Native Noise: Māori Popular Music and Indigenous Cultural Identity

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Contents

Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Abstract

This thesis argues that Māori popular music, regardless of genre, is a valuable resource in the formulation of a vibrant and relevant Māori *rangatahi* (youth) identity. Specifically, the research investigates the complex relationship between popular music, social space, and Māori culture and community in Aotearoa. The researcher interviewed six participants from within the Māori music community and practiced participant observation at popular music events. The findings of this qualitative research are framed by an in-depth literature review into questions of Māori identity, as well as an application of ethnomusicology theories on the relationship of music to place and community.

The research output includes both a 30-minute documentary and this accompanying exegesis, which frames the documentary within relevant fields of scholarship and presents a critical analysis of its successes and weaknesses. The researcher elected to create a documentary in recognition of the medium's ability to maintain the voice of the research participants, capture the dynamism of the Māori popular music scene, and increase the potential for the research to reach a wider audience. The use of documentary also allows for an exploration of the relationship between music and documentary, and begins a discussion on the potential of socially-conscious rockumentaries to reveal crucial social issues. Finally, the exegesis questions the ethics of outsider filmmaking, and explores how the concept of '*Kaupapa* Māori filmmaking' influenced the process of making the film.

Introduction

Kia ū, kia mau ki tō Māoritanga.
Be firm in holding on to your Māori culture.

(Kāretu 165).

Pūnehunehu taku titiro
ki te ao nei e
Pōraki ana ahau
i te kimi i te wāhi ki a au

My view is dimmed
Upon the world
Frantic in search
To find my place
(Pūnehunehu, Charisma, 2007)

       The vibrancy of the current manifestation of the Māori cultural renaissance in Aotearoa illuminates the potential of culture to play a key role in the revitalisation of a people. As part of this cultural renaissance, Māori music and performing arts have significantly contributed to the cultural landscape of Aotearoa. The value of *waiata* (Māori song), *kapa haka* (Māori cultural group), and other performing arts is steeped in the history of Māori culture; while the cultural renaissance was a direct response to colonisation, music has served as a crucial link to culture and genealogy even prior to European contact. As Smith (2003) noted, "the importance of waiata as a means of conclusively maintaining the connections of young and old, respectively, with their identity, and therefore their tribe and its histories" (p. 48) is incontestable. However this capability becomes less widely accepted with the consideration of 'popular music'.

       Popular music has received varying treatments in its young history as a subject worthy of academic consideration. While it was initially viewed with disdain by cultural elitists (Adorno, 1968/1988; Longhurst, 2007), it was later seen as a reflection of various cultural movements and underlying political sentiments (Bennett, 2000, 2004; Cohen, 2007; Connell & Gibson, 2003). It is a recent trend in scholarship, however, to view popular music as the *cause* of an effect in a given society, rather than a symptom. Of particular relevance to this thesis is the recent identification of the ability of popular music to create 'place'. As Bennett (2004) noted, this occurs among dispersed populations through the creation of "a collective sense of identity and feeling of community… achieved by spiritually transporting

them to a common place" (p. 4). In diasporic communities, the creation of place through music works primarily at this 'spiritual' level, bringing widespread individuals to an imagined homeland through the sentimental listening experience. However, when a population maintains its physical homeland but has been displaced by the effects of colonisation, music can operate physically as well as psychologically to actively create place, community, and identity.

Biasiny-Tule (2006), in discussing the issues facing Māori youth in the 21st century, noted the following crucial need for *rangatahi*:

> An issue of great significance is that of space- many young people are without areas that support and nurture identity; some *rangatahi* are exiles from *hapū* homelands, others confine and are often confined by their life and travels in the inner city. Space is not something above the clouds- it is the social, cultural and geographical landscape that we find ourselves upon and within, but, sometimes, a place that we sit beside, outside and away from. (pp. 172-173)

In considering this insight, popular music, a genre notable for its focus on youth, becomes a potent tool for both the reclamation of physical spaces at concerts and music events and the establishment of less tangible 'places' of belonging in society. My thesis is that Māori popular music, regardless of genre, is a valuable resource in the formulation of a vibrant and relevant Māori *rangatahi* identity due to its ability to create 'place' and foster a sense of community.

To investigate the validity of this assertion, research will be framed by three main research questions;

RQ1.   How do Māori artists and music industry members try to develop a sense of community among their listeners?

RQ2.   How can the links between this sense of community and Māori identity best be conceptualised?

RQ3.   How do Māori artists negotiate between the competing demands of commerce and culture in creating a sense of 'place'?

I presented my findings in the form of an exegesis and 30-minute documentary video that explored the connection between traditional and contemporary Māori performing arts, the use of music to express relevant Māori *kaupapa* (themes), the role of live music in creating both physical spaces and impalpable mental places, and the challenges presented by the music industry to the creation of Māori popular music. The completed documentary is positioned primarily as a community film for use by groups advocating the support of the Māori music industry. In its final form,

subsequent to examination and consultation with participants, the documentary will also be entered for consideration into various socially conscious film festivals, including DOCNZ and the Human Rights Film Festivals in Aotearoa and international ethnographic film festivals, such as the Gottingen International Ethnographic Film Festival and the International Student Ethnographic Film Festival in London.

The Exegesis

   Chapter One includes my justification for the methodology of the research. I articulate the parameters of the research and offer the specific definition of 'Māori popular music' that is adopted throughout the research. I clarify the ethnomusicological assumptions that have guided the research design and the qualitative methods which match these assumptions. I also justify the decision to present the research findings as a documentary film, and elaborate on specific documentary approaches which motivated the work.

   Chapter Two provides an in-depth literature review of relevant studies on Māori identity, ethnomusicology, and documentary theory. I present academic perspectives on the benefits of a strong cultural identity for Māori, and analyse the potential of an alternative (i.e., non-traditional) identity to offer comparable benefits for *rangatahi*. I then relate this concept of a 'fluid' Māori identity to the work of several key ethnomusicological scholars on the relationship between popular music, place, and identity. I also present relevant documentary theories, addressing primarily the dichotomy between art and reportage within documentary film and locating my work on this spectrum. I also summarise relevant scholarship on the ethical considerations of outsider filmmaking within the field of ethnographic film.

   Chapter Three is an in-depth discussion of the final documentary work. I address the specifics of production and explore how the process of making the documentary provided answers to the main research questions. I offer a critical review of the documentary, and address what I believe to be its successes as well as its shortcomings. I then analyse the future of the documentary, addressing the potential audience and distribution outlets as well as new research questions and opportunities which have been raised through the documentary and its production.

Chapter One: Methodology

Ethnomusicology lends itself to a variety of appropriate methodologies. In this section I will clarify the topic of my research as well as the particular ethnomusicological approach that informed the methodology. I then present and justify the qualitative methods which I adapted for the research, with an emphasis on the reasoning for presenting the research partially through documentary film.

Research Scope

Defining 'Māori popular music' for the purposes of the research.

Before introducing the chosen methodologies, it is necessary to establish the definition of 'Māori popular music' as it is used in both the documentary and exegesis. For the purposes of the research, this definition does not include any limitations of genre. Guilbault (1997) explained this necessary avoidance of genre:

> Indeed, in ethnomusicology, as in so many other fields, the belief has persisted that a musical genre could stand for the group with which it is associated- in other words, that a so-called ethnic music reflects the group's ethnicity, its identity. The problem here, it must be stressed, is not the fact that specific musics are associated with specific groups… but rather that only *one* given music is used to define an ethnic group and its identity. (p. 33)

While certain genres have no doubt resonated with the Māori community (i.e. reggae, hip hop), in this research 'Māori popular music' does not carry the implications of genre referenced by Guilbault.

Aperahama (2006) suggested one possible definition of Māori music; he noted, "Māori music is its people, who have taken their nuances, idioms, characteristics, spirit and nature of Māori onto the world stage" (p. 117). This definition allows for the incorporation of multiple languages and genres, but excludes non-Māori individuals. This exclusion becomes problematic with respect to diverse groups such as *Nesian Mystik* and *Smashproof*, which include members of non-Māori Pacific Island backgrounds, yet feature prominently in Māori youth-targeted events. Research participant V. Smith established an even broader definition of Māori music, which has been adopted for the research in light of the aforementioned issues. He stated that Māori music must only be "*kaupapa*-driven" (V. Smith, personal communication, September 3, 2009). *Kaupapa* can range from encouraging use of *reo* (language), lamenting violence and gang involvement among youth, or simply supporting a celebration of identity. However the *kaupapa* of a song must be steeped in Māori ways of knowing and cultural understanding to qualify as

'Māori music.' This broader definition allows for the inclusion of multiple genres and mixed cultural groups.

It is also necessary to determine the implications of the term 'popular music.' Shuker (2008) provided a definition of popular music that I have used in my study, which "equates the 'popular' with commercial, cultural forms of entertainment" (p. 4). He acknowledged that "a fundamental tension between the essential creativity of the act of 'making music' and the commercial nature of the bulk of its production and dissemination" (p. 7) is inherent in popular music, but allows for creativity to persist in spite of commercial demands. Shuker avoided defining the popular by musical traits or genre, but noted, "a focus on a youth market is a defining, extra-musical characteristic" (p. 7). Connell and Gibson (2003) recognised the difficulty with equating popularity to a requisite number, noting, "All music that is heard and enjoyed can be interpreted as 'popular' in some sense" (p. 4). Numbers seem particularly irrelevant to determining the popularity of New Zealand-produced music in Aotearoa, as the music scene is small enough that the Recording Industry Association of New Zealand (RIANZ) awards an album a Gold Certification after only 7,500 album sales. Popular Māori music is therefore defined, in this research, as *kaupapa*-driven music created for the commercial market with a particular focus on the youth demographic.

Research parameters.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz (as cited in Renov, 1993), stated "I have never gotten anywhere near to the bottom of anything I have ever written about… cultural analysis is intrisically incomplete" (p. 30). Renov further observed that documentary filmmakers face particular challenges in addressing a topic fully due to the time constraints and aesthetic requirements of the final product (p. 31). It is therefore necessary to establish clear boundaries for the research.

First, while I establish parallels between the role of popular music in contemporary society and the role of Māori performing arts in traditional society, the research does not provide an in-depth history of Māori performing arts (see Mclean, 1996; Smith, 2003). Secondly, musical attributes receive only brief attention; lyrics, beat structures, etc. are not analysed in the research. This avoidance is due not only to my lack of expertise in musical analysis, but also to the more concentrated interest of my research on the *function* of popular music, rather than its technical

characteristics. Finally, while wider concerns of globalisation and cross-cultural flows, particularly the adoption of genres which have originated in Western cultures or the United States (see Jeffs, 2005; Mitchell, 2001, 2005; Zemke-White, 2005) are certainly relevant to a study of Māori popular music, this fluidity is not analysed in detail in this research. The justification for this exclusion stemmed from the ethnomusicology theory that shaped my research, which will be presented in the following section.

Research Design

Theoretical approach: Clarifying ethnomusicology.

To determine the most appropriate approach to answering the research questions, I considered methods from several researchers. Broadly, the research was theoretically based in ethnomusicology. Shuker (2005) defined ethnomusicology as "A division of musicology which emphasises the study of music in its cultural context: the anthropology of music" (p. 96). This definition emphasises the processes that surround both the production and consumption of music.

Methodologies vary widely among researchers attempting to understand this 'anthropology of music'. Most notably, the choice to focus on the small, lived experiences of individuals rather than a broader understanding of global flows was an issue of contention across popular music literature. The latter approach, characterized by a focus on global exchange and fluidity, is best exemplified by Connell and Gibson's (2003) book *Sound Tracks*, which focused on "cultural flows and stylistic influences, discourses of styles and symbols, cross-cultural alliances, and hybridity" (p. 10). At the other end of the spectrum, Maxwell (2008) criticised Connell and Gibson for overemphasising global processes and flows and ignoring the experiences of the individuals creating and consuming music. Maxwell focused instead on the "ethno" of ethnomusicology, and he stated that the picture of popular music presented in *Sound Tracks* fails to account for "people, their agency, labour, imagination and desires" (p. 83).

Maxwell's (2008) championing of the lived experience is the approach to ethnomusicology that I adopted for my research. As Maxwell stated, ethnomusicology has an inherent "need to be emplaced" (p. 85). According to Maxwell's definition, this emplacement occurs through the grounding of theory in personal experiences, rather than the application of theory to observed trends and

practices. Based on this approach, the research and documentary capture the stories of individuals, treating these experiences as crucial to an understanding of the broader function of music in society. In this regard I have also borrowed from Cohen's (2007) study on the Liverpool music scene, in which she attempted to identify the relationship between popular music and city life through observing a few key music-related events and moments, with the intended result of providing "A kaleidoscopic view of the city that reveals just a few different perspectives on the city and its popular music culture, and different patterns of social interaction and understanding" (p. 4). While this perspective of Liverpool is by no means all encompassing, it illuminates the significance of individual moments and events and the people participating in them, and was therefore an appropriate model based on the time limitation of this project.

Qualitative methods: Interviews and observation.

Drawing from the theoretical assumption that ethnomusicology is based in the experiences of individuals, I adopted qualitative methods of data gathering. As Tolich and Davidson (1999) explained, "Qualitative methods originate in a view of the social world where there are no strict (universal) causal laws. In their place, we have only people's own interpretation of the world" (p. 7). This focus on privileging the stories and observations of individuals aligns with Maxwell's (2008) ethnomusicology approach; more importantly, however, it addresses the problems that often occur with research about *Tangata Whenua* (People of the Land). Bishop (1996) emphasised the importance of framing research relating to Māori as an opportunity to "listen to and participate with those traditionally 'othered' as constructors of meanings of their own experiences and agents of knowledge" (p. 230). While an in-depth literature review also guided the research, Tolich and Davidson's instruction that "The meanings and ideas of the observed are of paramount importance, and letting the actors speak for themselves is a central principle guiding the research" (p. 60) was strictly adhered to. I utilised a semi-structured interview format to encourage participants to shape conversations. Similarly, the stories and topics that participants' emphasised and spoke most passionately about were privileged in the edit of the final documentary.

In order to recruit participants, I conducted initial interviews with key members of the Māori music and entertainment industry. After notifying prospective

participants of the research through e-mail, six participants agreed to participate in the documentary film. This number was appropriate for the confines of a 30-minute documentary, although interviews were edited significantly to accommodate the documentary format. In an effort to provide the opportunity for the participants to share their stories through participating in the research, full interviews will also be provided on a supplemental DVD when the film is distributed. Admittedly, the participants do not represent the entire Māori popular music industry; most notably, all participants are males, while the Māori popular music industry features a number of prominent female artists (i.e., Whirimako Black, Coco Solid, Ladi6, and Moana Maniapoto). However as Tolich and Davidson (1999) noted, "fieldwork does not seek to generalise to the whole population, but to provide a precise (or valid) description of what people said or did in the research location" (p. 34). The filmed participants were:

- **Tama Huata**, Founder and Executive Director for the Māori Music Awards, Artistic Director for the Kahurangi Māori Dance Theatre, and head of the Takitimu Performing Arts School in Hastings.
- **Te Awanui Reeder**, vocalist of *Nesian Mystik*, a Polynesian group that has released three top-20 albums and achieved 10 top 10 New Zealand singles, the highest record of chart-topping music produced in New Zealand history.
- **Deach,** member of *Smashproof*. While Deach is Samoan, *Smashproof* is a multi-cultural group that has achieved considerable commercial success in New Zealand in 2009, and their work has resonated with both Māori and Pacific Island youth.
- **Te Pononga Tamati-Elliffee**, aka **Kommikal**, TahuFM DJ and hip-hop artist who performs in both Māori and English. Kommikal was featured on the *Gifted & Māori Volume 2* compilation album.
- **Brent Samuel Strathdee**, member of bicultural group *HANGMAN*. *HANGMAN* has performed at Parihaka International Peace Festival and will be releasing debut album late 2009/ early 2010.
- **Valance Smith**, Lecturer in Te Reo Māori, Te Ara Poutama, Faculty of Māori Development at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). Smith is actively involved with *kapa haka* festivals and competitions in New Zealand.

Participants were informed of the nature of the research in writing and were asked to give written consent of participation. With all participants, initial interviews were informal and not filmed; these meetings focused on project design and participants' preferences for the research. Participants were also assured that they could elect to withdraw from the research at any time. Interview questions were written along the lines of inquiry of Diamond's (2003) study of Māori leadership;

> We wanted to know: why their careers took the course they did; why they made the choices they did; what the decisive events were that shaped them into them. In asking these questions, we hoped to illuminate common themes… that could tell us something about Māori leadership." (pp. 3-4)

Similarly, interview guides were designed to encourage participants to reflect largely on their own experiences and to offer insight as to the meaning of these experiences within the wider Māori popular music scene.

Methodological pluralism was utilized to gain a broader understanding of relevant themes. Hence, qualitative research methods included both one-on-one interviews and the observation of research participants at live performances. Observation of participants served to provide qualitative data free from the "interactional rules" (Bechhofer & Paterson, 2000, p. 96) of the interview setting. While attending performances or music festivals, I also undertook participant observation. Experiencing concerts as an audience member, in addition to as a researcher and filmmaker, was practiced in accordance with Bechhofer and Paterson's (2000) declaration that "Studying social life… may sometimes be more effectively carried out by research practices which more closely mirror life itself" (p. 96). The impetus for this research stemmed from my experience as an exchange student in Aotearoa/ New Zealand in 2007, where I participated in the Māori popular music scene not as a researcher, but as a music fan and university student. This pre-research experience was important to the foundation of my understanding of Māori popular music and its function in society, and thus I wanted to continue to incorporate an element of participation in this year of research.

Processing the Data: Engaging with Documentary Film

Why documentary?

The decision to present the research findings partially in the form of a documentary arose in response to both the limitations of traditional academic writing and the potential of documentary film. Regarding the limitations of academic writing, as Owen (as cited in Diamond, 2003) noted, "Inevitably, oral accounts suffer

in transcription. The character of the voice, such a telling factor in relating a story is, of course, completely lost" (p. 3). Bishop's (1996) emphasis on retaining the voice of research participants again becomes relevant, as a strictly written account of insights and stories alters the original delivery intended by participants.

Additionally, the consciousness-raising potential of documentary was an inspiration for creating a work which would eventually reach a wider audience. Communication scholars Rojas et al. (2005) recognised that "the effects of an informed citizenry are increased participation, increased rationality of decision making (discerning one's own political interests and connecting those interests with participation), and political tolerance" (p. 97). While a concise definition of 'documentary' seems to be elusive across documentary theory, a reccuring emphasis is on the 'truth claims' contract established between documentary producers and consumers. As Aufderheide (2007) elaborated, in viewing documentary "we expect to be told things about the real world, things that are true" (p. 3). As a result of this understanding, documentary "is an important reality-shaping communication" (Aufderheide, 2007, p. 5) and has the potential to play an important role in creating an informed citizenry.

One may contest that academic writing also has claims to truth, and would be similarly effective in contributing to the creation of an informed public. However documentary media, regardless of its origination in an academic institution, is potentially more accessible, less intimidating, and can often hold claims to entertainment alongside its claims to truth. Communication scholar Roy (2009) recognised the potential of documentary film festivals to "provide entertainment, but… also provide dynamic sites for learning" (p. 242). Roy emphasises that "As concerned citizens seek to act, they require a variety of information, not the least of which is access to examples of successful community efforts as well as a broader understanding of the challenges we face at home and abroad" (p. 241). Roy places documentary cinema in a unique position to attract interested citizens while also providing information and inspiration. Rojas et al. (2005) further present a strong case for the potential of 'media dialogue', which they define as the productive discussion of important social issues that is inspired by the consumption of media content (p. 97).

Finally, as Chapman (2007) noted, the creation of documentary should be motivated partially by "an altruistic aim to strengthen documentary's public profile"

(p. 141). While the budgetary limitations and my relative inexperience as a filmmaker may limit the distribution venues for this film, any viewings of the film create the opportunity to contribute to the field of documentary. Student work, created on a minimal budget, may also serve as an inspiration to future student or novice filmmakers.

Framing the work as 'socially-conscious rockumentary.'

Representations of popular music, and in turn popular culture, have a long history within documentary film. Concert films, exemplified by the work of D.A. Pennebaker and other proponents of observational techniques, have used popular music events to show the height of a generation. Similarly, Albert and David Maysles' film *Gimme Shelter,* uses a concert as a symbol of a generation's ideological demise. The term 'rockumentary' encompasses the varied forms of documentary film that create visual records of popular culture trends, artists, or moments in time. This term, ironically, was coined for the fictional film *This is Spinal Tap*, which mocked the conventions of the genre (Trainer, 2005). While 'rockumentary' may imply that the genre is limited to depictions of rock and roll, for the purposes of this discussion Trainer's (2005) definition of rockumentary will be used; "documentary film as it deals with popular music" (p. 139).

The mocking tone of *This is Spinal Tap* reflects that rockumentaries are not often held in high esteem by critics, academics, or audiences. Wootton (1995) exemplifies this condemnation of rockumentary; he stated, "It can be argued that rock documentaries are little more than a bastardised substrand of more significant cultural forms and that it is too much to expect them to be anything other than occasionally diverting" (p. 103). As Corner (2002) elaborated, rockumentaries lie in the uncomfortable intersection of entertainment and information. Corner explained that "there has come a kind of false conflation suggested by such terms as 'infotainment'. This is false because it too easily suggests… that it is only within a limited range of novelty formats that certain aesthetic 'boundaries' can be crossed" (p. 366). It is within this unfortunate 'novelty' realm that documentaries about popular culture have often been placed.

Within this oft-criticised genre, however, a narrow sub-genre has developed of films that explore popular culture trends as reflections of larger societal movements or community efforts. Three recent entries into this sub-genre include

David LaChapelle's *Rize*, Jeff Zimbalist and Matt Mochary's *Favela Rising*, and Jennifer Needleman and Joshua Asen's *I Love Hip Hop in Morocco*. These three films, while covering vastly different communities and popular culture phenomena, all share markedly similar visions. LaChapelle's *Rize* depicts the krump dancing movement in South Central Los Angeles, focusing on a positive phenomenon that persists amidst youth gangs and violence. *Favela Rising* showcases the AfroReggae movement in the most dangerous favela in Rio de Janeiro, but as Zimbalist (2005) explained, is broadly "the story of a community that works" (Director's statement, para. 6). *I Love Hip Hop in Morocco* follows a group of hip hop artists and fans attempting to create a hip hop festival in the face of the challenges presented by an oppressive political climate, but again serves a larger purpose of reflecting "the thoughts and dreams of the true future of the Arab world: its youth" (Needleman, 2007, Synopsis, para. 2).

The defining feature of these films is clear; all three attempt to use popular culture as a lens through which to observe the dynamics of youth and changing communities. In relation to the aforementioned criticisms of rockumentaries, these films successfully bridge the gap between entertainment and fact, as they use the former to offer valuable insight on the nature of communities. I therefore chose to use the shared aesthetic and production practices of these films as a model on which to base my documentary approach. Because of the limited availability of *I Love Hip Hop in Morocco* (currently being screened in the United States and released on DVD to cultural institutions only), *Rize* and *Favela Rising* will be the focus of the following methodological analysis.

Character-based: The individual as a lens to society.

All three of the aforementioned films, while attempting to depict both cultural and societal trends, are sharply focused on individuals. In *Rize*, the story centres on Tommy the Clown, the founder of the krump dancing movement and an active figure in the South Central community. In *Favela Rising*, Anderson Sá, the founder of AfroReggae, serves as the main character. Both films feature extended interview segments with their main characters, and utilise tight shots to create a sense of intimacy and vulnerability. This focus on two individuals suggests that the strength of these two movements is most readily understood through the optimistic perspectives of their founders.

In addition to prominently featuring Tommy, *Rize* notably also captures the stories of an entire cast of young dancers. The focus on these individuals is made obvious the first time we see each dancer appear on screen; their names are "tagged" across their image, establishing their importance to the meaning of the film. Throughout the film these young dancers are given ample space to offer their own perspectives on the krump movement, and unsurprisingly they show a mature understanding of their community and the role that dance plays in their lives. As the movie concludes, each character is immortalised in a stylised performance scene, where their names are again put on the screen. They are also each given a final quote, all of which are eloquent and passionate. This highly cinematic conclusion to the film solidifies the conclusion that the dancers, along with Tommy, are where the story of the krump dancing movement lies. This 'ensemble' approach proved most relevant to my documentary; while slightly more screen time was devoted to Huata as the '*kaumātua*' (revered elder) of the film, all six participants were crucial to the message of the film.

Incorporating music and dance: Avoiding the MTV aesthetic.

Favela Rising and *Rize* both treat their featured cultural phenomena with a great deal of respect through specific shooting and editing techniques. In *Favela Rising*, AfroReggae's performances are often shown for extended periods of time. Rather than adopting a traditional MTV *Behind the Music* style of quickly jumping to a brief excerpt from a performance, AfroReggae's performances are featured as scenes worthy of reflection. The same is true for drum performances in the streets of the favela; while the aesthetic is markedly different from a glamorous concert scene, the drumming is shown for long enough to fully appreciate the energy of the activity. These extended performance scenes ensure that the music remains at the heart of the documentary, rather than simply serving as a soundtrack to the dangerous conditions of the favela.

LaChapelle, whose directing experience is largely derived from working on music video clips, specifically addresses the respect he had for filming krump dancing. He explained, "I didn't want the camera to give us the energy, I wanted the energy to come from the dance [because] there was plenty of energy in the dance, we didn't need to enhance it" (LaChapelle, 2005, DVD extras). As a result of this respect for the dance, *Rize* features extended, simply filmed scenes of krump

dancing. This treatment of a highly energetic form of entertainment gives gravity to the claim that popular culture is worthy of serious examination.

Utilising expository techniques.

While these films are all stylised and highly entertaining, their dual purpose of also presenting a larger truth about a given community requires the presentation of a coherent argument. To achieve this goal, each film borrows elements from what Nichols (2001) deemed the expository mode of documentary filmmaking. In spite of their focus on a highly visual subject matter, all three films emphasise interviews and the spoken word to advance their respective arguments. In expository documentaries, Nichols qualified, "The commentary… serves to organize these images and make sense of them, just as written caption guides our attention and emphasizes some of the many meanings and interpretations of a still image" (p. 107). While none of these films utilize voice-of-God narration or other more obvious expository techniques, they privilege commentary from the participants as a device to add meaning to the observational scenes and provide insight into the dynamics of the featured communities.

Ethical considerations.

Ethnographic studies have been qualified not as an objective observation of the world, but rather as a colonising tool used to maintain a dominant Euro-centric world-view (Lutkehaus & Cool, 1999). Such criticism has been levelled against academics in many localities, but has a particular relevance here in New Zealand, as many inherent qualities of ethnographic research (i.e., observing and describing the 'other'), directly contradict the values of partnership and participation established in the Treaty of Waitangi. Bishop (1996) explicated the problematic nature of research in Aotearoa, lamenting that "traditional research has misrepresented, that is, simplified/ conglomerated and commodified, Māori knowledge for 'consumption' by the colonisers and has consequently denied the authenticity of Māori experiences and voice" (p. 14). The lack of a Māori voice can be seen as a direct result of the maintenance of distance between the researcher and those being researched, a defining feature of so-called 'objective' research.

In order to mitigate the pitfalls of ethnographic research, the research methodology emphasised partnership, participation, and the attribution of voice to

participants rather than to the American, Pākehā researcher. Methodology therefore borrowed heavily from Bishop's (1996) outline of Kaupapa Māori research. On the one hand, Kaupapa Māori research represents a movement to exclude non-Māori from participating in research involving Māori. Bishop's presentation of the approach, while acknowledging this possibility, also allowed a place for non-Māori in research involving Māori on the condition that researchers "reposition[ed] themselves in the research process in order to stop trying to give voice to others, to empower others, to emancipate others, but rather to listen to and participate with those traditionally 'othered'" (p. 230). Bishop framed Kaupapa Māori research as an opportunity for all researchers to approach projects from a Māori perspective and with consideration to Māori values and *tikanga* (customs). Particularly, Bishop rejected the heralding of objectivism that is prevalent in traditional research, claiming simply, "objectivity is a denial of identity" (p. 236) and further that "such a positioning ignores the need to attain an awareness of connectedness" (p. 237).

Implicit in Kaupapa Māori research methodologies is the creation of metaphoric *whānau* (family) relationships. While *whānau* can encompass a variety of meanings, Bishop (1996) favoured the definition of "collectives of people working for a common end, who are not connected by kinship, let alone descent" (p. 217). While this definition appears to be goal-oriented, it does not depart from including those values inherent to more traditional ideas of *whānau*; "aroha (love in the broadest sense), awhi (helpfulness), manaaki (hospitality), [and] tiaki (guidance)" (Bishop, 1996, p. 218).

In light of Bishop's (1996) recommendation, my aim was to establish and maintain a metaphoric *whānau* through each stage of the research. During my initial experience in Aotearoa/ New Zealand as an exchange student, I connected with my advisor, Jason King, and other members of Te Ara Poutama, Faculty of Māori Development at AUT through enrolling in Māori language and leadership papers. I continued to establish an academic *whānau* during the course of the research by enrolling in *Ki te Whaiao*, a Māori culture paper. This academic *whānau* provided a wealth of knowledge that furthered my understanding of Māori culture and the opportunity for consultation to take place throughout the research and filmmaking process.

A metaphoric *whānau* was also created with research participants during the filmmaking process. In pre-production, the creation of what Bishop referred to as a

'whānau of interest' not only facilitates the building of mutual trust and understanding, but further enables the research to progress. Waititi (2006) noted how influential filmmaker Barry Barclay acknowledged "these processes that require time; talking, debating, pondering, eating, joking, laughing, respect and discussion" (p. 6). Waititi explained that without this establishment of relations, "the information they [participants] give will be empty in real meaning and the potential for rich information will be lost" (p. 6). Time was therefore afforded throughout the research for social interactions with participants and their friends and family outside of the context of the research. This included dinner with the Huata *whānau*, a weekend spent with Kommikal's friends in Christchurch, and introducing my brother to Strathdee over tea at his home. Such interactions not only enhanced my experience through the creation of genuine friendships, but also facilitated the practice of partnership.

It follows logically that the *whānau* relationships that have been established throughout the filmmaking process must continue through to post-production. Pryluck (2005) advocated for a collaborative approach to filmmaking, and noted that it is important for "this process to continue through to the final draft to permit subjects second thoughts about the propriety of disclosing certain private information" (p. 197). Participants were therefore given the opportunity to view the completed documentary film prior to submission, and feedback was encouraged on both the use of their input and the effectiveness of the film overall to convey the nature of the Māori popular music industry. Changes were made to reflect this feedback in order to produce a creative work that represented the collaboration of the '*whānau* of interest.'

As previously stated, an in-depth literature review was crucial to the selection of research methodologies and to the progression of the research. Chapman (2007) explained of documentary filmmaking, "The more one knows about a subject, the quicker it can be to gauge the best way forward" (p. 53). The following literature review positions the research and the documentary film in the wider fields of Māori studies, ethnomusicology, and documentary theory, and will further illustrate that the chosen methodologies are highly appropriate for contributing to the development of understanding within each of these fields.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The following literature review cites case studies and theories relevant to my research. The relationship of this literature review to the practice of making the film will be presented further in the Discussion; however, this chapter serves as both evidence of significant pre-production research and raises fields of inquiry that present opportunities for additional exploration.

Ethnographic Context: *Rangatahi* and Issues of Māori Youth Identity

Whose identity?

Research Question 2 (RQ2- identity) addresses the link between popular music and Māori identity. The significance of this question stems from a recognition of the positive correlation between a strong Māori cultural identity and improved social status (Biasiny-Tule, 2006; Walsh-Tapiata, 2002). Durie (1998) is a particularly ardent champion of the various benefits of a strong Māori identity, including "protection against poor health… active educational participation and… positive employment profiles" (p. 59). Accepting this relationship hinges on determining what constitutes 'Māori cultural identity.' Attempts to identify one acceptable Māori identity are problematic, as Māori "are as diverse as any other people- not only in socio-economic terms but also in fundamental attitudes to identity" (Durie, 1998, p. 59). Stuart (2007) also criticised the attempt to identify one acceptable Māori culture, lamenting that "Pākehā… are good at telling Māori what their culture is,- it is this, but it is not that- and in so doing form an essentialist position" (p. 25).

Borell and the 'Southside Identity'

Rangatahi, while also diverse, are a particular demographic for which traditional cultural identifiers may not always be relevant. Through interviews with Māori youth living in South Auckland, Borell (2005) attempted to determine whether young Māori growing up in this environment valued the same cultural markers as those identified in national studies, such as the 1999 Te Hoe Nuku Roa survey. Borell's work indicated that while young urban Māori understood 'traditional cultural markers', they could not always access them. Many of Borell's interview participants referred to the fact that cultural markers

such as "te reo, Māori medium, and kapa haka" are often offered in schools as "an all or nothing situation" (p. 197). She also noted how at many schools there is a tension between Māori culture programs and accelerated programs, forcing Māori youth to choose between the two. As a result, Borell concluded that Māori in South Auckland have created their own 'Southside identity', which privileges the local environment of South Auckland, a sense of material disadvantage, and "important and meaningful connections to Pacific communities and Pacific young people in particular" (p. 202).

What is important to note about Borell's research is not the specifics of the 'Southside identity', but rather her conclusion that this identity offers "the same feelings of security, belonging and connection that some may claim as the sole domain of Māori in tribal communities" (Borell, 2005, p. 204). This identity is again not offered as the only possible identity for *rangatahi*, since to do so would be to fall into Stuart's (2007) trappings of essentialism. Rather, Borell's research serves to identify one of many potential identities that may be useful to Māori youth.

A fluid Māori identity

McIntosh (2005) more broadly divided concepts of Māori identity into three categories: fixed, fluid and forced. The fixed identity encompasses those traditional elements of Māori culture that were emphasised in the early 'Māori Renaissance'. The term fixed is not used to imply that this sense of culture is incapable of adapting to the present, but rather that it is rooted in the past, and as McIntosh noted "can exclude some Māori by having relatively unyielding criteria in place to prove one's 'Maoriness'" (pp. 44-45). McIntosh suggested that this identity arose in response to the forced identity, which she defined as the identity presented *to* Māori by mainstream media and other external groups. This forced identity encompasses stereotypes of Māori as disadvantaged, troubled, lost or unproductive.

McIntosh offered a third identity, a fluid Māori identity, as a favourable alternative to the fixed or forced identities. Of the three, McIntosh presented the fluid identity as giving the most agency to Māori individuals. She specified, "the fluid identity 'plays' with cultural markers such as language, custom and

place and reconfigures them in a way that gives both voice and currency to their social environment" (p. 46). McIntosh further praised that the fluid identity is "a vibrant, often self-conscious celebration of self and community that declines to see itself as lost, disaffiliated or inauthentic. Rather, it takes culture and community seriously and recognises that people make and *are* culture" (p. 50).

Framing the Potential of Popular Music
'Aural architecture': Popular music and place

RQ3(commerce, culture and place) raises the question of how Māori artists negotiate commercial demands to create 'place.' The relationship between music and place has long been understood as one-directional; namely, that music reflects the physical place from which it originates. This tendency is reflected in the classification of local 'sounds'; in New Zealand, a trend that was exemplified by the heralding of the 'Dunedin sound' (Shuker, 2008). Connell and Gibson (2003) observed that the "sense of finding geographical roots for musical sounds and styles, of locating the artist or the scene in physical space, is a dominant theme in the music press, artist biographies and 'rockumentaries'" (p. 91). The physical definition of place and the defining features of an area within a specified border are key to studies of this nature.

While recent ethnomusicology research has held the contention that place can create music, a new emphasis has been on the ability of music to create place. The basis for this understanding comes from a definition of 'place' which is distinct from geographical boundaries. Prominent ethnomusicologist Bennett (2000) noted the limitations of a geographical definition of place, claiming it "leads to the interpretation of spatial meanings as essentially fixed and unchanging" (p. 63). In its place, Bennett argues for 'social geography,' a definition of place as it is created through social interaction. Massey (1998) in his exploration of the spatiality of youth cultures, advocated a similar understanding of place. He recognised the "enormous complexity" of social space, equating it to "constellations of temporary coherence" (p. 125). Places are therefore created through interaction, both within physical spaces and through the formation of communities across geographical borders.

Urbanisation has contributed to the erosion of traditional concepts of place. On the one hand, urbanisation has served to bring more, and more diverse, people together in centralised cities, an observable trend in both Auckland and Wellington. Perhaps unsurprisingly, however, the result of urbanisation is largely what Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) classified as "increasing cultural alienation in the urban milieu" (p. 151). Malbon (1998) similarly noted how cities in general create "a sensory and stimulating environment of such complexity and density that its citizens can find themselves feeling overwhelmed, isolated and, perhaps most paradoxically, lonely" (p. 267). In response to this alienation, Connell & Gibson (2003) claimed that urbanisation and increasing mobility trigger an increased desire for the creation of social places. They argued,

> *Mobility* triggers new attempts at *fixity*- holding on to traditions despite losses of popular appeal, constructing spaces for local expressions (both material and discursive), developing cultural industries, marketing music through place and marketing place through music. (p. 46)

Within urban locales then, the geographic space becomes a catalyst of isolation rather than connectivity, and the need to claim a place to belong within the city through social interaction intensifies.

Ethnomusicologists who employ this definition of 'place' as created by social interaction see music as an effective tool in creating social geographical places. Cohen (1995) analysed the relationship between music and place through the recollections of an 88-year old Jewish immigrant on how music affected his understanding of Liverpool. His stories and reflections highlight those qualities of music that make it particularly effective in creating social places. Cohen noted, "As sound, music fills and structures space within us and around us, inside and outside. Hence, much like our concept of place, music can appear to envelop us" (p. 444). She also noted that music, in practice, encompasses a range of activities, including "listening to and producing music, the verbal discourse and physical movements surrounding such practices and the ideology informing them" (p. 445). Listening to music "moves bodies in a way that distinguishes it from everyday speech and action and from the visual arts and, although it is a part of everyday life, it is also perceived as something special, different from everyday experience" (Cohen, 1995, p. 444).

Connell and Gibson (2003) also recognised music's unique ability to change the nature of an existing place. They noted, "In various ways, sounds have been used to… suggest and stimulate patterns of human behaviour in particular locations" (p. 192). This can obviously be seen to manifest itself in a concert or pub where music is experienced in an established venue; however Connell and Gibson note that music can shape "even spaces not normally associated with music… where the broadcast or infiltration of music serves various political or commercial intents" (p. 16). Connell & Gibson also observed music's unique ability to "create a space beyond the reach of racism", comparing Afro-Caribbean music carnivals in the United States to "events such as gay pride marches, [which] challenge the patriarchal, heterosexual order of the city" (p. 208). This observation highlights music's ability to operate outside of the white, adult, and male-dominated hegemonic order. This is further facilitated by the democratization of music; as Burnett noted (as cited in Cohen, 2007), "Whereas consumption of other media products is often limited by geographical availability and consumer income, almost anyone anywhere can listen to popular music" (p. 35).

Popular music and community: Place-based and value-based

Implicit in music's ability to create place is its potential to foster a sense of community. RQ1 (music and community) questions the 'sense of community' created by Māori popular music artists. Panelli, Nairn and McCormack's (2002) study on constructs of community among youth in Aotearoa/ New Zealand recognised that definitions of 'community', which "are often assumed to be positive and supportive" (p. 112) often subtly promote homogeneity and exclusion. Through interviews with young people in the community of Alexandra in the South Island of New Zealand, the authors suggested that "the spaces and practice of 'community' (in Alexandra) were not often the ones that welcomed youth or were established with them in mind" (p. 115). Further, the study recognizes that Māori youth in particular may at times feel doubly excluded, as Māori participants "recounted experiences of exclusion based on their ethnicity" (p. 113) as well as their age in community 'places' such as shopping malls, parks, and the library. While the study acknowledges the

potential benefits of a feeling of inclusion within a community, its overarching conclusion is that the traditional notions of community based on geographic proximity alone do not offer these benefits. Young people, and particularly young Māori individuals, are therefore forced to find alternative means for establishing a community within their community.

Music's potential to offer a sense of inclusive community has been identified through many studies in ethnomusicology. Malbon (1998) looked to the clubbing community to highlight how music can offer what could be classified as a place-based sense of community. Malbon noted that many public spaces "often seemed designed more for travelling through than for socialising within- more fleeting spaces than meeting places" (p. 267). Malbon offered the dance club as an alternative space; he echoed Cohen's (1995) emphasis on the sensual nature of music which causes "individual senses of identity [to] become (temporarily) less significant than the nature of the social situation of which they are a part" (Malbon, 1998, p. 275).

The relationship between music and community extends its significance beyond mere proximity. Duffy (2000) and Shuker (2005) both explored the ways in which music festivals and concerts unite fans based on the shared values that those events promote. Shuker (2005) made implicit in his definition of concerts how "concerts assert and celebrate the values of the music… and provide solidarity in a community of companionship" (p. 49). In many instances, these "values of the music" include more broadly the values of the community from which the music originates. Duffy, in her 2000 exploration of the Top Half Folk Festival held annually in the northern states of Australia, explained how "the festival becomes a site for an intensification of connections-particularly the musical and social- that resonate to notions such as 'northern Australia'" (p. 54). She therefore echoed Shuker in asserting that concerts and festivals not only bring listeners together in space, but also highlight the commonalities among those attendees.

While concerts serve as key moments of articulation of music-based communities, the connections created through the consumption of popular music extend beyond such events. Shuker (2008) analysed the ways that 'fandom' as a general, ongoing practice, "offers its participants membership of a

community not defined in traditional terms of status" (p. 182). Connell and Gibson similarly noted that communities can be "forged through shared experiences in concerts, or simply through the shared lyrics, symbols, and a common sense of style" (p. 89). Firth and Street (as cited in Shuker 2008) deconstruct this occurrence, claiming that "the power of mass music certainly comes from its mobilisation of an audience; a series of individual choices (to buy this record, this concert ticket) becomes the means to a shared experience and identity" (p. 243). With the proliferation of social networking sites that allow for the formation of a fan community and open, constant communication among that community, the sense of connectedness that exists at concerts is easily reinforced through private practices.

Popular music and identity

In her aforementioned analysis of the experience of a Jewish immigrant in Liverpool, Cohen (1995) noted how her participant recalled that his immigrant community was able to maintain a connection to the Jewish identity largely through "popular culture, particularly music and dance" (p. 437). Cohen highlighted music's ability to facilitate self-expression "in a manner that is discouraged in other public settings" (p. 444). Specifically, she observers that music is an extremely dynamic communication medium that allows for an active celebration of identity.

Music also offers an arena where prescribed notions of identity can be played with and reappropriated. Connell and Gibson (2003) understood identities as "processes rather than state, as flow rather than fixed characteristic, as constantly 'becoming' rather than 'being'" (p. 117). This coincides with McIntosh's (2005) definition of a 'fluid' Māori identity; both definitions emphasise the active nature of identity formation. Connell and Gibson privileged music as an important tool in the identity formation process, noting, "Music remains an important cultural sphere in which identities are affirmed, challenged, taken apart and reconstructed" (117). These observations suggest an answer to RQ2 (identity); music, rather than forcing an identity onto its listeners, provides an opportunity for listeners to create and celebrate the identity that is most relevant to them.

Documentary Film: A Theoretical Background

Defining documentary film

A definition of documentary film, while elusive, helps to clarify the expectations that an audience brings into a documentary viewing experience. Chapman (2007) noted five categories that separate documentary from other moving image genres; its subject matter, purpose, form, production methods, and audience response (p. 3). This broad definition provides a viable framework through which to compare definitions of the genre. These five categories will be presented hierarchically based on their apparent relevance to the most widely accepted assumptions of documentary.

Renov (1993) presented subject as a defining feature of documentary; he noted, "it is the differing historical status of the referent that distinguishes documentary from its fictional counterpart" (p. 2). Aufderheide (2007) similarly privileged subject as crucial to a definition of documentary, stating, "A documentary film tells a story about real life" (p. 2). While such a definition appears straightforward, Renov himself recognises the complications that arise from this definition, noting "How do we begin to distinguish the documentary performance for-the-camera… from that of a fictional counterpart?" (p. 2). Renov concluded that the subject of a film is not sufficient in determining its status as documentary.

Definitions based on form and production methods are also problematic. Ward (2005) objected to the inclusion of these categories in a definition of documentary, arguing that "the aesthetic choices made are merely the formal dimension and have no necessary say in whether or not something is a documentary" (p. 11). Ward strengthened this assertion through references to fiction programs that use documentary devices (i.e. the British and now American comedy, *The Office*), as well as documentaries that utilize a dramatic structure and aesthetic approach.

While Ward's (2005) discussion raises valuable considerations on including form as a defining feature of documentary, form is importantly related to issues of audience reception. Chapman (2007) explained that form and production methods are key to this complex relationship, noting, "It is impossible to avoid instinctive audience interpretation of the language of shots,

given the widespread acceptance of the conventions of the film genre" (p. 85).
Chapman therefore recognises that audiences are sufficiently fluent in filmic
conventions to match documentary's formal elements with complex
expectations.

Nichols (1991) further emphasised the role of audience expectations; he
noted, "The distinguishing mark of documentary may be less intrinsic to the text
than a function of the assumptions and expectations brought to the process of
viewing the text" (p. 24). Aufderheide elaborated on these expectations:

> We expect to be told things about the real world, things that are true. We
> do not demand that these things be portrayed objectively, and they do
> not have to be the complete truth… But we do expect that a documentary
> will be a fair and honest representation of somebody's experience of
> reality. (3)

The focus on audience reception can effectively resolve the difficulties in
including form in a comprehensive definition of documentary.

Were documentary to be defined solely by audience reception, however,
the possibility of audience deception arises. Filmmakers can deceive audiences
by falsely presenting fiction as truth; this occurs both in mockumentary films
for comedic ends, or more sinisterly in propaganda. For this reason, Chapman's
(2007) inclusion of purpose is crucial to a complete definition of documentary.
Nichols (1991) highlighted the commonalities of documentary filmmakers:
"Members share a common, self-chosen mandate to represent the historical
world rather than imaginary ones" (p. 14). Renov, in his essay on what he calls
the 'poetics of documentary', defined and categorized documentary solely
through an examination of purpose. He outlined four "fundamental tendencies"
of documentary: "to record, reveal, or preserve; to persuade or promote; to
analyse or interrogate; to express" (p. 21). His presentation of these four
"modalities of desire" serves as a guideline from which to analyse documentary,
and not as a means to define it. It proves useful, however, in illustrating the
essential relationship between documentary film and filmmaker purpose.

Art vs. reportage: A consideration of purpose

Grierson (as cited in Corner, 1996), claimed that "Documentary is
authorial in that it is about creativity and transformation based on vision…
However, the 'raw material' for the creative endeavour is provided by 'reality'"

(p. 14). This dualistic nature of documentary film does perhaps offer the duplicitous benefit of being viewed as both art and "an agency of citizenship" (Corner, 1996, p. 14), but also creates complications in attempting to both represent an issue truthfully and convey a sense of authorship. In relation to the definition of documentary as addressed in the previous section, purpose becomes a particularly debateable criterion when one considers the possible hierarchy given to Renov's tendencies of documentary. How does the privileging of the desire to express over the desire to reveal affect the nature of a documentary, and how is an audience able to distinguish between these competing motivations?

Corner (1996) offered a constant reminder that documentary has perhaps never claimed to fall securely in the realm of accurately presenting reality. In fact, he traced documentary's roots as "a form of the cinematic essay (impressionism put to promotional ends; an exploration of the modern and the changing through the evocative, metonymic use of images and sounds)" (p. 2). This early form of documentary was acutely self-aware of its authorial voice, and did not claim to serve the function of journalism. In light of the proliferation of television documentaries and the introduction of new lightweight recording technologies, "new forms of empirical emphasis- journalism's concern with inquiry and analysis [and] verite and direct cinema's concern with observation" (Corner, 1996, p. 16) thrust documentary closer to the realm of journalism. Corner dismissed the exercise of critiquing documentary on the basis of its fidelity to truth, noting, "the fact/fiction argument has often had a 'see-saw' character in which untenable claims for factuality have been countered by unhelpfully broad ideas about fictionality" (p. 5). It can be concluded that the oft-debated ability of documentary to present the 'real' relates to the purpose of each individual film, and cannot be resolved through sweeping generalisations.

Ellis (2007) noted the close relationship between documentary's "notion of the found object" and the modernist art movement, which "sought to render ordinary objects into aesthetic objects or objects of contemplation" (p. 58). However, he drew a crucial distinction between documentary and art on the basis of two defining features of documentary film; its concern with presenting the truth (to some extent), and its dedication to social purpose. Ellis clarified

that "documentary has a very utilitarian self view. Documentary is about doing... [Documentary filmmakers] want to change attitudes, they want to get something done" (pp. 59-60). Ellis then connected this theoretical concern to more tangible aesthetic strategies, noting that the more utilitarian the intent of the filmmaker, the more probable that a film "seeks as wide an audience as possible and aims to be easily understood" (p. 60). Thus, attempting to identify whether a filmmaker's sense of purpose is more closely aligned with creating art or creating record serves as a useful indicator of which aesthetic decisions may be most appropriate for any given documentary project.

Ethnographic film: Implications of outsider filmmaking

While *kaupapa* Maori filmmaking was addressed briefly in the Methodology section, larger questions of ethnographic filmmaking in general are important in framing the appropriateness of the project. As Lutkehaus and Cool (1999) stated in their analysis on visual anthropology, bias is perhaps inherent in the nature of documentary film, as "the very act of representing others not only bears with it moral responsibility, but, more sinisterly, is a form of domination" (p. 116). Waititi (2006) simplified this concern, stating bluntly, ""Who but Māori have the right to speak on behalf of Māori?" (p. 5). Lutkehaus and Cool, however, presented the 'new ethnography' tradition, which can allow documentary filmmaking to maintain "the moral, social, and epistemological validity of cultural representations made by 'outsiders'" (p. 117). This 'new ethnography' is defined as those "experiments in anthropological writing catalysed by the critique of the so-called realist representations characteristic of traditional ethnography" (p. 117). Lutkehaus and Cool analysed the changes that have become apparent in written ethnography, namely the appearance of "a self-conscious effort to portray the socially constructed nature of ethnographic knowledge", rejecting the "omnipotent authority of the ethnographic observer vis-à-vis his or her distanced object of observation" (p. 118). They then explicate how these changes in ethnographic writing have been both preceded and followed by similar changes in ethnographic filmmaking. Lutkehaus and Cool note that this shift in attitude was matched by more tangible aesthetic and thematic trends in ethnographic filmmaking,

characterised by filmmakers such as Jean Rouch and Tim Asch (See FIlmography for exemplary works).

The conclusion of these observations on "new ethnography" as it is manifested in both written research and in ethnographic filmmaking is that the potential exists to "engage in research and representation across lines of cultural difference, not in an effort to produce totalizing depictions of 'how the [fill in the blank] live,' but in an attempt to enable conversation across those lines" (Lutkehaus & Cool, 1999, p. 130). This emphasis on conversation mirrors Waititi's (2006) presentation of *kaupapa* Māori documentary filmmaking as an opportunity for Māori to "express these significant aspects of being in their own ways and in their own voices" (p. 5). The conversation metaphor appears again as Waititi elaborates that "by instilling the listening concept into documentary… it will help to create a tone that is nurturing to the [values] of Māori" (p. 9).

Maintaining the voice of the participants is therefore crucial to an ethical approach to outsider filmmaking. Chapman (2007) related this concern to the editing process:

> The decision concerning which part of an interview to use raises a point of honour towards the interviewee, for there is an obligation not to misconstrue and to portray the whole person to the audience… If quick moments in their life or an episode are reassembled, they could be trivialized. (p. 123)

Lutkehaus and Cool (1999) cite Tim Asch's belief "that the filmmaker could present a 'truer' representation of filmic subjects if they were allowed to speak for themselves on-screen without the presence of a narrator or voice-over" (p. 120). The underlying principle in these analyses is that the presentation of an interview relates critically to the placement of voice within a documentary film.

This introduction to those aspects of documentary theory that are most relevant to the production decisions of *Native Noise* is by no means exhaustive. However, it serves as a basis on which to judge the success of the film as it relates to my sense of purpose and to the functions of documentary film, rather than against a superficial rubric that may not be appropriate for my budget or production circumstances. In the next chapter I will present my own analysis of the film based on this theoretical background, and will also illustrate the ways in which creating the film expounded on the research presented in this literature review.

Chapter Three: Discussion

In this section I analyse the production of *Native Noise* in depth. I will address the making of the film and how this process allowed for engagement with the research questions. I will then offer a critical review of the film, and will discuss potential distribution opportunities. This discussion will serve as a link between the previous chapters, and will continue to illustrate the relevance of the methodology and the interaction of the film with the theories presented in the Literature Review.

Making the Film

Engaging with research questions

The production of *Native Noise* allowed for the exploration of the research questions through both personal interaction with Māori artists and industry members and the observation of performances and events. Pre-production required establishing a familiarity with the Māori music industry. I achieved this familiarity through the establishment of a "*whānau* of interest", as identified in the methodology. Contacts within the fields of Māori television, filmmaking and music were identified and consulted. This creation of a *whānau* of interest, alongside research into current music and Māori culture publications, such as *Tū Mai*, *Spasifik*, and *Real Groove*, allowed for the creation of a list of relevant Māori artists and industry members.

The pre-production phase also involved participant observation at relevant music events. I attended the Waitingi Day concert in Auckland, the Tribal Pride music festival in Ngaruawahia, Ladi6 and Tama Waipara performances, an Inia te Waiata tribute concert, and several unfilmed Matariki performances, including Tiki Tane. In Appendix C, I provide a further explanation of the particular events that most informed my research. The film's title, *Native Noise,* was inspired by one of these early concert experiences; the title pays homage to a popular series of Māori music events while also neatly summarising the documentary's focus on the meaningful effects of what can be seen as simply making noise. I attended these events without a crew or equipment present so that true participant observation could occur; these experiences helped to shape later filming decisions, as I learned how both large festivals and smaller performances within the Māori music scene feel to an audience, both in a sensual sense and as a mental practice of belonging. Through this participation I also began to participate in the community of listeners, and spoke with other concert participants to hear firsthand which artists were most relevant.

In the phase of participant observation, the connections between popular music and community were readily observable. Particularly striking was the wide demographic of participants at Māori music events, which I determined was important to demonstrate in the documentary. The inclusivity of the Māori music scene related directly to Panelli, Nairnand McCormack's critique of many concepts of community in New Zealand as being based largely on exclusivity, particularly of young people. The participant aspect of observation was crucial in realising the welcoming nature of the Māori music scene, as I was not only able to witness the diverse crowds at music events, but was also invited to share food, umbrellas, and sunscreen with other attendees. I then reflected on these experiences through written journal entries in an attempt to begin to link theory to my experiences. Naturally, it was more difficult to experience this level of reflection and participation when I had camera equipment, as I was clearly differentiated from other attendees. However through the production process I engaged in determining how best to create the experience of participation for viewers of the film. Thus, both participant observation and filming allowed for an in-depth exploration of RQ1 (music and community) and RQ2 (identity) through personally absorbing and recording the dynamics of the Māori popular music community.

Research questions were also addressed through pre-interviews, personal conversations, and filmed interviews with research participants. As is evident from the sample interview guideline (Appendix A), interviews were largely unstructured and allowed for the participant to shape the direction of the interview. Thus research questions were not stated outright in interviews; instead, themes of community, identity, and place were introduced without much explication, allowing for participants to interpret themes as they deemed most relevant. As Rabiger (1992) instructed, "Interviewing should be exploration that leads to understanding. [The interviewer] should keep exploring until one reaches complete understanding oneself- factual and emotional understanding" (p. 145). While complete understanding proves an unattainable ideal over the course of a year of research, interviews were crucial in working towards 'factual and emotional understanding' of the research topics.

The selection of participants related directly to Chapman's (2007) observation that "One of the main functions of research involving selection of interviewees... is to gain in advance, before filming, what points need to be

communicated in the film and who are the most important players in the given field"
(p. 61). In the stage of selecting participants, the focus of the project departed from
privileging an 'industry perspective' to finding those artists and advocates with the
most passion and understanding of the importance of Māori popular music. In
relation to Chapman's point, determining issues that needed to be covered to best
address the research questions crucially informed the selection of participants. The
resulting participants in turn helped narrow the focus of the film to themes of
community, identity, and place, rather than an analysis of the mechanics of industry
and the relation of industry to culture.

The initial participants who expressed interest were Huata, Reeder, and
Elliffe. As the founder and executive director of the Māori Music Awards, Huata
served as a valuable resource in exploring the link between the role of contemporary
music and that of traditional Māori performing arts, as this awards show was one of
the first opportunities for both contemporary and traditional artists to unite. His work
with young people was also highly relevant, as he possessed an excellent
understanding of the role of music and performing arts in the lives of Māori
rangatahi.

Reeder served as a valuable participant due to his participation with *Nesian
Mystik*, a group that has received numerous accolades in the Pacific and Māori music
arenas, as well as having the most Top 10 hits in New Zealand music history (T.A.
Reeder, personal communication, June 23, 2009). Reeder and Elliffe were also the
most closely related to 'the industry'; as aforementioned, industry was included only
peripherally in the documentary. Nonetheless, these participants' familiarity of the
industry was useful in beginning to address RQ3 (commerce, culture and place).
Nesian Mystik has not only achieved considerable commercial success, but has also
created its own label, Arch Dynasty. Elliffe, as a TahuFM DJ, brought a working
knowledge of the radio side of the industry to the project. More importantly,
however, Reeder and Ellifee couple this relationship to the industry with a dedication
to the values and *tikanga* (custom) of Māori culture.

During production, I later came into contact with Strathdee. I was initially
unsure if *Hangman* could be deemed Māori popular music based on the definition
that I outlined in the Methodology section, but as Strathdee wrote in a personal e-
mail, "Our music isn't specifically aimed at Māori youth. However, the themes and
messages in our music are certainly relevant to Māori youth" (B. Strathdee, personal

communication, June 14, 2009). After an initial meeting with Strathdee, his well-articulated kaupapa of celebrating identity and striving towards goals, as well as a true understanding of the value of live performance, were both relevant to the project. It was also important for me to incorporate genres outside of hip-hop to demonstrate my avoidance of claiming any one genre to constitute 'Māori popular music.' *Hangman's* music is self-defined as "hard edge deep groove music" (B. Strathdee, personal communication, July 15, 2009).

Deach also came into the project during production after I learned of *Smashproof's* involvement with the Supercity Hikoi; *Smashproof's* participation in this free event in the middle of a demanding national tour schedule illustrated their dedication to Māori *kaupapa*, and they therefore proved relevant to the project. As mentioned briefly in the introduction, Deach is the only participant who is not Māori. Initially, all members of *Smashproof* had planned to participate in the project; however due to scheduling issues, only Deach was able to appear at the interview. In response to this change, I included in the documentary Smith's claim that "You do not have to be Māori to express Māori popular music" (V. Smith, personal communication, September 9, 2009). I also included Deach stating that he was Samoan, as this may not be evident to all viewers and I did not intend to misrepresent Deach's background. However based on *Smashproof's* record-breaking success and continued participation in Māori events, such as the Hikoi and Atamira Māori in the City 2009, Deach served as a current, relevant performer to include in the documentary. As with *Nesian Mystik*, *Smashproof's* widespread commercial success also allowed for Deach to provide insight on RQ3 (commerce, culture and place).

Smith similarly was a later addition to the project. I enlisted his participation based on Ellis's discussion of purpose as presented in the Literature Review; documentary, he stated, is differentiated from other art forms by its "utilitarian self view" (p. 59), which manifests itself in a desire to be widely understood by a diverse audience. I therefore felt it necessary to include an academic, explicative voice to provide a framework of knowledge on Māori performing arts that may not be readily available to all viewers.

Production techniques

My production techniques were motivated by both practical demands and aesthetic goals. As identified in the Methodology section, the narrow genre of socially-conscious rockumentary served in many ways as an outline of desired production techniques with regards to filming both live events and interviews. The specifics of production will be addressed in an attempt to present the motivations for production decisions, against which the success of the film will be judged later in this section.

Production techniques for interviews were motivated by a desire to create a comfortable scenario for participants and to convey additional information about each participant. As Rabiger (1992) noted, "There are settings in which the interviewee is more at ease such as at home, in the workplace, or at a friend's. Here you are likely to get the more intimate and individual response because the interviewee feels expansive" (p. 141). Participants selected their respective interview locations. Fortunately, many of these locations also served an aesthetic purpose. For Strathdee, he felt most comfortable at Mangere Bridge, an area where he has lived and worked for six years. Elliffe's interview was filmed in the Tahu FM DJ booth, which provided an attractive backdrop and an area where he appeared comfortable. Huata was filmed at the Takitimu Performing Arts School in Hastings, where Huata serves as the Chief Executive Officer. Reeder's interview was filmed in his home; this backdrop did not provide any particular aesthetic benefits, but Reeder was positioned in front of a work of art that was important to him. Deach was filmed in the offices of *Smashproof's* label, Woodcut Productions, as was requested by his manager. Finally, Smith was filmed in the AUT marae, where the carved painting behind him pointed to themes of planning for and embracing the future. This mural represents Te Ao Marama, the World of Enlightenment, and "highlights to Māori those opportunities that are to come" (*Ngaa Wai o Horotiu Marae*, p. 13).

Filming practices varied depending on the availability of a camera operator. Generally, the ideal was to visually match the conventions of the genre of socially-conscious rockumentary. As mentioned in the discussion of the practices unique to this genre, I avoided a music video aesthetic of rapid cuts or effects created in post-production. The intention of the framing and filming of interviews was to privilege the nature of storytelling. As Waititi (2006) explained with particular relevance to Māori documentaries, "By instilling the listening concept into documentary, for

example presenting the argument in a way that is uninterrupted by the authoritative voice-of-god, it allows conversation to flow" (p. 9). Similarly, I did not want to interrupt storytelling through distracting zooms or unusual framing. When it was possible to have a camera assistant, they were instructed to zoom based on motivation from what the participant was saying. As Chapman instructed, "tighter framing with close-up… increases the emotional impact of the visual" (p. 89). I therefore trusted camera operators to respond to the emotional investment of participants as they answered interview questions. For Elliffe and Reeder, no camera assistant was available. As Reeder was my first interview, I did not yet feel comfortable adjusting the camera while interviewing; therefore, all shots of Reeder were filmed with the same frame. For Elliffe's interview, I became more comfortable adjusting shots while interviewing; however, for fear of detracting from the conversational nature of the interview I adjusted shots minimally. In general, I positioned myself to either side of the camera to achieve what Chapman describes as a "more informal, relaxed and anecdotal" (p. 99) feel. In editing, these shots were occasionally flipped to create the feeling of conversation among participants by having participants visually facing each other. This conversational nature also served to visually suggest a '*whānau of interest*', allowing for comparisons to be drawn between the goals, challenges, and perspectives of the members of this *whānau*.

With performances, the intent was to create the experience of being in the audience and being part of the listening community. While live events call for significant motivated camera movement in following performers, the performances were energetic enough that it was not necessary to attempt to create additional interest through camera effects. I did elect to carry the camera for the majority of performance filming with the intent of creating a participant experience for the viewer. Occasionally a tripod was used to have the option for more steady shots to be included as needed, but in general the goal was to film from the point of view of a well-positioned audience member.

Post-production techniques were shaped largely by the film's eventual emphasis on the spoken stories of the participants. I edited the film based on a technique outlined by Rabiger (2009). As Rabiger instructed, "The order and juxtaposition of material… have potent consequences. The way you eventually present and use the material signals your ideas about the people and subject you are profiling" (p. 491). Rabiger therefore suggests working from typed transcripts,

identifying sections of speech that are appealing or relevant for any reason, and creating section IDs to quickly identify the main theme of each section. To assemble the edit, Rabiger encouraged the creation of "an overall structure that moves [action sequences] logically through time" (p. 489). As I will discuss further, I did not have as many action sequences as I initially planned, so the paper edit was more a sequence of speech sections that progressed the argument of the thesis and the film. As Rabiger suggested, I physically worked with the sections of speech and tried several different orders in an attempt to create a logical progression of ideas. Once I had an order that I felt achieved the goals of the film and was able to tell an interesting story, I created a draft of the paper edit, which can be seen in Appendix B. The process of creating the paper edit from the transcripts allowed for the structure of the film to emerge organically from the stories of the participants.

An additional concern in post-production was with the use of music. Since the subject of the documentary is music, the incorporation of music into the film was crucial to its meaning and reception. Corner (2002) explained how music has been viewed with some suspicion in documentary film, as it is seen to manipulate the emotions of the viewer. However, he argued in contrast that music "greatly intensifies our engagement with the images" by providing "the resources for a viewing disposition" (p. 359). Music from performances was therefore often extended beyond its diegetic use and into interviews in an attempt to place the viewer in the disposition of listening and appreciating popular music. An aspiring Māori music producer was also involved in the project and created two original pieces to help strengthen the emotional progression of the interview segments (See Appendix D for all film credits). At the time of submission, synchronisation rights had been acquired without cost for all music from both the writers and publishers under the guidance of the Australasian Performing Right Association- New Zealand (APRA), with the exception of *Nesian Mystik's* songs. All public viewings will therefore be delayed until these rights have officially been acquired.

Difficulties encountered

It is important to address the challenges that were encountered through the production of this film. With any project, the circumstances of production undoubtedly affect the nature of the final work. In many ways, dealing with the challenges presented below allowed for further exploration of the research questions;

for example, limitations in equipment and crew presented opportunities for filming to occur in more intimate situations where a larger crew would have proven inappropriate. Additionally, addressing these challenges was the largest contributing factor to my personal growth as a researcher and filmmaker. I was aware of the limitations when I began the project, but committed to the research and film largely to embrace the opportunities for learning that these limitations would present.

The most obvious challenge to the production of *Native Noise* was working mostly alone and with my own equipment. As Chapman (2007) noted, "A disadvantage of going solo is that one does not have feedback from other production members on location, which helps to formulate ideas and to clarify the focus of the story." (p. 102). While I was fortunate to have the guidance of my advisors and other contributors, additional perspectives may have often proven useful on-location. As mentioned, I had non-professional camera assistants on all interview shoots with the exception of Elliffe and Reeder. While one camera assistant worked with me on three shoots, additional assistance in filming Deach's interview and Huata's interview came from different individuals. As Rabiger (1992) observed, "Even in relatively controlled shooting circumstances, it is regrettably usual to discover that one person's close-up is another person's medium shot. Framing, composition, speed of camera movements, and microphone positioning all come about through mutual agreement and compromise" (p. 59). A consistent camera assistant would have therefore allowed for a development of a more solid understanding of my vision and preferences in shots and composition. For all performances aside from *Hangman,* I worked alone; this was due to both budget limitations and logistical challenges with travelling to Wellington, Hastings, and Christchurch. In relation to Chapman's quote, this was a challenge in that I viewed the performances largely from behind the camera, and it is highly possible that I may have missed important moments due to this limitation.

The equipment utilised in the production of this film also presented challenges in achieving the desired level of quality in both picture and audio. Most of the equipment was generously provided through a grant program, but was largely of consumer (as opposed to professional) quality, although I had limited access to professional sound equipment through the Auckland University of Technology. Challenges still occasionally arose in recording sound, due either to a lack of familiarity with the equipment on my part or the quality of the boom microphone that

was provided to me. Editing also proved challenging due to a lack of resources and equipment. While professional suites were hired in order to capture footage, the actual editing process was completed on my personal laptop computer, and the quality of audio and video playback was limiting in fine-tuning cuts.

While I was prepared and excited to meet the challenges of producing an independent work with a small budget and crew, the problem that I would most wish to address with more time and resources would be the film's reliance on interviews rather than action sequences. On the one hand, the heavy use of dialogue allows for the voice to remain with the participants, which was a goal of the film. As Waitati (2006) explained, this is in some ways an asset to the film in that "The process of talking and being allowed to do so is an important part of expressing Māori knowledge" (p. 9). Barclay (1990) also recognised the value of speech in documentary. He noted, "I think one of the most damaging attitudes to the free-flow of Māori conversation on film is the industry's attitude to the 'talking head.' For the life of me, I cannot think of anything more beautiful than the human face talking from the heart" (p. 15). The 'talking head' aesthetic is therefore appropriate in Māori documentary as it is akin to Māori practices of story-telling and listening.

In contrast, this reliance on speech alone also creates an underutilisation of the medium; ideally, I would have been able to capture committee meetings, time in recording studios, etc., to feature alongside the 'talking heads.' As Chapman (2007) stated, "It is better to use the medium to show, not tell" (p. 100), and my initial expectation of the film was to show the effort that goes into the creation of the Maori music scene rather than rely so heavily on the spoken word to convey this point. This inclusion would have been useful in shaping the pace of the film, allowing for more dynamic visual sequences, and addressing RQ3 (commerce, culture and place) in more depth through witnessing the business side of the Māori popular music scene. While I would maintain the same participants, elements of industry could have been included through showing these participants interacting with more strictly 'industry' based members of the Māori popular music scene, i.e., managers and label executives.

Insights Into the Nature of Māori Popular Music

Analysing the interviews: Identifying key themes

As mentioned earlier in this section, the process of preparing for editing involved creating transcripts of interviews and carefully reviewing these transcripts to identify important themes and begin to answer the research questions. The structure of the documentary was based largely on this thematic progression, and I will present relevant findings in this section in the same order as they appear in the film.

A reoccurring theme that was closely related to all three research questions was the relationship between the traditional role of Māori music and performing arts and the role of contemporary music. Recognition of the commonalities of popular music to traditional Māori music provides evidence for the claim that Māori popular music, much like traditional performing arts, can play a valued role in the formation of a vibrant Māori identity. While my literature review did not focus on this issue in depth, it became apparent through all interviews that music is traditionally a crucial contributor to Māori identity. Huata noted that while traditional and contemporary Māori artists have long viewed themselves as separate, all Māori artists use the medium to carry themes and messages that are steeped in Māori *kaupapa*. The film therefore opens with a discussion of this role of music in general as a tool to convey a message, and then transitions into Reeder's discussion of *Nesian Mystik*'s music as it functions in this role. Similarly consistent was the observation that all of my participants had grown up surrounded by music. I chose to include each participant's reflection on growing up around music in an attempt to elucidate music's consistent and continuing role in Māori culture.

All participants recognised this potential for music to convey a message, and acknowledged the importance of utilising this ability to deliver relevant messages to the Māori community. This observation relates crucially to RQ1 (music and community) and discussions of community as addressed in the Literature Review, particularly Connell and Gibson's observation that a community can be created "simply through the shared lyrics" (p. 89). The insights of my participants point to the fact that the listening community is strengthened through lyrics that offer meaning and relevance; in other words, lyrics that channel Māori *kaupapa*. Deach articulated this point in noting that people were able to relate to *Smashproof's* hit "Brother" because the music was about what is happening in New Zealand, rather

than about irrelevant concepts such as " guns… flash cars and money" (Deach, personal communication, June 4, 2009).

Another recurring theme, related to RQ1 (music and community), was the importance and value of live performance. When participants were invited to discuss their experiences with live performance, their answers came from a perspective of the interaction with the audience and the energy and connection between the crowd and the performer. Both Reeder and Strathdee emphasised the importance of live performances as an opportunity for the audience to connect with others and experience something fun, unique, and, as Strathdee importantly noted, real rather than virtual. These observations mirror Malbon's (2004) introduction of "place-based" community, as Reeder noted that simply being "all there together at one moment, at one place, at one time" (T.A. Reeder, personal communication, June 9 2009) is perhaps the most exciting aspect of live performance. All of the performers emphasised live performance as the basis of their music careers. The desire and willingness to perform live, often voluntarily at free events, along with the recognition of the value of these events to Māori communities, present a potential answer for RQ1 (music and community): members of the Māori music industry, very consciously, attempt to create a community among listeners largely through a continuing emphasis on live performance.

While the inclusion of *te reo* Māori was not used as a restrictive factor in defining 'Māori popular music', the discussion of the use of language presented answers to RQ2 (identity) by connecting the role of popular music to a celebration of identity. Elliffe was perhaps the most ardent supporter of the connection between identity and popular music, as his raps are conducted almost entirely in *te reo* Māori. Cohen (1995), as mentioned, pointed to music's dynamism as a key factor in its ability to encourage a celebration of identity. Elliffe's music serves as a prime example of this dynamism, which he readily recognised when he observed, "I try to stay out of the norm and out of the clichés, of like *akona te reo…* because being in the language itself promotes the language" (T. Elliffe, personal communication, October 27, 2009). Elliffe recognised that music, unlike more academic forms of encouraging the use of *te reo* Māori, has the potential to be fun and interesting. Reeder too emphasises *Nesian's* desire to incorporate Māori and Pacific languages and themes, noting that "For us, we try and put the fat beat behind it and, you know, put some really nice chords to it and just make it ok to listen to, to normalise culture

through music" (T.A. Reeder, personal communication, June 9, 2009). Reeder and Elliffe therefore both, consciously or unconsciously, embrace the dynamism of music that Cohen points to in an attempt to encourage listeners to connect to their culture.

A final recurring theme of significance to the research questions was the issue of competing demands of culture and commerce, RQ3 (commerce, culture and place). On the whole, participants did not recognise culture and commerce as diametrically opposed; while they acknowledged the challenges of the industry, they all viewed these challenges as workable. A common conclusion was that the largest challenge to Māori popular artists was avoiding what can be viewed as a pejorative classification as "World music." Strathdee, Reeder, and Elliffe all recognised the restrictions of being classified as world music in terms of commercial success. However all participants expressed resolve at staying true to their music, their culture, and their desires as artists. None of my participants suggested making sacrifices in terms of artistry as an option to meet the challenges of commerce. In contrast, the common conclusion seemed to be that the means to conquering commercial challenges was simply hard work and a dedication to remaining on the scene, in spite of the amount of time it may take to achieve success. The final sequence of the documentary serves to show how each participant had extensive plans for the future. The resolution to aim for longevity, rather than overnight success, seemed to be the answer to tackling commercial challenges.

Observational footage: Capturing 'place'

As previously mentioned, it was through my initial participant observation that I came to understand the nature of the Māori popular music community and the sense of place that comes from attending concerts, festivals, and other live performances. Here, I will attempt to further clarify this elusive 'nature' of the Māori music scene, and will point out those defining features that I was careful to include in the final edit.

The relevant literature on the relationship between music and place as discussed in the Literature Review highlights the classification of space as defined by social interaction, rather than by geographic borders. Massey's (1998) research proved particularly useful in identifying the means through which space can be claimed and reclaimed by distinct groups through "constellations" (p. 125) of interaction. The Māori music scene exemplifies this concept of reclaiming space

through its ability to take shape in a variety of different venues and scenarios. Māori music events that I attended through my year of research took place not only in many towns and cities around New Zealand, but in venues ranging from Auckland Town Hall (Matariki Event 2009), Te Papa Tonga Tongarawea Museum of New Zealand in Wellington (Rangatahi Represent), Canterbury University in Christchurch (Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori Music and Film Festival), and the middle of Queen Street (Supercity Hikoi performances). The mobility and adaptability of these performances illustrate the applicability of the concept of social space in understanding the Māori music scene.

Based on my experience as both participant and filmmaker, the nature of the social spaces created at Māori music events encourages interaction, celebration, and the strengthening of the Māori community. Notable was the casual nature of performances at festivals and concerts as established by the artists. As I attempted to capture in my film, performers within the Māori popular music scene were highly approachable, and at nearly every concert I attended initiated casual interactions with the crowd. At Tribal Pride, reggae group *Native Sons* invited children from the audience on stage to sing; at the Waitangi Day concert event, members of the group *Jamoa Jam* wrestled with audience members on stage for free t-shirts and CDs. This unique feeling of whanau permeated even large venues and events. As Reeder stated (not featured in the film), "You know we just have fun on stage, we don't try to be the most polished crew in the world because it's just more real that way" (T.A. Reeder, personal communication, June 9, 2009). This approachability was distinct from American concert experiences that I am familiar with, and reflected underlying Māori values of whanau and connectivity.

Māori music events also fostered community and 'place' by including extra-musical offerings. Māori-focused support groups, cultural groups, and educational programs had information tents and free give-aways at most concerts and festivals that I attended. An array of *kai* (food) was also a fixture at nearly every music event I attended. This creation of a community event, rather than simply a music performance, was demonstrative of Duffy's (2000) conclusions based on her examination of Australia's Top Half Folk Festival; Māori music events, too, serve as a site of strengthening community connections, rather than simply promoting individual artists or attempting to make a profit. To the contrary on the issue of

profit, many performances that I attended were either free or offered at very low cost to encourage attendance.

Critical Review of the Film

Success in addressing research questions

Rabiger (1992) stated, "The documentary maker's central problem is… persuading his audience to look more deeply into appearances" (p. 297). Further, he demonstrated that success in this goal is determined by the originality of the subject matter, the film's point of view, and the use of filmic language and conventions (p. 297). I will analyse the third point in the following section; here, I will discuss my success in the first two points, and how they relate to the film's ability to answer the research questions.

One area in which *Native Noise* was successful was in presenting a diverse group of participants, who each provided a distinct perspective into the research questions. In this sense, the subject matter narrowed beyond 'Māori popular music' into the stories of the participants, which were dynamic, varied, and introspective. Because of the dynamism and eloquence of the participants, valuable insight was revealed into each of the three research questions. While no participant answered RQ1 (music and community) directly, the reflections of the performers on the value of live music events shed light on how the efforts that go into performances are directly related to the efforts of creating a community of listeners.

RQ2 (identity) was addressed primarily through the linking of the role of traditional Māori music to that of contemporary music. This connection is drawn initially through the opening sequence, and strengthened through Tama's reflections on traditional Māori performing arts and the juxtaposition of his description of traditional arts with Reeder's introduction of *Nesian Mystik's* goals. By establishing the link between traditional Māori performing arts and contemporary music, the documentary suggests that popular music and traditional music relate similarly to culture and *kaupapa*. The discussion of the use of language in Māori popular music also aids in the illustration of connections between communities of listeners and culture. When Elliffe notes that he does "songs that are entirely for, almost only for people that are quite competent and quite fluent in *te reo*" (T. Elliffe, personal communication, October 27, 2009), he points to an opportunity for a community of listeners to connect to Māori culture through language.

The film also presents some of the challenges presented by commerce. In what may be called the third act of the film, beginning with Strathdee's reflection that "Nothing worth having comes easily" (B. Strathdee, personal communication, July 15 2009), the participants address the challenges in creating Māori music, including low production quality, difficulty in finding a market, and falling into clichés of "world music." This section segues into a forward-looking discussion on plans for the future, illustrating that the means through which the participants navigate the challenges of commerce are hard work, dedication, and a commitment to goals.

On Rabiger's (1992) second point on the importance of the point of view of the film, *Native Noise* was less successful in illustrating the *impact* of the research questions. As Rabiger commented, "Documentaries exist not just to act on us intellectually, but also to create a change in the way we feel about something… Documentaries, therefore, have to be aimed at the heart, not just the head" (p. 38). *Native Noise,* perhaps due to some of the aesthetic shortcomings that will be discussed in the following section, provided intellectual material to answer the research questions. However, it was in some ways lacking a point of view that signalled the impact of the stories of the participants. A stronger point of view could have been created through additional shooting of participants outside of the interview set-up. As Rabiger explained, "The elements of struggle, contest and will are at the heart of drama in every medium, including documentary" (p. 52). Through utilising the medium to show, rather than explain, the struggles, challenges, and efforts of the Māori popular music scene, a stronger point of view could have been established within the film. Particularly, I intended to structure and frame the story through Huata, and establish him as the *kaumatua* of the *whānau* of interest. This role would have been conveyed more effectively had I filmed more footage of Huata's work with the school and with the arts. This is not to conclude that the film itself was a failure in any way, but simply that a stronger point of view could have strengthened the impact of the film. Recognising this shortcoming creates the potential to improve the film in the future.

Aesthetic and technical successes and shortcomings

With respect to Rabiger's (1992) third point, there were several aesthetic and technical points of the film that worked effectively. As Chapman noted, "The

opening sequence is especially important… [it] acts as a 'hook' to hold audience attention, indicating the nature of the participation that is required of them" (p. 119). The opening musical sequence of *Native Noise* accomplishes my intentions; it is dynamic, immediately draws the connection between traditional and contemporary Māori performing arts, and places the audience in a position of watching a concert or performance. It also elevates popular culture to a position worthy of consideration, relating to the aesthetics of the socially-conscious rockumentary genre introduced in the Methodology. Similarly, the final act of the film is particularly effective in its use of non-diegetic music; the original music piece conveyed the hope and optimism of the participants and of the film, and the interview selections conveyed a clear statement on the future of Māori popular music.

With regards to shot composition and audio quality, to be certain some scenes were more successful than others. The live performance shots were largely successful; the camera movements were generally steady and the audio quality was both clear and captured the ambience of the events, although maintaining consistent levels across performances and interviews proved challenging. The angles and framing that I achieved conveyed the energy that the performers put into their shows, which was crucial to answering RQ1 (music and community). For interviews, the quality of shots was somewhat less consistent. As mentioned earlier, Reeder's shot was unfortunately static, which did not provide for responses to particularly emotional or significant moments. For Smith's interview, the framing was not ideal and was corrected through altering the zoom in editing, which in some instances decreased the sharpness. Huata's interview similarly had framing issues that needed to be corrected in post-production.

In contrast, the filming of Elliffe's interview was very effective. The location of his interview, in his studio, proved aesthetically interesting and well-lit. Deach's interview too had ideal lighting, and the camera movements were consistently motivated by his intensity and emotions. Strathdee's interview was also effectively shot, and the use of an outdoor setting added diversity among the other interviews. Throughout the entire film, though, there was a lack of cutaways. Again, this relates directly to the lack of filming participants in other circumstances beyond performances and interviews. As a result, there are several jump-cuts that were resolved through cross-dissolves. This was detrimental to the film in that these dissolves were not motivated; they do not indicate a passing of time or reflection.

They were used simply for lack of an alternative, which detracts from the visual flow of the film.

Potential to connect with intended audience

In spite of the challenges and shortcomings of the film as discussed in this section, *Native Noise* has the potential to connect with a wide audience, particularly of individuals with a vested interest in Māori culture, Māori performing arts, or the Aotearoa popular music scene. Largely, I attribute the potential success of this film to its adherence with the standards outlined for a socially-conscious rockumentary. *Native Noise* showcases many great performances in a variety of styles. The feedback from one of my participants was that I should show a different portion of his performance because he felt that I did not capture the best moment; this insight was crucial in that putting the talents of the Māori popular music scene on display is key to the film's ability to impact its potential audience. Also in relation to this genre, the film focuses on the stories of individuals, rather than attempting to make broad statements about the Māori music industry. While the film is admittedly information-heavy, the focus on storytelling and the passion of the individual participants enables it to make an emotional impact on its audience. Importantly, the film also adheres to the ethical standards that were discussed in both Methodology and the Literature Review; this is crucial to its success and its ability to impact in that it avoids many of the pitfalls of 'ethnographic film' by maintaining the voice of the participants. As a result, the film is able to establish all-important credibility with its desired audience.

Opportunities for Distribution

Chapman (2009) noted, "The afterlife of a project is important on two levels: the personal, and at the level of the wider documentary community" (p. 141). In the case of *Native Noise*, I would argue that its afterlife is perhaps most important on a third, more specific, level; that of the Māori popular music community. Throughout the proposal of this research, the making of this film, and the post-production process, it has been my intention to distribute this film in a way that would somehow benefit the community it featured. For this reason, upon receiving final music clearances, I intend to distribute the film initially to my participants, and secondarily to any organisations that they feel could benefit from its distribution. In my mind,

this would include any organisation that intends to increase funding for Māori performing artists. Because the film is so informational, another beneficial distribution outlet for the film would be in university or other educational settings, both as an educational film on Māori popular music, and as an example of low-budget, student filmmaking.

With respect to Chapman's (2009) assertion, later versions of the film that achieve a technical polish will be entered for consideration into various socially conscious film festivals, including the DOCNZ and Human Rights Film Festivals in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Chapman advocates for the participation in film festivals largely because, unlike other mediums, they encourage discussion and feedback. This would prove very helpful in improving the film, or leading to the creation of follow-up films. Along these same lines, the Aotearoa/ New Zealand documentary community offers many opportunities for the presentation of projects, either partially or in their entirety, followed by a discussion among active filmmakers and other members of the documentary community. Most recently, this has manifested itself in the Doc 2 Doc series. Similar opportunities exist in the United States. Such forums and conferences allow for meaningful feedback for the filmmaker, the potential to contribute to the expanding documentary society, and most importantly, the opportunity to inform and inspire people interested in and/or involved with the Māori popular music.

Conclusion

The previous chapter engaged with the research questions in an attempt to determine whether the thesis of this research holds true. The Literature Review highlighted previous studies that recognised the ability of popular music to play a crucial role in the creation and maintenance of place and, in turn, identity. The Discussion section connected the stories of the participants and the participatory experiences of the researcher to these general theories. Conclusively, Māori popular music is a useful tool in the creation and celebration of Māori *rangatahi* identity as a result of its focus on community and providing place. While a concrete understanding of place may be elusive, the nature of Māori music events as captured through interviews with the participants and the filming of events undeniably provides a 'place' for Māori *rangatahi* apart from the normal "fleeting spaces" (Malbon, 1998, p. 267) of everyday life.

While the production of *Native Noise* offered answers to the research questions and validated the thesis in many ways, it simultaneously raised new opportunities for inquiry. Several issues are highly relevant to this thesis that were not included in the documentary or the exegesis due to limitations in scope. Perhaps most pressing is the need to couple the research of this project with additional research into elements of audience reception. While I privileged the perspective of academics and musicians, the research questions on the intentions of the Māori music industry each have obvious counterparts as to whether or not audiences are aware of these efforts and experience the 'sense of place' that I have addressed throughout this project. I was able to scratch the surface of this issue through participant observation; however, a more in-depth enquiry into reception would prove revelatory.

This project was also completed at a turning point in the music industry. The introduction of new forms of media and modes of communication is dramatically changing the business model for the music industry in the United States, and Aotearoa/ New Zealand is not far behind in realising and meeting the new challenges that this situation presents. As was addressed briefly in both the documentary and this exegesis, ideas of community are already shifting to accommodate social networking through sites such as Bebo and MySpace. Because of this state of flux, in-depth research into the nature of commerce and how the specifics of the industry affect the Māori music community may quickly become irrelevant. As the music

industry in Aotearoa/ New Zealand shifts to meet these challenges, it would be very worthwhile to further research the interaction between the new industry and ideas of music, community, and place.

The attempt to broadly cover many genres and areas within Aotearoa/ New Zealand also resulted in the research projecting a tone of generalisation. This breadth therefore creates the opportunity for further research to be completed into more narrow groups within the Māori music industry. New research could explore variations in the reception of popular music within different areas of Aotearoa, among specific Iwi, or in relation to gender. The lack of female participants in the research also raises questions as to how issues of gender affect the approach to the Māori music industry.

The concept of this research, to create a socially-conscious rockmentary as a means of exploring connections between music and community, also suggests the potential for additional research to be completed into this fairly new genre of documentary film. The discussion presented in the Methodology section on the existing entries into this narrow genre, coupled with the lessons learned through the creation of *Native Noise*, presents a basis for an article to be submitted for publication in a documentary or media studies journal. I found very little information on the existence of this genre, or on rockumentary in general, and I would enjoy pursuing additional research into its potential.

In addition to the opportunities for further research, the production of *Native Noise* also could lead to the further development of this documentary and the beginning of related projects. As addressed in the Discussion section, certain limitations admittedly affected the aesthetic success of *Native Noise*. That said, the content of the interviews and the invaluable contributions of the participants constitute a base of work that, with additional filming and the lessons of experience that have come from completing the documentary, could be improved upon to convey a stronger artistic vision. While the documentary at time of submission may be restricted to distribution as an educational documentary due to a lack of polish and its reliance on interviews, the potential exists for the research to develop into a finished film that could be submitted to the more professional and competitive festivals and distribution opportunities that were mentioned in the Discussion section.

Documentary scholar Coffman (2009) explored the potential for collaborative media projects, claiming that the "new age of digital media offers more, not fewer, opportunities for individuals or groups interested in producing documentary work" (p. 62). In her research, she highlights examples of successful collaborative media groups such as Kartemquin Films, which is "dedicated to outreach and follow-up with subjects and communities" (p. 68). *Native Noise* presents an opportunity to follow this model of collaborative filmmaking. I have commented on how the film is lacking in action sequences and glimpses into the daily activities of members of the Māori music scene; with the structure of a documentary in place, the production process could be passed off directly to the participants. With significant organisation, a collaborative project could potentially be created combining material created by the participants and the interviews and footage that have been featured in *Native Noise*. As Coffman noted, "Besides wanting to benefit the represented communities… Kartemquin produces educational materials and subsequent screenings to extend the 'life' of the media work and its distribution benefits" (p. 68). Similarly, if the background research, raw footage, and final version of *Native Noise* can serve as a starting point for additional community documentary production, its impact can be increased.

While this research is useful in the opportunities it presents for further research and filmmaking, it is also valuable in and of itself for a number of reasons. Firstly, previous research into Māori popular music has emphasised hip-hop and reggae. While genre-specific research is certainly valuable, the global functions of these genres have been privileged in explaining music's function within the Māori community. By broadening the research to question the process of creating Māori popular music regardless of genre, specific practices within the Māori music industry have been identified. The Māori music community's dedication to live performance, focus on community, and unwavering commitment to maintaining important cultural elements such as language and *kaupapa* in music have all been highlighted as a consequence of not privileging generic traits.

The research also contributes to the ever-relevant discussion on the role of maintaining culture in improving the lives of Māori individuals and communities. As mentioned in relation to Durie's research, the connection between cultural confidence and overall well-being is widely accepted. However, continued discussions into what 'Māori culture' encompasses, and the different manifestations

of engaging with Māori culture, will allow the efforts into strengthening this connection to broaden. The documentary's focus on comparing the role of traditional Māori performing arts with that of popular culture may serve to elucidate the abstract concept of the 'fluid Māori identity' offering the same benefits of inclusion, connectivity, and self-acceptance as a more traditional concept of identity.

Corner's (1996) book, which was cited in this research, was aptly titled *The art of record*, which he explained "is meant to indicate what is by now a widely recognised and problematic duality in documentary work- its character as both artifice and as evidence" (p. 2). To me, this title represents instead the greatest benefit of having completed this research and created *Native Noise*; if I have succeeded in creating a record of the efforts of my participants and presenting an artistic, visual, creative answer to the research questions, then I have achieved the most basic demands of documentary filmmaking. The film, and the accompanying exegesis, ideally will serve as a source of pride and significance to the participants. This exegesis began with a Māori proverb, "*Kia ū, kia mau ki tō Māoritanga*- Be firm in holding on to your Māori culture" (Kāretu, 1974, p. 165). The exploration of the research questions has illustrated that popular music contributes in many ways to the maintenance of Māori culture; by serving as an artistic record of this conclusion, *Native Noise* too contributes in part to this crucial maintenance of culture.

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Glossary of Māori Terms

akona- To learn or to teach (i.e., *akona te reo,* meaning to learn the language).

aroha- Love in its broadest sense; affection.

awhi- Helpfulness; embracing; aiding.

hapū- As used in this exegesis, sub-tribe.

kai- Food.

kapa haka- Māori cultural group; performing arts. Consists mainly of *haka* (vigorous dance), *moteatea* (laments; traditional Māori songs), *poi* (ball), and *waiata a ringa* (action song).

kaupapa- Theme.

manaaki- Hospitality.

pākehā- Non-Māori; European; Caucasian.

rangatahi- Youth.

Tangata Whenua- People of the Land; native.

te reo Māori- Māori language.

tiaki- Guidance.

tikanga- Custom; rule; habit.

waiata- Song or to sing.

whānau- Family.

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Appendix A: Sample Interview Guide- Tama Huata

1. Introductory Questions
    a. What is your name?
    b. Where are you from?
    c. What iwi or iwis do you belong to?
    d. How are you involved with the music industry?
    e. How did you come to be in this position?

2. Leading questions
    a. Can you explain the vision and goals of both the Māori Music Awards and the Kahurangi Māori Dance Theatre?
    b. How would you define the traditional role of music and performing arts in Māori culture?
    c. How do music and performing arts contribute to Māori development now?
    d. In your role, how have you seen the Māori music industry evolve in recent years?
        i. How have the Maori Music Awards played a role in this change?
    e. Are there any challenges that face Māori artists in finding an audience?
    f. How do you think that youth engage with Māori popular music?

3. Themes
    a. Music and youth identity
    b. Music and community
    c. Culture vs. commercialism
    d. Māori values and how they affect work in the performing arts
    e. How Māori musicians become successful/ define success
    f. How to encourage youth to participate in music
    g. *Te reo* Māori in music

Appendix B: First Four Pages of Paper Edit

Audio	Visual	≈Length
Tama: Maori arts was never ever separated, Maori art was everything. It was singing, it was dancing, it was carving, it was hunting, it was everything. Only now have we separated the language is over there, the music is over there, and it's time to bring it all together.	Same	:10
Music: Kahurangi performance at basketball game	**Montage** Kahurangi performance Performances and audience shots (incl. some not feat. participants) End on TITLE	:40
Tama: Maori performing arts, for me, it's probably the only real job I've had in so many years.	Tama viewing rehearsal	:05
Tama: My name is Tama Huata and I'm the founder and artistic director for the Kahurangi Maori dance theatre and, uh, the chief executive for the Takitimu Performing Arts School.	Same	:05 TRT: 1:00
(cont.) We're based in Hawkes Bay, North Island, New Zealand. As a child been born into the family of Huata	Hawkes Bay shots	:05
(cont.) my dad, uh, Tenewi Tetau Huata, he was a minister of the Anglican church, and my mother, Idelle Ringahora Hinenahai, also came from a background of music in her family from my grandfather, Paraie Hene Toana. So in essence I'm kind of born into Maori performing arts and music.	Same	:10
Tama: I was very blessed and very humbled I guess to be involved with some of the most key tutors in Maori performing arts. I was involved with the Auckland Anglican Maori club in Auckland under the leadership of the Archdeacon Kingi Ihiaka, or Sir Kingi Ihaka he became later on.	Photo of Sir Kingi Ihaka (?)	:10
(cont.) The next tutor was Irirangi Te Akiawa from Te Arara, through the time when my dad was the minister in that area in Te Ngai at Ohau.	Photo of Irirangi Te Akiawa (?)	:05
(cont.) The other ones there was, Pita Atatere, we were involved with Pita Atatere through the association with my dad through the Maori battalion… so that was another one. So really blessed having some wonderful mentors that were able to look forward to.	Photo of Pita Atatere (?)	:05
Tama: The radio station that was alive and well then at that stage in Auckland was this Radio Hauraki, had to go offshore to become a legal broadcasting station outside the limits of New Zealand, and they would broadcast from this boat out in the ocean, and, but the things that, the sounds they started to bring in from overseas, from Great Britain,	Same	:15

from USA, all those things, you know this other music started to infiltrate into New Zealand.		
(cont.) For me, listening on a crystal radio, in those days you know the crystal radio you'd have the wires and you'd connect them to the down pipes of the water pipes and then you could tune into a station… I realized then that if this was going to be the New World, then we needed different skills to take our culture into this new, this new millennium.	Singing rehearsal	:15 TRT: 2:05
Music: Singing rehearsal	Same	:30
Tama: So I started the Takitimu Performing Arts School, myself and my sister and another cousin,	Singing rehearsal	:05
(cont.) they were following on because you know I was saying, I reckon this is a good idea and I guess they kind of had no option but to agree at the time, and I remember my dad, and I remember when I got my first lot of students he looked at them and he said, this looks like the lowest form of our people, you know, he said they're on booze they're on everything, and I said well, I believe in this pathway, you know, with right directions. And I guess it was from that response he says ok, let's go.	Same	:20 TRT: 3:00
Tama: Maori culture… it's dynamic. We sing, we dance, it's ferocious, it has its passion, it has its sweetness, but it has its powerful dynamics of how our culture is in terms of the portrayal of the songs of our ancestors.	Kahurangi performance at game	:10
Music: Kahurangi performance	Same	:30
Tama: I remember as a young child our father kept the history alive through song composition. I guess our whole life was put into song and so we were then taught to sing those songs, recite the chants, and part of that was keeping our history alive.	Same	:05
Valance: There are a multitude of, with any community in society, of different messages that people want to communicate, and haka and waiata and poi and moteata were merely traditional vehicles for those messages to be conveyed to a wider audience or one person. So traditional Maori society was used for that, to convey a message.	Same Lower third: Valance title	:05
Ains: (off screen) And do you think that role has continued today in contemporary society?	Valance listening to question	:02
Valance: Yep. Definitely. Irrespective of what genre or what I suppose contemporary expression it comes in, that there, that element of carrying the theme through performance art.		:05 TRT: 3:57
Music: Nesian Mystik at Maori Expo	Same	:45
Vox pop: Kids at Maori expo talking about Nesian	Same	:30
Awa: It's a massive burden, you know, if you look at it like you are the communicator to the world. So for us we understand that that kind of obligation is there for us, especially being Pacific Islander or Maori, but we just	Performance (cont.)	:0

enjoy the music for what it is, we just write songs, and, if we can have a positive effect that's beautiful.		
Awa: Hi, my name is Awa, my full name is Te Awanui Pone Reeder. And my dad's side is from Tauranga Moana, which is the Bay of Plenty, and my mom's side is from Putaratu.	Same	:03 TRT: 4:50
Music: Awa performing solo during fashion show at Maori Expo	Same	:30
Awa: Music, it's always been around me, ever since I was young, from family parties, a lot of my family would play guitar, like my dad could play guitar and sing, and all my uncles could sing, you know my mom would sing, its just how you're brought up, it's part of the culture I guess.	Same	:05
Awa introducing Nesian in between songs at Maori Expo	Same	:20
Awa: Our music teacher at the time, because we were all in the same music class with Nesian, except for one of our boys who went to St. paul's college, which was just down the road, he said why don't you guys go to Smoke Free Rock Quest and we never thought of it, so we thought ok, we'll give it a shot, and so we went with two guitars and everybody singing, you know no rapping, just guitars.	Nesian performing (cont.)	:10
(cont.) And we didn't even make it past the first heat, so that was a really humbling experience (laughs). And then the next year we came back and we had kind of worked out what we wanted to do, a bit more hip-hop based, had a DJ, guitar, and then singing and rapping, and that seemed to do pretty good for us, and we placed, and we just carried on and continued to write and you know be good mates, and from there we conquered New Zealand (laughs).	Same	:10 TRT: 6:05
Awa: Music can definitely play a positive role, because it's the communicator, it's a vehicle to send a message, it always has been, especially for Maori.	Audience at Maori expo	:03
Music: Nesian at Maori Expo	Same	:15
Awa: Some songs will be purposely written for an issue, other times we just want to write a party song, you know, and I guess that's a message in itself too.	Performance (cont.)	:03
Awa: On our latest album I wrote a song called Prospect.	Same	:01
Music: Prospect	Album cover Lower third: song title and year	:15
Awa: My cousin is in a gang, like rural, like Rotoru, mongrel mob and black power and you know very well established gangs. And in saying that he wants to be a pitch member, because all of his family are, but he still wants to do good at school, and he still wants to get a good job and that kind of thing, so I know it sounds ironic, but, um, that's what he wants to do, so I thought that was quite an interesting issue, because you know he is prospect, is what they call the young members, that are prospecting for them, they get them to do all the, I guess the tough stuff,	Same	:30 TRT: 8:12

Awa: My cousin is in a gang, like rural, like Rotoru, mongrel mob and black power and you know very well established gangs. And in saying that he wants to be a pitch member, because all of his family are, but he still wants to do good at school, and he still wants to get a good job and that kind of thing, so I know it sounds ironic, but, um, that's what he wants to do, so I thought that was quite an interesting issue, because you know he is prospect, is what they call the young members, that are prospecting for them, they get them to do all the, I guess the tough stuff, and um, but also he's got the prospect of making it really good, so I thought that was a really good play on words for him. He's in jail now, but you know, once he gets out, once he heard that song he was like ok, I need to, it's ok to be the best, it's ok to be good you know, you don't have to be, the toughest to be the man.	Same	:30 TRT: 8:12
Music: Nesian 101	Title on black screen: "Nesian has been nominated for 4 Maori Music Awards in 2009"	:02
Tama: Wasn't that long ago, 2 or 4 years ago everybody would just eyeball each other and just say no, they're over in the traditional field, and the traditionalists would say to the musicians, oh no you guys are just playing your guitars and drums and so on, but the commonality was music.	Same	:05
	Title on black screen: "Tama Huata is also the CEO of the Maori Music Awards"	:02
Tama: After all these years we've never had acknowledgement for our Maori composers, musicians, singers, dancers, anything, we never had one. We have kapa haka competitions, but we've never had an awards for Maori music, traditional or modern, doesn't matter. So I evolved that 2 years ago and then last year, 2008, we had our first Maori music awards. And it's a start, it was a great start. And for the first time in our history it's brought together the traditional kapa haka groups and our young musicians and composers.	Same with still images of Maori Music Awards (?)	:10
Valance: At the end of the day its just Maori music, without categorizing or dichotomizing traditional and contemporary. Definitely in terms of physical expression	Same	:10

Appendix C: Further Explanation of Music Events

Atamira Māori in the City- Three-day celebration of Māori creative achievement held at ASB Showgrounds, Auckland, July 2009. Performances included *Smashproof* and *Nesian Mystik*, among others.

Inia Te Wiata tribute concert- Held in Aotea Square as part of Auckland Festival March 2009. Presented in partnership with Te Puni Kokiri to honour Inia Te Wiata. Included kapa haka performances, Ruia Aperahama, Whirimako Black, and others.

Ladi6 performance- Held in Aotea Square as part of Auckland Festival, March 2009. Also included performances by P. Diggs of *Shapeshifter*.

Māori Expo- Held at Vector Arena, Auckland, August 2009. Sponsored by Auckland University of Technology, the event featured an exposition of kapa haka, fashion, and Māori culture during the *Seize the Day* portion of the event, and a line-up of musical performances for *Groove the Night*, including *Che Fu, Cornerstone Roots*, and *House of Shem*. *Nesian Mystik* performed as part of the opening concert held the evening prior to the expo.

Native Noise: Matariki- Held at Auckland Town Hall, June 2009. Signature event of Auckland Matariki Festival. Featured Tiki Tane*, Katchafire, Three Houses Down, Cornerstone Roots*, and DJ Poroufessor.

Native Noise: Waitangi Day- Held in Okahu Bay Domain, Auckland, February 2009. Annual Waitangi Day celebration. Line-up included *House of Shem, Herbs, Open Souls, Tahuna Breaks*, and *Sons of Zion*.

Parihaka Peace Festival- Held at Parihaka Settlement, Taranaki, January 2009. Kaupapa for 2009 included eco responsibility and justice and peace. Performances included *Hangman, Katchafire*, and *Kora*, among others.

Rangatahi Represent- Held at the marae in Te Papa Museum in Wellingon, July 2009. Youth-oriented concert featuring *Dam Native* and *Upper Hutt Posse,* among others.

Supercity Hikoi- Protest march against new Supercity infrastructure proposal held on Queen Street, Auckland, May 2009. The Hikoi ended at Aotea Square with performances by *Smashproof*, King Kapisi, *Herbs*, and *Sons of Zion*.

Tama Waipara performance- Held in Aotea Square as part of Auckland Festival, March 2009.

Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori Music and Film Festival- Held at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, July 2009. Included musical performances by Kommikal as well as the presentation of short stories and films. Entire program conducted in *te reo* Māori.

Tribal Pride- Held in Hopuhopu Sports and Tribal Complex, Ngaruawahia, January 2009. Celebration to commemorate 150 years of Kīngitanga movement. Hosted by Waikato-Tainui iwi. 12-hour music event including Kora, Scribe, *Katchafire, Nesian Mystik, House of Shem, Ardijah, Unity Pacific*, Whirimako Black, and others.

Appendix D: Complete Crew List

Director:

Ainsley Breault

Producer:

Ainsley Breault

Editor:

Ainsley Breault

Camera:

Ainsley Breault

Dawson Dunning

Sophie Johnson

Anna Peftieva

Carlos Valdivieso

Sound Recordist:

Talei Zoing

Original Tracks Composed by:

Jono Srhoj