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An Indigenous Ethics of Visual Research

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ABSTRACT. Although reflection on the ethics of visual research has moved beyond the ‘big four’ principles of autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice to embrace a situated and relational ethics that acknowledges institutional, social and cultural expectations about research and aims to involve research participants as fully as possible in research, the ethics of visual research does not yet fully recognise Indigenous concepts and practices. To indigenise the ethics of visual research in Aotearoa|New Zealand would entail not only the inclusion of tikanga and kawa Māori (Māori practices and protocols) in formal ethical decision-making processes but also the enactment of a generous and generative ethics, an ethics of ‘response-ability’ grounded in manaakitanga (care), which can be defined, according to Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, as the fostering (aki) of the ‘non-ordinary power’ (mana) of the people and other beings who compose the research situation. Such an ontological ethics will ensure that research is not only culturally sustaining for Māori researchers and participants but also prefigurative of new ways of being Māori and, for non-Māori researchers and participants, of new ways of being-with Māori.

Keywords: visual research methodologies; Indigenous research ethics; te ao Māori; response-ability; manaakitanga

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Introduction

Most of us researchers will have had the disempowering and dispiriting experience of being confronted – and some of us of being affronted – by an application form from an ethics review board. The form will have seemed not only inflexible, in that it implicitly framed research practice in narrow biomedical or social-scientific

terms, but also, for Indigenous scholars like me and many other non-Indigenous scholars, unethical, in that it seemingly ignored most of what we would have regarded as the most critical ethical issues of our research, for example, why, in what spirit and for whose benefit the research was being undertaken – not to mention, the issue of in whose name the ethics review board was making the decisions about research. Those researchers who are working with ‘non-traditional’ research methodologies such as what is often called ‘visual methodologies’ (Rose, 2022) – especially those who are Indigenous or working with Indigenous participants (Kidman, 2009) – will have even more likely keenly felt this sense of disempowerment.

That is not to say that scholars have not reflected on the need to think differently about the ethics of research – visual research, in particular – considering the inflexible and unethical policies and practices of most ethics review boards. In ‘Visual Ethics: Beyond the Crossroads’ (2020), Andrew Clark has argued that the ethics of visual research needs to move beyond the ‘big four’ principles of autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice (see Beauchamp & Childress, 2009, p. 13) to embrace a situated and relational ethics. For him, such an ethics would acknowledge, first, ‘institutional, social and cultural expectations about the appropriate ways to undertake research’ (in other words, it would be *situated*). And it would acknowledge, second, ‘an imperative to ensure [that] those who participate in research are as fully involved as possible in the process of knowledge production’ (that is to say, it would be *relational*) (Clark, 2020, p. 12 of 18). Recognising ‘cultural expectations’ and ‘ensur[ing] those who participate in research are as fully involved as possible’ do sound like good ethical principles – and echo recent changes to ethical review policies and practices in research institutions like mine.

However, even such a situated and relational ethics of visual research doesn’t fully recognise Indigenous practices and protocols because, for the most part, the ethics of visual research – and the ethics of research per se – remains captive to a universalist, individualist and narrowly legalistic model of research ethics, one that is indebted to a biomedical model of research (West-McGruer, 2020; see Beauchamp & Childress, 2009). In Aotearoa|New Zealand (hereafter ‘Aotearoa’), we might call it a Pākehā (non-Māori or non-Indigenous) model of research (Tauri, 2014). What we need in Aotearoa – for Māori, but also, perhaps, for Pākehā researchers, or, at least, for those Pākehā researchers who research with Māori – is an understanding of the ethics of visual research that is grounded in te ao Māori (the Māori world). Some have argued that the shift should be from a research ethics that focuses less on informed consent (which is called ‘autonomy’ in the ‘Pākehā’ ethics literature) and more on trust (which is called *whakapono* in the Māori ethics literature) (Gray et al., 2017), as summarised in table 1.

Table 1

A Summary of the Meaning of the ‘Big Four’ Principles in the ‘Pākehā’ and Māori Ethical Traditions

| ‘Pākehā’ ethics (Beauchamp & Childress, 2009) | Māori ethics (Hudson et al., 2010) |
|--|---|
| autonomy <i>secure participants’ informed consent and respect their confidentiality</i> | whakapapa <i>focus on relationships with participants via</i> - <i>consultation (aroha [love])</i> - <i>engagement (tūmanako [aspirations])</i> - <i>kaitiakitanga (guardianship) via whakapono (trust)</i> |
| maleficence <i>minimise the risk that participants are harmed</i> | manaakitanga <i>care for participants via</i> - <i>cultural sensitivity (aroha)</i> - <i>cultural safety (tūmanako)</i> - <i>māhaki (whakapono)</i> |
| beneficence <i>act in participants’ interests</i> | tika <i>do what is right for participants via</i> - <i>mainstream research practices (protection)</i> - <i>Māori-centred research practices (participation)</i> - <i>Kaupapa Māori research practices (partnership)</i> |
| justice <i>treat participants equitably</i> | mana <i>share with participants via</i> - <i>mana tangata (autonomy)</i> - <i>mana whenua (collectivity)</i> - <i>mana whakahaere (power-sharing)</i> |

Note. This table compares the positions of two canonical texts in research ethics: Beauchamp and Childress’s *Principles of Biomedical Ethics* (2009, originally published in 1979) and Hudson and colleagues’ *Te Ara Tika: Guidelines for Māori Research Ethics: A Framework for Researchers and Ethics Committee Members* (2010).

However, we could go further. An ethics of visual research grounded in te ao Māori should, of course, be grounded in Māori, or better, iwi (‘tribal’) tikanga and kawa (practices and protocols).¹ But, more than that, it should understand ethics in a way that is *ontologically* grounded in te ao Māori, that is, as is ‘response-able’ to both human and more-than-human ways of being (Haraway, 2016, p. 20), in keeping with the ontological ethics of te ao Māori (Hoskins, 2012; see Yates, 2021).

Indigenising the Ethics of Research in Aotearoa

Including Tikanga Māori in Institutional Ethical Review Policies and Practices

Indigenising the ethics of research in Aotearoa requires, first, according to *Te Ara Tika: Guidelines for Māori Research Ethics*, sponsored by the Health Research Council of New Zealand in 2010, ‘the inclusion of tikanga Māori as part of formal ethical decision-making processes’ (Hudson et al., 2010, p. 2). Some research institutions are already doing this to some extent. Our university, for example, has endorsed ‘an ethics framework that encompasses two sets of principles sitting alongside each other,’ namely, the ‘Te Ara Tika principles ... drawn from tikanga ... and matauranga Māori [Māori knowledge]’ and ‘Western bioethics principles’ (University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2020, p. 12).

However, despite this apparent commitment to equal status for, or a Tiriti-like partnership² between, Pākehā and Māori ethical ‘principles,’ issues of, and questions about, tikanga and kawa Māori are included – and this was relatively recently – in only one main section and three subsections of the application form: one section that focusses on Māori-focused consultation and engagement, and subsections that focus on how the research is consistent with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and on how Māori will be recruited and participate in the research. These limited inclusions could be seen as tokenistic, despite the goodwill of many ethics advisors and review board members, as is the case with many other so-called ‘Indigenous inclusion’ initiatives in research institutions (Hoskins & Jones, 2022). And, in practice, the tikanga and kawa Māori that are included are often observed, as Juan Tauri (2014) phrases it, in a rather ‘formulaic’ and ‘condescending’ (pp. 138, 141) – even ‘instrumental’ or ‘neocolonial’ (pp. 141, 147) – way, such that it seems that researchers and research ethics committees are focussed on securing the consent of Indigenous participants and/or communities *prior to* research being undertaken in what looks like, at best, a tick-box exercise and, at worst, an appropriation of what Pākehā like to call ‘intellectual property.’ Such limited inclusion does not respect the ‘tapu [sacred] nature of knowledge’ for iwi Māori, which requires that their knowledge be ‘transmitted accurately and used appropriately’ to ‘maintain [their] mana’ – and, perhaps, the mana of the knowledge itself (Cram, 2000, p. 28).

A Research Ethics Grounded in Manaakitanga

As a result, indigenising research ethics in Aotearoa requires more than the limited inclusion of tikanga and kawa Māori in formal ethics decision-making processes. It requires enacting an ethics of ‘response-ability’ (Sturm, in Peters et al., 2021, p. 876), one that is ontologically grounded in te ao Māori.³ Such an ethics can be enacted in the research situation through manaakitanga (care), that is, through care for, or response-ability to, the people and other beings who compose the research situation.⁴ This understanding of manaakitanga draws on Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal’s concept of manaakitanga as the fostering (āki) of the flow of mana (power) as ‘non-ordinary power’ in or, instead, through people and other beings (Royal,

2006, p. 10; see Kawharu, 2010, p. 7 and Hoskins, 2012, pp. 91-92).⁵ While mana is commonly thought to vest in people (cf. Marsden, 2003, p. 4), Royal argues that it can ‘flow in the world – in persons, in places, in events,’ or, in fact, in anything that has mauri (i.e., anything that is alive), which might include animate or inanimate, material or immaterial beings (Royal, 2006, p. 10).⁶

Manaakitanga, as fostering the flow of mana in or through people and other beings, is both generous and generative. First, it serves to ‘facilitate the flow of mana into the person and into the world’ (Royal, 2006, p. 13). It is a kind of generosity – or, to frame it in terms of mana traditionally understood as power, it is a kind of ‘power-with,’ or collectivity (see Arendt [1970, p. 44] on power as the ‘ability ... to act in concert’). Second, the flow of mana that it facilitates, in or through a person at least, but also in or through other beings, is expressed in ‘their creativity, [in] their ability to bring forth new ideas, knowledge and insight’ (Royal, 2006, p. 13). It is a kind of generativity – or, in terms of mana traditionally understood, a kind of ‘power-to,’ or creativity (see Arendt [1970, p. 82] on natality as the ‘ab[ility] to start something new’).⁷ To think of a research ethics grounded in manaakitanga as an ontological response-ability that is both generous toward other beings and generative of new ways of being can ensure that research can be not only culturally sustaining for Māori researchers and participants but also prefigurative, for Māori, of new ways of being Māori and, perhaps, for Pākehā, of new ways of being-with Māori.

Indigenising the Ethics of Visual Research in Aotearoa

So, what might such a research ethics mean for *visual* research? What is distinctive about visual research ethics, and what might it mean to indigenise visual research ethics in Aotearoa?

The Ethics of Visual Research

In ‘Visual Ethics in a Contemporary Landscape,’ Andrew Clark (2012) outlines the three main concerns that differentiate visual and non-visual ethics: first, that visual research methods and the data that they produce are somehow different to non-visual (i.e., verbal and numeric) research methods and data; second, that existing institutional ethical review policies and practices are unsatisfactory for visual methods and data; and, third, that these concerns mean that visual researchers are unsure what to do about ethics when the ethical conventions of non-visual research don’t seem appropriate for visual research (p. 2 of 21). As he argues, much of the discussion about the ethics of visual research focuses on the practicalities of doing such research ethically and on the role of institutional ethical review policies and practices in doing such research, the latter, in part, because institutional ethical review boards do seem to be tough on visual research.⁸

Discussion about visual research ethics tends to address such familiar topics as informed consent, anonymity and ownership, raising the following kinds of issues. Where informed consent is concerned, visual research data often includes people

other than consenting research participants incidentally; it is often easily and broadly shareable (e.g., online or in exhibitions), as well as re-usable (i.e., re-shareable and manipulable); and it is often unclear to visual research participants what they are consenting to in sharing their research data in terms of the data collection, analysis and reporting. When it comes to anonymity, visual research often presents research participants in very easily recognisable ways (and disguising them can detrimentally affect the research and echo how criminals are presented in the media). And, with ownership, visual research complicates the concept that intellectual property or copyright rests solely with the creator of the visual data.

According to Clark (2012), the challenges of responding to issues like these have sometimes led to researchers bypassing institutional ethical review boards altogether, for example, by claiming that their research is journalism or creative practice, or to comply minimally with the boards' policies and practices and their decisions just to get through the process. For this reason, he calls for resituating the discussion about visual ethics 'beyond the requirements of regulatory frameworks and codes of practice ... in an emergent landscape of alternative ethical practices' (p. 10 of 21). He argues for a situated – and perhaps even relational – ethics, which requires researchers to 'make informed decisions' about issues like consent, anonymity and ownership 'in collaboration with participants [i.e., relationally] and in consideration of the contexts in which those images will subsequently be viewed and interpreted [i.e., contextually]' (Clark, 2012, p. 13 of 21). For him, such an ethics requires 'ongoing negotiation between researchers and participants' (Clark, 2012, p. 14 of 21).⁹

Clark's argument for a situated ethics of visual research does address, to a certain extent, the universalist, individualist and narrowly legalistic (Pākehā) model of research ethics that dominates institutional ethical review policies and practices. And it echoes the recent changes in ethics policies and practices at institutions like ours to include tikanga and kawa Māori. But it ignores Indigenous practices of relationality like whakapapa, i.e., kin relationships (Hudson et al., 2010, pp. 6-8) or manaakitanga, i.e., care (Hudson et al., 2010, pp. 10-12). Furthermore, it doesn't do enough to address the fact that the recent changes to institutional ethical review policies and practices are, as Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones (2022) put it, *inclusive* but not *indigenising*; that is, they focus on 'the inclusion of Indigenous people, values and knowledge within a largely unchanged ... institutional structure' rather than 'the normalisation of Indigenous ways of being and knowing' (p. 3 of 16), as summarised in table 2.

Table 2

Eight Points of Comparison between Indigenous Inclusion and Indigenisation (Hoskins & Jones, 2022)

| | Indigenous inclusion | Indigenisation |
|--|--|--|
| <i>purpose</i> | ‘the inclusion of Indigenous people, values and knowledge within a largely unchanged ... institutional structure’ (p. 3 of 16) | ‘the normalisation of Indigenous ways of being and knowing’ (p. 3 of 16) |
| ‘Eight points about Indigenous inclusion and Indigenisation’ | | |
| <i>1. how Māori are talked about</i> | via equity, decolonisation, culture | via whakapapa (as Indigenous), rangatiratanga (as sovereign), matauranga and tikanga (as a people) |
| <i>2. how Māori are understood</i> | Māori need help | Māori see themselves and belong |
| <i>3. what changes in the university</i> | the ‘problems’ of Māori | a more Māori university [non-Māori understand themselves in relation to Māori/the whenua] |
| <i>4. who ‘we’ are</i> | tēnā koutou (hello to all of you) making space for Māori | tēnā tātou (hello to all of us) moving toward shared identity |
| <i>5. who leads</i> | Māori as consultants or representatives of all Māori | Māori expertise normalised, recognised and rewarded for its own sake |
| <i>6. how to be non-Māori</i> | speaking <i>for</i> Māori (and learning <i>about</i> Māori) | listening <i>to</i> Māori (and learning <i>from</i> Māori) [competence being non-Māori: accepting not knowing and that knowing is ethical/emotional] |
| <i>7. who benefits</i> | mainly non-Māori | Māori [access, achievement, belonging] <i>and</i> non-Māori [openness to difference] |
| <i>8. how it is practised</i> | problem-solving the ‘what’ | process the ‘how’ [whanaungatanga, manaakitanga] ¹⁰ |

Note. This table summarises the argument of Hoskins and Jones’s article ‘Indigenous Inclusion and Indigenising the University’ (2022).

Indigenising the Ethics of Visual Research

By way of an introduction to some of the ethical issues of visual research, in particular, with Indigenous peoples, in this instance, with Māori people, two visual research studies can be taken as exemplary.¹¹ In the first, Bronwyn Wood and Joanna Kidman’s ‘Negotiating the Ethical Borders of Visual Research with Young

People' (2012), Kidman reflects on her study on the 'social and cultural landscapes' of Māori youth in Aotearoa (p. 155). When it comes to ethics, Jones and Kidman (2012) argue that they concern themselves with 'ethical borders,' by which they mean 'ethical issues that lie beyond the primary focus of ethical guidelines for ... researchers ... associated with ... Human Ethics Committees' (p. 149; see also Kidman, 2018). In her reflections, Kidman discusses several ethical issues for research, in particular, for visual research, that arise when institutional ethical review policies and practices are required to recognise Māori protocols and practices.

First, Kidman addresses the need to recognise the Māori practice of consensus decision-making through hui (community meetings), for example, about an issue like informed consent. She notes that the Māori communities in the study understood consent according to *their* protocols and practices, not those of institutional ethical review policies and practices. For example, the communities saw the issue of consent as closely related to the issue of ownership (i.e., they would consent to images being made only if they retained ownership of them). Then, she addresses the need to recognise that Māori decisions may not fit with the norms of Pākehā institutional ethics, for example, about de-identifying people and places. She notes that the Māori communities in her study saw de-identifying research locations as problematic because of the customary significance of whenua (land) for Māori and saw de-identifying research participants as also problematic because disguising people's faces violated the tapu (protection) of the head.¹² Finally, she addresses the need to recognise Māori communities' desire to retain ownership of and make decisions about images that depict places that are significant for them or ancestors – with the stipulations that permission to reproduce or research with the images be re-sought annually and that no images of any sort were to be shared online.

Such ethical issues with visual research, as Wood and Kidman (2012) put it, 'place the researcher in an ongoing relationship with Indigenous communities that operates outside usual academic research timeframes [i.e., short ones]' and 'entail a shift in the understanding of who is responsible for producing and managing knowledge,' such that the Indigenous communities become the 'primary producers [and, ideally, the managers] of knowledge' (p. 159).

In the second study, 'Indigenising Photovoice: Infusing Māori Cultural Values into Western Research Methods' (2022), Glenis Mark and Amohia Boulton focus on rongoā Māori (Māori medicine). Compared with Wood and Kidman, Mark and Boulton more explicitly indigenise their research methodology, particularly its ethics, when they propose a new form of the photo-voice research methodology that they call 'Māori-voice.'¹³ They discuss several ethical issues with such research, some particular to visual research. Firstly, they address the need for researchers to enact māhaki (humility) and share mana whakahaere (authority), i.e., to commit to 'trust and power-sharing' (Mark & Boulton, 2022, p. 301; see Hudson et al., 2010, pp. 12, 14). They argue that researchers can enact māhaki enacted by,

for example, adopting the practice of ‘tītiro [look], whakarongo [listen] ... kōrero [speak]’ (from Smith, 1999, p. 137): ‘looking and listening to the participant, and ... waiting until it is fitting to speak’ (Mark & Boulton, 2022, p. 302; see table 3 for a summary of Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s seven ethical principles that underlie Kaupapa Māori research).

Table 3

Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (2021) Seven Ethical Principles that Underlie Kaupapa Māori Research

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| aroha ki te tāngata | ‘respect for people’ |
| kanohi kitea (the ‘seen face’) | present yourself to people face-to-face |
| tītiro, whakarongo ... kōrero | ‘look, listen ... speak’ |
| manaaki ki te tāngata | ‘care for people,’ i.e., be generous |
| kia tūpato | ‘be cautious’ |
| kaua e takahia te mana o te tāngata | ‘do not trample the mana of people’ |
| kia māhaki | ‘be humble,’ i.e., don’t flaunt your knowledge |

Note. This summary slightly adapts Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s list of key ethical ‘values’ underpinning Kaupapa Māori research practices (2021, pp. 136-137).

Mark and Boulton (2022) argue that researchers can share mana whakahaere by respecting participants’ desire to involve whānau (family) and friends throughout the interviews and their decision to take responsibility for gaining the consent of those who could be identified in their photos. Secondly, they address the need for researchers to *kia tūpato* (take care) of their insider-outsider status by not taking for granted that they and participants will share their understanding of Māori concepts (see Pipi et al., 2004).

These authors’ responses offer us food for thought about the ethical issues of visual research with Indigenous peoples. But they share two characteristics. First, they are *sociological* rather than *philosophical* responses to Indigenous difference. The authors treat relationality as a matter of social rather than ontological relations. Second, they still focus, despite their avowed concern, in Wood and Kidman’s (2012) case, with ‘ethical issues that lie beyond the primary focus of ... Human Ethics Committees’ (p. 149), on the familiar issues that such committees tend to address such as consent, anonymity and ownership – although their responses are inflected by Māori practices like what Mark and Boulton (2022) call ‘collectivity and storytelling’ (p. 303).

An ethics of visual research ontologically grounded in *te ao Māori* would go further. It would be enacted in the research situation through *manaakitanga*, through care for, or response-ability to, the people and other beings who compose the research situation. It would foster the flow of mana in or, instead, through

people and other beings and thus be both generous toward other beings and generative of new ways of being. But how would a visual ethics ontologically grounded in this way be enacted in the research situation?

First, a visual research ethics of manaakitanga would require visual research that is generous toward other beings, that facilitates the flow of mana as what Royal (2006) calls ‘non-ordinary [or, better, out-of-the-ordinary] power’ (p. 10). It would involve attention (aro – or, indeed, whakaaro [thinking]), a kind of seeing that attends to other beings (Mika, 2017, p. 72; see Mika & Southey, 2018). Such a seeing does not ignore, for example, non-human beings in the research situation. Those beings could be animate or inanimate, material or immaterial beings, for example, what is usually seen as ‘immaterial’ things in the akomanga (classroom) like affects or gestures or as ‘inanimate’ beings in the taiao (environment) like places or atmospheric phenomena. Such an ethics would not assume that the world is a laboratory; it would see it as a peopled place – and one not peopled only by human beings and their ways of being. It could even be said to embrace such non-human beings as co-researchers.¹⁴

One example of visual research with Māori that attends to beings other than human beings is a recent research project led by Fiona McCormack and colleagues and documented in ‘Settler Colonial Bordering and Post Pandemic Futures: Disrupting the Nation-State in Aotearoa New Zealand’ (McCormack et al., 2023). The study incorporates online mapping in interviews that explores settler-colonial bordering practices in Aotearoa in the context of the restrictions in the COVID-19 pandemic. It was premised on a ‘kinship ethics’ that supplemented the institutional ethics (McCormack et al., 2023, pp. 4 of 26), on an ‘ethic of care’ that was extended beyond humans to include ‘non-human species and nature’ such as ‘environmental features’ and ‘taonga’ (things of value), both ‘material and non-material’ (McCormack et al., 2023, pp. 4, 9, 11 of 26).¹⁶ To attend to such relationships, the participants (6 out of 11 participants being Māori) annotated pre-existing maps ‘to mark their home(s), journeys, significant sites, connections, places they felt safe and unsafe’ (McCormack et al., 2023, p. 4 of 26), as documented in figures 1a and 1b.

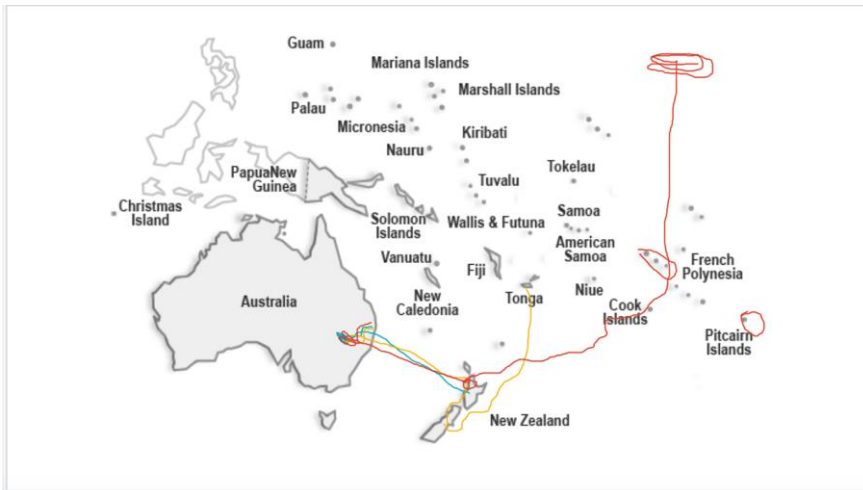
Figure 1a

Annotated Map by Participant in McCormack et al. (2023)



Figure 1b

Annotated Map by Participant in McCormack et al. (2023)



Note. Reproduced by permission of the researchers and participants in the original study that informed McCormack et al. (2023).

Although the maps reproduced here focus, in particular, on relationships with relatives and ancestors marked by geographical trajectories, the study reported that the participants' annotations demonstrated that they understood these relationships as an inclusive kinship based on whakapapa with 'multiple relatives, ubiquitous ancestors, animal species and environmental features' (McCormack et al., 2023, p. 15 of 26). Such kinship sat uneasily with the standard homogenising settler-colonial understanding of exclusive borders between Aotearoa and other nations or Pākehā and Māori land, and between humans and 'nature,' including non-human beings. Adopting a kinship ethics as the premise of the study thus enabled the participants to attend to relationships with non-human beings in the research situation.

Second, a visual research ethics of manaakitanga would require visual research that is generative of new ways of being because mana as 'non-ordinary power' is expressed, as Royal puts it, in the 'creativity' of beings (Royal, 2006, p. 13). It would involve a kind of matakite (foresight or second sight, literally 'prophetic seeing' [Best, 1905]),¹⁶ a seeing that does not pretend that beings and their ways of being are finished and finite, i.e., static and self-enclosed. It would attend to out-of-the-ordinary 'alliances' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 238), or co-becomings, that generate new ways of being.¹⁷ As such, it would be ontologically prefigurative, for Māori, of new ways of being Māori and, perhaps, for those Pākehā who attend to Māori ways of being, of new ways of being-with Māori.

An example of visual research with Māori that was generative of new ways of being in this way is a research project carried out by David Lines and colleagues called 'MAPS' (Move, Act, Play, Sing) that explored early childhood teaching and learning in the performing arts, including, in particular, in a te reo Māori-medium early childhood education centre Te Puna Kōhungahunga in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland (Lines et al., 2014). The study was an art-based ethnography that included observations documented on video and in photographs, among other visual media. Unlike McCormack and colleagues' (2023) study, it was premised on 'research ... as a practice of care for the different elements and connections that came into play through performing arts experiences' (Lines et al., 2014, p. 4). An article by two of the researchers on the project, Jacoba Matapo and John Roder (2018), documents a hikoi (pilgrimage) undertaken by the mainly Māori students of the centre with their whānau (family) and kaiako (teachers) and a community artist (Molly Mullen) to a nearby volcano (Maungawhau, or Mt Eden), authority over which had recently been returned to the local iwi, to which a number of the students belonged (see also Matapo & Roder, 2014). Matapo and Roder (2018) describe how a visit to the tapu (sacred, off-limits) crater of the volcano generated a 'becoming-Māori' for the Māori participants that affirmed 'their rights to self-govern expressed through links with place and land' (p. 189). It opens with the following evocation that prefigures this new (but old) way of being Māori, this renewal of these participants' ancestral relation to the whenua as mana whenua (the iwi with ancestral whakapapa to the place) who manaaki whenua (care for the

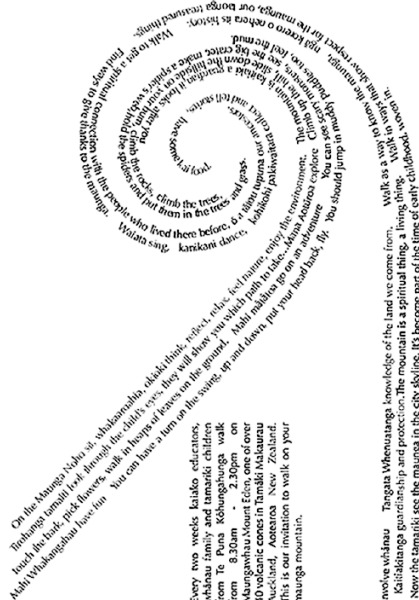
place), through a hikoi and other practices that enabled their ‘connecting and reconnecting with place’ (Matapo & Roder, 2018, p. 189):

The collective body of children (tamariki) and adults from Te Puna Kōhungahunga (the Puna [spring]) stood at the top of Maungawhau, the mountain they relate to through their pepeha (connection to group, place and identity). The sounds of the waiata (song) that expresses this connection through pepeha, sung earlier in the day, has [sic] stayed with them throughout their hikoi walking performance. Maungawhau is their maunga [mountain] that they had been walking on, playing on/with, acting on/with, singing on and to. At this moment, they were staring into the crater, several drawing in their breath, a few children singing. It was a moment these young tamariki (children), their kaiako (teachers), and whānau (families), many of whom had come walking the mountain fortnightly throughout the year, now felt [as] a rise in harikoa [joy] ... in their joy and will to move, dance and sing, expressing their existence, their capacity for life. (Matapo & Roder, 2018, pp. 185-186; ellipsis given)

This new way of being Māori is embodied in a concrete poem (figure 2) crafted by Mullen and the student- and teacher-co-researchers that takes the form of a koru (silver fern frond), a symbol for Māori of ‘making/unmaking’ and ‘the birth of new life, growth and perpetual movement’ (Matapo & Roder, 2018, p. 187).

Figure 2

‘On the Maunga’ (Mullen, 2015)



Note. From *Ways to Wander* (p. 40), edited by C. Hind and C. Qualmann, 2015, Triarchy Press. Copyright 2015 by Triarchy Press. Reproduced with permission.

The poem demonstrates that this alliance, or co-becoming, with an ancestral place generated a new way of being Māori for those Māori participants who now came to see themselves as mana whenua. This becoming-mana whenua implied not only that the participants had come into mana *i te whenua* (mana that comes *from* the land as the place with which they are allied) but also that the mana *o te whenua* of the land (mana *of* the land, in and of itself, as a place capable of alliance) had been affirmed.

This alliance that served as a becoming-Māori for the participants also generated a new way of being for the non-Māori researchers on the project, who embraced the ‘creative ... partnership’ of a ‘Māori-Pākehā teacher-researcher-artist “mix,”’ one that was ‘not so much a juxtapositioning [as] a co-mixturing of assemblages’ (Matapo & Roder, 2018, pp. 191-192). The becoming-with-Māori that was generated in the alliance was seen by Matapo and Roder (2018) as recognising the ‘risks of producing colonising affects in research’ because they emerged from ‘an ethos ... in which *counter perspectives* were not silenced, avoided, manipulatively missed out, but deliberately hoped for’ (p. 194; emphasis given). For them, this alliance ‘stutteringly’ – humbly (māhaki) and cautiously (tūpato), perhaps – expressed possibilities for ‘becoming-artist, becoming-teacher, becoming-researcher AND becoming-Māori, no matter whether [they] were [for] “the community artist,” the teacher, the researcher, [a] parent on [the] maunga, ... Māori [or] non-Māori’ (p. 194).

Thinking of ways of being like this is ontologically prefigurative in two ways. First, it recognises that ways of being aren’t finished and finite, i.e., static and self-enclosed; in this case, that ways of being Māori and being-with Māori are not fixed because they are becomings. Second, it recognises that it is through out-of-the-ordinary ‘alliances,’ or co-becomings, through response-ability to other ways of being, that new ways of being happen, for example, as in this case, that a new way of being-Māori can happen through an alliance with whenua and a new way of being-with Māori can happen through an alliance with Māori who are mana whenua. Thinking of ways of being like this thus treats Indigeneity as relational rather than essential(ised) (McCormack, 2011, p. 286) and ethics as ontological rather than social.

Conclusion

A visual research ethics grounded in an Indigenous concept like the Māori concept of manaakitanga, defined as ontological response-ability, could supplement the current model of visual research ethics, which, although predominantly non-Indigenous, increasingly recognises and includes Indigenous practices and protocols – although often in a limited and often tokenistic or instrumental way. First, such an approach to visual research ethics echoes the oft-voiced argument from Indigenous scholars that ethics cannot be limited to compliance with universalist, individualist and narrowly legalistic interpretations by institutional ethics review boards of the big four issues (autonomy, non-maleficence,

beneficence and justice) – with informed consent as the number one issue – and that it is not finished when the boards have approved the applications of researchers. It would have to involve an ‘ongoing research relationship’ (Wood & Kidman, 2012, p. 160), in the case of Māori, for example, between researchers, participants and their whānau, the whenua and other related beings who compose the research situation, ideally as co-researchers. Such an ongoing relationship would be based on manaakitanga (care), or response-ability for other beings, and thus grounded in an ontological relational ethics that was not only careful, or humble (māhaki) and cautious (tūpato) but also care-full, or generous (manaaki) and generative (mana-āki).

Hopefully, such an approach to visual research ethics would empower and inspire those of us scholars, Indigenous and otherwise, who crave a research practice that addresses critical ethical issues such as why, in what spirit and for whose benefit research is being undertaken, issues that ethics review boards seem disinclined and ill-equipped to make decisions about, but also one that not only recognises Indigenous practices and protocols but is ontologically grounded in an Indigenous ethical concept. Such a research practice would indeed accord with the whakatauki (adage) oft-cited in te ao Māori, ‘Whāia te mātauranga hei oranga mō [katoa]’ (let knowledge be sought for the good of all) (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 422).



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Author’s contribution

The author confirms being the sole contributor to this work and having approved it for publication. They take full responsibility for the accuracy and the integrity of the data analysis.

Conflict of interest statement

The author declares that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

NOTES

1. Hirini Moko Mead (2016) defines tikanga as ‘the knowledge base’ (the concepts), e.g., the concepts of tapu/noa (being out-of-the-ordinary [‘sacred’]/ordinary), ea (the meeting of obligations), ihi (the sense of the occasion) and manaakitanga (hospitality) in a pōwhiri (welcome), and kawa as ‘the practice of it’ (the protocols), e.g., the order of events and of speakers in a pōwhiri (p. 9). I prefer to translate tikanga as ‘practices’ (the ethnographic term was ‘customs’) because they are amalgams of concepts and values in practice. He notes that some scholars (e.g., those from the Te Arawa iwi) reverse the meaning of the terms: they define kawa as the knowledge base and tikanga as the protocols (for a personal account of the complexities of this distinction, see Maniapoto, 2016).

2. Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the te reo Māori [Māori language] version of the Treaty of Waitangi) is an 1842 agreement between Māori and the British Crown recognised by many

as a founding constitutional document of Aotearoa (see Biggs & Kawharu, 1989). It has often been said to enjoin a relationship of ‘partnership, participation, protection,’ i.e., the three Ps or ‘principles of the Treaty of Waitangi’ (e.g., in Hudson and Ahuriri-Driscoll [2007] and Hudson and Russell [2009]; cf. Te Puni Kokiri [2001]). In the *Te Ara Tika* guidelines, Hudson and colleagues (2010) take it to ‘provide a framework for identifying Māori ethical issues in terms of [the] rights, roles and responsibilities of [Pākehā] researchers and Māori communities; the contribution that research makes towards providing useful and relevant outcomes [for Māori]; and addressing inequalities [between Pākehā and Māori]’ (p. 1).

3. Donna Haraway (2016) refers to response-ability as ‘the capacity to respond,’ to ‘stay with the trouble of complex worlding in the name of the game of living and dying well together on terra [Earth]’ (pp. 7, 29). Such a capacity is complex because it requires ‘the risk of being for some worlds rather than others and helping to compose those worlds with others’ (Haraway, 2016, p. 179) (cf. Hoskins et al. [2011] and Hoskins [2012] on ‘relational responsibility’). Her concept echoes Karen Barad’s (2012) less value-laden version of the concept as ‘be[ing] in touch’: ‘in response-ability[,] [...] [e]ach of “us” is constituted as responsible for the other, as being in touch with the other’ (pp. 155, 161).

4. I distinguish beings and ways of being, and use the term ways of being rather than becomings only as a matter of convention. Beings *are* ways of being *are* becomings.

5. Some scholars also note that manaaki can be heard as ‘mana-ā-kī,’ i.e., mana that is expressed (ā-kī, ‘by statement’) by people after an experience (or, perhaps, ‘by repute’), rather than ‘mana-aki,’ i.e., mana that derives from how people are uplifted, i.e., how their mana is fostered (āki) (Martin, 2010, pp. 126-127, citing Barlow, 1991, p. 63). I follow Royal (2006) and Stewart (2021) in preferring the latter reading.

6. While it could be argued that the mana that vests in non-human beings (e.g., by association with humans in the case of talismans of various kinds or by reference to the deeds of humans in the case of landmarks of various kinds) is derived from human mana, i.e., it is mana that has ‘previously’ been vested in humans by the atua (which is a ‘social constructionist’ view), the mana that vests in non-human beings can also be derived from the atua directly (e.g., the power of natural forces or places of various kinds) (which is what is often called – somewhat dismissively, an ‘animist’ view). (See Yates [2021] for an alternative Māori ontological ethics grounded in the concept mauri, or ‘life-force.’)

7. As such, it is reminiscent of Isabelle Stengers’ (2015) concept of responding as ‘composing with’ beings, a process that ‘couple[s] together multiple, divergent ... engagements in [a] process of creation’ (p. 50).

8. Clark (2012) argues against treating visual research as a ‘special case,’ but emphasises that it does raise ‘specific ethical dilemmas’ (pp. 3, 4 of 21).

9. I don’t agree with Clark’s subsequent assertion that the right to make final decisions on ethical issues in research should always rest with the researchers. Although I do agree that participants’ decisions are not ‘necessarily ... more ethically appropriate’ (Clark, 2012, p. 14 of 21; emphasis added), I would argue that participants should retain a right of veto, even when the research is premised on consensus decision-making. See Ipophen (2017) on the nature of the consensus in consensus decision-making in ethics:

[W]hen reaching a consensus we do not all have to agree with each other. [...] To ‘reach a consensus’ means being clear about what elements we can accept as held in common and vital to our mutual concerns, and those

areas which we either have not been able to agree upon, where we ‘agree to differ’ and/or still require further thought and consideration. (p. 222)

10. N.B. whakapapa (descent), rangatiratanga (authority), matauranga (knowledge), tikanga (values and practices), whanaungatanga (kinship), manaakitanga (hospitality).

11. Note that Hamley and colleagues (2021), who use photo elicitation (or photo-poetry) with a takatāpui Māori participant, and Wass and colleagues (2020), who discuss photo elicitation with Māori participants who are students undertaking higher education, address the ethical issues with doing so only indirectly. Hynds and colleagues (2018), who use photovoice with Māori D/deaf participants, address the ethical issues with doing so only briefly.

12. Wood and Kidman (2012) note that protocols and practices to preserve the confidentiality of Māori participants could be seen as continuing the effective removal of Māori from research ‘about’ them.

13. Mark and Boulton (2022) argue that Māori-voice can be distinguished from photovoice in three respects:

- it involves with an initial conversation with the participants in which they can share their thoughts and experiences (in this case of rongoa Māori), in accordance with the whakatauki (proverb) ‘Ko te kai a te rangatira, ko te kōrero’ (‘The food of the chief, it is talk’)
- it empowers participants to learn how to take photos through mahi whakaahua (taking photos), rather than through extensive training
- it involves a follow-up conversation with the participants in which they can express their responses to the photos in the form of pūrākau (stories) (see Lee, 2009).

14. Karen Barad (2012) sees the co-constitution of life forms as a form of ‘collaborative research’:

Thinking has never been a disembodied or uniquely human activity. [...] All life forms (including inanimate forms of liveliness) do theory. The idea is to do collaborative research, to be in touch, in ways that enable response-ability. (p. 208)

15. Some research has been undertaken on Māori mapping, both literal, through cartography after the arrival of Pākēhā (Kelly, 1999) and metaphorical, through whakapapa (Roberts, 2013), both of which, it is argued, include more-than-human features in addition to geographical features.

16. See Best (1905): ‘the word “matakite” denotes a seer, any person believed to be possessed of second sight, one who practises divination; also, any act of divination, or any utterance that embodies a prophecy or augury’ (p. 278).

17. See Haraway (2008):

responsibility ... can be shaped only in and for multidirectional relationships, in which always more than one responsive entity is in the process of becoming. [...] R]esponsibility is a relationship crafted in intra-action through which entities, subjects and objects, come into being[, ...] are ... co-constituted in the responding. (p. 71)

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