: 30 half-days over 12 months; small groups that take responsibility for video productions will need to allow an additional 100 - 120 hours over the next 10 - 12 months
- **Commitment** – willingness to be equal partners in the project (in terms of commitment to the agreed upon outcomes)
- **Openness** – being prepared to try things that may at first seem unusual (i.e., using different participatory activities to generate information and encourage democratic decisions)

- **Advice and Feedback** – keeping an eye on the project’s progress and offering constructive feedback; being willing to offer guidance in relation to appropriate protocol and process
- **Honesty** – being clear about whether or not things are working and making suggestions about changes
- **Democracy** – commitment to enabling all types of people access to and participation in the project (i.e., elders, women, young people, disabled people)
- **Material Resources** – vehicles, meeting room with TV, own video camcorder/player etc.

*d) Expertise of project team*

Curriculum Vitae for Sara Kindon and Geoffrey Hume-Cook follow this page.

**[Not included here]**

## APPENDIX B. COMMON PARTICIPATORY METHODS

Method	Process	Some of the Types of Issues Explored
Social mapping	In groups, participants draw a visual map of the houses, important institutions (village head, doctors, school, church) and places people congregate (market, shops, river, sports field, transport hubs) in the community	Importance of institutions in the community Where services are located Where children, and various types of adults live Where and how people spend their time Location and availability of transport
Resource mapping	In groups, participants draw a visual map of where they go to get the important resources in their community	Where water, fuel and food sources for people and animals are located Location of markets, shops, gardens, fields, crops and animals
Mobility mapping	Individually participants draw a visual map of where they go every day/week/month/in the past year etc.	Mobility of men, women and children: where they go to work, school, gather resources, for leisure and entertainment, for services, to hang out or sleep (street children)
Time transects	Individually participants draw how they spend their time on a time-line or a pie chart that is divided into 24 hours	How people spend their time How time affects whether people seek services Time available for work, research or project activities Time involved in looking for food or other resources
Transect walks	Individually or in groups with a facilitator, participants walk through their neighbourhood, local environment describing or answering questions about it and what happens there	How land is owned and managed and worked Accessibility of resources, services, transport Safety, social segregation
Trend Analysis	Individually or in groups, participants draw a trend line showing change over time of social or environmental	Landuse change Community change

	factors	Cultural change Income or Health variation
Body mapping I	Individually or in groups, participants draw particular bodies within their community (a woman, a typical youth, a person with HIV-AIDS)	Images and stereotypes of particular people Relationship of participants to these people (inter-group tensions, use of space) Sensitive personal issues more easily discussed when generalised (drug use, truancy, pre-marital sex)
Body mapping II	Individually or in groups, participants draw an outline of a body and mark places on it when asked specific questions	Maternal, male or child health issues Issues of sexual abuse; where young people have been touched or abused Corporeal punishment or torture
Social network diagrams	Individually participants draw a network map of social relationships they are involved in (or facilitator draws this from responses provided by participants)	Degree of knowledge about and connection with others in a community and/or key services Trust, kinship relations Social capital
Matrix ranking & scoring	In a group, participants list items during a guided brainstorming session, then rank them in importance and frequency	Severity and frequency of disease Types of food eaten Preferences
Seasonal & social calendars	In a group, participants draw events that happen during different seasons of the year	Wet, dry seasons; cycles of migration; cycles of religious events; work patterns; ebbs and flows of money; when people get sick
Causal flow analysis	In a group, participants draw a diagram of what causes certain problems or situations	Community perceptions of causes of problems Reasons for particular social behaviours, or environmental effects
Focus group discussions	In a group, participants discuss a topic facilitated by a researcher with a note taker	Identification of community priorities Identification of questions useful for a questionnaire

(Source: Adapted from Beazley and Ennew 2006: 194-195)

# APPENDIX C. MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

## Memorandum of Understanding between the Institute of Geography, Victoria University of Wellington/ Encantado Communications Ltd., and Representatives of Te Runanga o Ngati Hauiti

### Abbreviations used:

Community Video Research Team (CVRT); Institute of Geography, Victoria University of Wellington /Encantado Communications Limited Research Group [as represented by Sara Kindon (Principal Researcher), Ben Hyslop (MA student), and Geoffrey Hume Cook (Ethnographic Audiovisual Specialist)] (IG/ECL); Ngati Hauiti (NH); Potaka Working Party (PWP); Te Runanga o Ngati Hauiti (TRNH); Victoria University of Wellington (VUW)

**This MOU clarifies** the aspects of the research partnership between the Research Group from the Institute of Geography, VUW/Encantado Communications Ltd, (IG/ECL), and Te Runanga o Ngati Hauiti (TRNH) through its designated representatives, the Potaka Working Party (PWP) and the Community Video Research Team (CVRT).

The partnership has been established to carry out the VUW-funded research project entitled: "Re-inventing Rural Communities: An Investigation into Place, Identity and Social Cohesion in Rural Aotearoa-New Zealand". This project is also named: "Te Whakaohonga o Ngati Hauiti ki Utiku" (The Re-awakening of Ngati Hauiti in Utiku).

The guiding principles of the project reflect those embedded within the Treaty of Waitangi. Specifically, the project principles seek to:

1. respect and protect NH knowledge and members;
2. work in partnership (i.e., in good faith) with NH through the PWP and CVRT; and
3. facilitate a participatory and empowering research process for all involved.

These principles will be applied through the:

1. collaborative and reciprocal relationships between IG/ECL, PWP and the CVRT;
2. accountability of IG/ECL to the PWP and NH (as well as to VUW);
3. training by IG/ECL of CVRT members in video production and participatory research methods; and
4. generation of high quality information that is of use to NH and of scholarly interest to the wider community within Aotearoa-New Zealand.

**Specifically**, this MOU signifies agreement between IG/ECL and Representatives of TRNH on the following points:

The PWP, CVRT and IG/ECL are partners in the collaborative research process.

TRNH, through PWP, approve the recording of the faces, voices, representations and names of members of the community of NH by IG/ECL and CVRT for the purposes of scholarly research, under the conditions described below. [Individual members of NH approached by the CVRT retain the right of veto over the forms of their participation and representation in the research.]

The PWP agree to oversee and monitor the research process to ensure that matters of tikanga, appropriate protocol, rights and responsibilities are respected by all parties.

The PWP agree to act as facilitator between IG/ECL and CVRT, and to maintain a level of contact between all parties so as to encourage smooth running of the project and management of any conflicts should they arise.

IG/ECL agree to provide basic training in community video production and research methods to CVRT members.

Members of the CVRT agree to participate in weekly video production and research training sessions (November 1998 - January 1999), and to undertake mutually-agreed upon team-based research activities with IG/ECL during the period January - December 1999.

PWP agree to ensure a minimum of three members of the NH community participate in each meeting of CVRT. The time participants contribute is voluntary.

NH agree to provide a venue and camera equipment for CVRT training and meetings.

IG/ECL agree to provide camera equipment for CVRT training and meetings, and to contribute koha as appropriate.

IG/ECL agree to provide copies of all video footage, paper-based materials and publications generated through the research process to TRNH for their archives.

TRNH agree to the use of images and information generated throughout the research process being reproduced in academic fora whilst subject to their designated representative's right of veto over the forms of specific reference to NH and its members. The anticipated academic fora within which information will be reproduced include: research reports for VUW; academic articles and conference papers; Ben Hyslop's MA thesis; Sara Kindon's PhD thesis; any videos made for use in presentations and teaching.

Should any news media seek to obtain comment from the principal researcher upon publication of such articles, then the designated representative of TRNH will be notified and consulted with prior to the interview or broadcast.

In the event of future opportunities of a commercial nature arising from the research (i.e., broadcast documentaries), IG/ECL and TRNH agree to negotiate on the respective proportions of returns after production costs.

Signed:



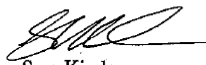
Utiku K. Blaka  
Representative  
TRNH

Date:




Representative  
PWP  
Thomas Curkis

Date: 14/1/1999



Sara Kindon  
IG, VUW

Date: 9/1/99



Geoffrey Hume-Cook  
ECL

Date:

Benjamin Hyslop  
IG, VUW

Date:

  
9/1/99

## APPENDIX D. LIST OF PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROJECT 1999 – 2012

This list comprises work either focusing directly on or growing out of the project, and work where the project is mentioned or used as a case study within wider discussions.

### 1999

Kindon, S., and G. Hume-Cook Keeping Rights within Sight: An analysis of participatory community video in feminist geographic research in rural Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Pre-conference Proceedings of Southern Regional Conference of the International Geographical Union Commission on Gender*, Department of Geography, University of Otago, Dunedin, February 8-11, 1999.

Hume-Cook, G., and S. Kindon Egalitarian, empowering and participatory...yeah right!? A workshop exploring the uses of video in critical human geography research. *Pre-conference Proceedings of Southern Regional Conference of the International Geographical Union Commission on Gender*, Department of Geography, University of Otago, Dunedin, February 8-11, 1999.

Kindon, S. (Re)framing and (Re)presenting: Participatory Community Video in Geographic Research. Presentation at *New Zealand Geographical Society 20th Annual Conference*: Massey University, Palmerston North, July 5-8, 1999.

Kindon, S. *Participatory Community Video and Maori: Partnership Research with Ngaati Hauiti*. Research seminar to the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, August 1999.

Hume-Cook, G. 1999 “Te Whakaohotanga o Ngati Hauiti ki Utiku”. Documentation of video training and production process as part of project: *Reinventing Rural Communities: exploring relationships between place, identity and social cohesion in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. 15 minutes.

## 2000

Kindon, S. (Re)framing and (Re)presenting: Participatory Community Video in Geographic Research. In *Proceedings of Twentieth New Zealand Geography Conference, July 5-8, 1999*, M. Roche, M. McKenna and P. Hesp [Eds]. Massey University, Palmerston North, 2000, 175-178.

Hume-Cook, G., and T. Curtis Re-Membering the Rohe: A Participatory Video Research Partnership in the Rangitikei, Aotearoa New Zealand. Presentation at *Documentary Sites Conference*, Auckland, August 2000.

Kindon, S., G. Hume-Cook, K. Woods, T. Curtis and J. Potaka Re-Membering the Rohe: A Participatory Video Research Partnership exploring Social Cohesion, Place and Identity in the Rangitikei, Aotearoa New Zealand. Presentation at *NZ Film and History Conference*, Wellington, December 2000.

## 2001

Kindon, S. Re-Membering the Rohe: A Participatory Video Research Partnership exploring Social Cohesion, Place and Identity in the Rangitikei, Aotearoa New Zealand. Presentation at: *International Community Development Conference*, Rotorua, April 2-6, 2001.

Kindon, S., G. Hume-Cook, K. Woods, T. Curtis and J. Potaka Re-Membering the Rohe: A Participatory Video Research Partnership exploring Social Cohesion, Place and Identity in the Rangitikei, Aotearoa New Zealand. *International Community Development Conference: Abstracts*, Rotorua, April 2-6, 2001.

## 2002

Kindon, S., and A. Latham From Mitigation to Negotiation: Ethics and the Geographic Imagination in Aotearoa New Zealand, *New Zealand Geographer*, 58(1), 2002, 14-22.

Kindon, S. *Participatory Video in Geographic Research: A Feminist Practice of Looking?* Research seminar presented to the Department of Geography, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, UK, March 2002.

Kindon, S. *Participatory Video in Geographic Research: A Feminist Practice of Looking?* Research seminar presented to Geography, the Open University, Milton Keynes, UK, March 2002.

Kindon, S. *Participatory Video in Geographic Research: A Feminist Practice of Looking?* Research seminar presented to the Department of

Geography, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK, February 2002.

Kindon, S. *Participatory Video in Geographic Research: A Feminist Practice of Looking?* Presentation at the Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference, University of Belfast, UK, January 2002.

### 2003

Kindon, S. Participatory Video in Geographic Research: A Feminist Practice of Looking? *Area*, 35(2), 2003, 142-153.

Kindon, S., and J. Cupples 'Anything to Declare?': The Politics of Leaving 'the Field'. In *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*. R. Scheyvans and D. Storey [Eds]. London, Sage, 2003, 197-216.

Cupples, J., and S. Kindon Returning to University and Writing 'the Field'. In *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide*. R. Scheyvans and D. Storey [Eds]. London, Sage, 2003, 217-232.

### 2004

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### 2005

Kindon, S. Participatory Action Research. In *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Second Edition. I. Hay [Ed]. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2005, 207-220.

Kesby, M., S. Kindon and R. Pain 'Participatory' Approaches and Techniques. In *Research Methods in Human Geography*. Second Edition. R. Flowerdew and D. Martin [Eds]. Harlow, Longman, 2005, 144-166.

Kindon, S. River Travel, Relations and Tino Rangatiratanga, Paper presented to the Association of American Geographers Annual International Conference, Denver, USA, April 4-10, 2005.

Kindon, S., G. Hume-Cook, K. Woods, T. Curtis and J. Potaka What does Participatory Video have to offer Maori? Reflections from a Small Space on Shifting Ground. Paper presented to *Indigenous Knowledges Conference: Reconciling Academic Priorities with Indigenous Realities*, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, June 22-25, 2005.

**2006**

Kindon, S. Shifting Subjectivities: Power, Complicity and Desire through the Lens of a Participatory Video Research in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Paper presented to *International Geographical Union Conference*, Brisbane, Australia, July 3-7, 2006.

**2007**

Hume-Cook, G., and S. Kindon Uniting people with place using participatory video in Aotearoa New Zealand: A Ngaati Hauiti journey. In Kindon, S. R. Pain and M. Kesby (eds) *Participatory Action Research: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, London, Routledge, 2007, 160-69.

**2008**

Hume-Cook G., S. Kindon, L. Waite, C. Conn and C. Cahill Transposing Participatory Video. Workshop facilitated at the *Inaugural International Conference of Participatory Geographies*, Durham, UK, January 14-15, 2008.

Kindon, S. “*But that’s not how it was!*” *Participatory Video, Audiences and Institutional Spaces*. Research seminar presented to the Department of Geography, University of Glasgow, Scotland, January 2008.

Kindon, S. *Thinking Through Complicity*. Research seminar presentation to Institute of Development Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, September 2008.

**2009**

Kindon, S. Thinking Through Complicity. Paper presented to the *Association of American Geographers (AAG) Annual International Conference*, Las Vegas, March 22-27 2009.

**2010**

Kindon, S. Participation. In Smith, S. Pain, R. Marston, S. and JP Jones III [Eds]. *The Handbook of Social Geography*, London, Sage, 2010, 517-545.

Kindon, S. Participatory Action Research. In *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Third Edition. I. Hay [Ed]. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2010, 259-278.

**2011**

Kindon, S. Participatory Video as Tyranny: A Cautionary Tale for Geographers. Paper to be presented at *RGS-IBG Annual International Conference*, London, August 31-September 2, 2011.

Kindon, S., G. Hume-Cook, and K. Woods Troubling the Politics of Reception in Participatory Video Discourse. Paper to be presented by S. Kindon at *Second International Visual Methods Conference*, Open University, Milton Keynes, September 13-15, 2011.

Woods, K., S. Kindon, and G. Hume-Cook Te Whakaohotanga o Ngaati Hauiti: Some reflections on our collaborative 'participatory video for research' project, *Hauiti Journal*, Rātā Marae, (in press).

**2012**

Kindon, S., G. Hume-Cook, and K. Woods Troubling the Politics of Reception in Participatory Video Discourse. In *The Handbook of Participatory Video*. Milne, EJ. Mitchell, C. and N. deLange [Eds]. London, Altamira Press (in press).

## **APPENDIX E. TIMELINE OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES 1996 – 2012**

- 1996: Initial discussion between Sara Kindon, Geoff Hume-Cook and Utiku Potaka about Ngāti Hauiti’s development and capacity building needs
- 1997: VUW Internal Grant Awarded
- 1998: Negotiation of Research Relationship and Establishment of Working Party, MoU, Identification of Iwi Research Team and Participants, Negotiation of Aims, Focus and Process (April-October)
- Late 1998-99: Intensive research and training (Participatory Research, Interviewing, Video pre/production and post-production) (November 1998-January 1999)
- 1999: Utiku Township Video Interviews (Sara, Joyce, Raihania, Geoff)
- Production of Waiata Video (Joyce, Rewa, Harry, Raihania, Geoff)
- Video Documentation of Inaugural Awa Hīkoi (Sara, Geoff, Ben)
- Presentation: IGU Conference, Dunedin (Sara, Geoff)
- Presentation: Institute of Geography, Wellington (Sara, Geoff, Kirsty)
- Presentation: NZ Geographical Society Conference, Palmerston North (Sara)
- Logging of Awa Hīkoi footage (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty)
- 2000: Presentation: NZ Documentary Sites Conference, Auckland (Geoff, Thomas)
- Presentation: NZ Film & History Conference, Wellington (Sara, Geoff, Kirsty)
- Awa Hīkoi footage logging and documentary planning (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty)

- 2001: Presentation: International Community Development Conference, Rotorua (Sara)
- Hui with Tuwharetoa to share experiences of Participatory Video Partnership (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty, Joyce, Adrian, Neville, Uncle Jim, Uncle Peter)
- Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty)
- 2002 Presentations (Sara) to:  
Institute of British Geographers, Belfast, UK  
University of Durham, Durham, UK  
University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK  
Open University, Milton Keynes, UK
- 2003: Oral History Interviews with whānau on Inaugural Awa Hīkoi (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty)
- Presentation: NZ Geographical Society Conference, Auckland (Sara)
- 2004: GEOG 112 Lecture: Ngāti Hauiti's iwi development, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- 2005: Oral History Interviews with whānau on Inaugural Awa Hīkoi (Sara)
- Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty, Adrian)
- Presentation: Association of American Geographers Conference, Denver, USA (Sara)
- Presentation: Indigenous Realities Conference, Wellington (Sara, Geoff, Joyce, Kirsty, Thomas – videoed by Adrian)
- GEOG 112 Lecture: Ngāti Hauiti's Development, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- 2006: Ongoing Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Sara, Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty, Adrian)
- GEOG 312 Lecture: Māori in the media, Wellington (Thomas)
- GEOG 112 Lecture: Ngāti Hauiti's Development, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- Preparation and writing of book chapter on participatory video (Sara, Geoff, Kirsty, Thomas, Adrian and Joyce)

- 2007: Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty, Adrian, Sara)  
GEOG 312 Lecture: Māori in the media, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- 2008: Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Geoff, Thomas, Kirsty, Adrian, Sara)  
GEOG 312 Lecture: Māori in the media, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- 2009: GEOG 312 Lecture: Māori in the media, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- 2010: Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Geoff primarily with support from Thomas, Kirsty, Adrian, Sara)  
GEOG 312 Lecture: Māori in the media, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)
- 2011: Lecture about Māori in the media, Wellington (Thomas and Adrian)  
Ongoing Awa Hīkoi documentary work (Geoff primarily with support from Thomas, Kirsty, Adrian, Sara)  
Preparation and writing of book chapter on the politics of reception in participatory video (Sara, Geoff, Kirsty)
- 2012: Publication of book chapter on the politics of reception in PV.  
Planned completion of Awa Hīkoi documentary

# **APPENDIX F. COMMUNITY INFORMATION SHEET MARCH 1998**

## **Community Video in the Rangitikei**

### **What is the project about?**

It's about community identity. It's about how people feel about where they live. It's about what's important to communities in rural areas now and in the future. It's about learning new skills.

### **Why do the project?**

Government agencies have lots of ideas about what communities are; what people in communities think may be a different matter. This project aims to give community members the opportunity to collect and tell their stories about who they are and where they live. With luck, it'll also teach bureaucrats (and academics) something about local cultural identity, respect and people's histories in a place.

### **How will it happen?**

The project's designed to be community-based and organised in partnership with people in the North and South Rangitikei. It'll use discussions, participatory activities and video production to help people collect and tell their stories and decide on any future action.

### **Who will be involved from outside the district?**

Sara Kindon, Geography Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington;  
Geoff Hume-Cook, Audio-visual producer, Wellington; and  
Two graduate students in Geography, Victoria University of Wellington

### **What's in it for the local people involved?**

The process of creating a video with the communities will involve a process of self-examination. It won't be easy or simple. However, the participatory activities, and Sara's experience with groups, will enable participants to decide on a plan to make a creative statement about who they are, and about their land, their place, their future. Geoff's experience as a collaborative filmmaker and screen producer will encourage the communities to make this statement into a production that works for them; one that they can own and use as they see fit. Working together on this project may lead onto other outcomes (grant applications, funding applications and so on) and it should be fun!

### **When will it take place?**

Initially from May 98, until March 99 (longer if all parties agree and further funds can be found).

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