

Introduction

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Recounting a quip from a famous philosopher whose name he has forgotten, Bruno Latour remarks that “all is well with the social sciences except for two tiny words: ‘social’ and ‘sciences’” (Latour, 2000). The fundamental problems Latour points to are only multiplied when gathering together Māori and Pasifika voices. The distinctive intervention that Māori and Pacific peoples make into the social sciences are aptly illustrated by the contributions gathered in this special issue. Terms such as Māori sociology or Māori social science, or Pasifika sociology or Pasifika social science, will always be awkward conjunctions given that they join together incongruent worlds or, at the least, splice together incompatible epistemologies. Do we refer, when we use these terms, to the word Sociology or Social Sciences as being under translation so that we suggest that Māori and Pasifika have their own practices of research and experimentation that can be approximated by the aforementioned terms? Or, do we instead make the more limited suggestion that Sociology and the Social Sciences are European epistemic formations that Māori and Pasifika work within and bring some degree of cultural difference to, although short of structural transformation? Is this translation necessarily one directional or more likely the push and pull we feel of both simultaneously?

These questions are always going to be complex, and it was never going to be possible to come to definitive answers in a single special issue. Pointedly so, in a special issue of the Journal of New Zealand Sociology, away from home turf, as it were, for Māori and Pasifika researchers. Sociology as a discipline, far from leading the progressive charge it might like to think it does, has been uniquely recalcitrant when faced with incorporating the insights of postcolonial and Indigenous theory (Barber and Naepi, 2020). Sociology in Aotearoa/New Zealand

has not fared much better than the classical metropolises of Sociology. Although no final resolution can be found to these questions here, the texts we have gathered in this special issue provide resounding support for Carl Mika's (2017) notion that it is entirely possible for a Māori researcher, and we would add that the same is true for Pasifika researchers, "to be at work in thoroughly Western research in English and yet be primordially reconfiguring the underlying field of the text somehow" (Mika, 2017, p. 129). Perhaps it is also useful to think of Anae's reflection that she is not an anthropologist who is Samoan but a Samoan anthropologist (Anae, 1997) in that we practice social science not as social scientists who happen to be Māori and/or Pacific but as Māori and/or Pacific social scientists. It is precisely this work of reframing and reconfiguring Western categories of knowledge, whether subterranean or directly, that joins the articles in this special issue. The transformational friction involved in the process of reworking seems to us to be an unavoidable aspect of being a Māori or Pacific researcher in the social sciences. Our attempts to give full expression to our ways of knowing, thinking and doing takes place in adversarial conditions, whether these conditions are the tinnitus of structure or the vocal antagonism of colleagues and canon. In any case, as the articles in this issue attest to, our research only finds adequate expression when it breaches, works on or against, or escapes in some way the constraints imposed upon it by the relations of knowledge production in the University.

It is clear that universities (often including members of staff and sections of the student body) prefer to sterilise the threat of this subterranean unsettling of disciplinary formations by keeping Māori and Pasifika contained in Māori and Pacific Studies departments. Work that is a profound expression of Māori or Pasifika thinking and experience is of course produced by these departments. And, given sociology's disciplinary reluctance to engage with Māori and Pacific thought, it is somewhat ironic that sociology was first taught at the University of Auckland within Māori Studies by Dr Ranginui Walker (Personal communication with Professor Steve Matthewman). Māori and Pasifika also find themselves confined to the lower levels of the academy (McAllister et al., 2019; Naepi, 2019;

Naepi et al., 2020) simultaneously under-paid and under-promoted (McAllister et al., 2020) by universities whose very structures ensure our exclusion and underserving (Kidman, 2020; Kidman & Chu, 2017; 2019; Kidman et al., 2015; Naepi, 2021). Such exclusion and underserving are particularly painful given the universities' and colleagues' reliance on Māori and Pacific staff for addressing equity concerns, providing cultural advice on pedagogies, research, ethics, and to support grant applications (often without even being listed as a co-applicant.)

Yet, from the perspective of the university, keeping Māori and Pacific researchers contained in Māori and Pacific studies departments allows their difference to be (imperfectly) contained without allowing it to challenge the underlying structures through which knowledge is organised and ranked. Māori and Pasifika thinking are then kept in their proper place as instances of cultural difference that cannot challenge the supposed universalism of the liberal university. While the university seeks to contain the challenges made by Māori and Pacific researchers, for us the challenge we present is unavoidable whenever we inhabit Western knowledge formations, given the other modes of thought and action we draw from. It is through this challenge, and the failed attempts of its containment, that the supposed universalism of the Western mode of knowledge production is caught with its pants down, incapable of acknowledging—let alone listening to—anything outside of itself (Bhambra, 2021).

The categorical separations between different types of knowledge enacted by the university is in stark opposition to more holistic approaches characteristic of much Indigenous work. The definitional problems involving 'social' and 'science', do not end simply with the multiplication of complexity. For example, who and what is included in the social? If we think in the terms of whakapapa as opposed to the social as the leftover residue of the economic and the political (Bhambra, 2007; see also Habermas, 1984), then everything in existence participates in the flux of the social. Likewise, the distinction between the social sciences and natural sciences quickly becomes untenable when we understand science to take place in that intergenerational interrelation of people, place, human and non-human, as brilliantly demonstrated in Kura Paul-Burke et al.'s

contribution to this issue (2022, pp. 186–210). A further example of addressing this tension is Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga's shift from working in accordance with a division between the social and natural sciences to three overlapping zones of enquiry: Whai Rawa: Māori Economies, Te Tai Ao: The Natural Environment, and Mauri Ora: Human Flourishing. The three themes are supported by a central pou (post, pillar): te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori language and protocols) (Muru-Lanning, 2021) As we write this editorial, Pasifika academics across the country are building and rebuilding our research collectives that aim to cross and dismiss the boundaries the western academy has so firmly put in place.

Whose science?

So what then of the term science? This has of course been a point of no small contention recently even garnering attention from internationally renowned chauvinists of European thought such as Richard Dawkins (2021). We are talking here of the stoush over the relationship between mātauranga and science occasioned by a government review into the secondary school curriculum. In response to the review, a letter signed by seven academics from the University of Auckland was printed in the *New Zealand Listener*. The letter, a thinly veiled attack on mātauranga Māori in the guise of a defence of 'science', decried the perversion of science by the incorporation of mātauranga Māori into school curricula. The article was straightforwardly racist and rested on a number of flimsy premises, as was pointed out by a number of commentators at the time (Ngata, 2021; Parke and Hikuroa, 2021; Stewart, 2021). The letter was, however, useful for making explicit a dismissive attitude towards modes of scientific enquiry outside of a very narrow Eurocentric definition that is commonplace, indeed standard, in our universities. Before continuing it is worth stating here that our stance is unequivocally pro-science. We are not convinced, however, by some myopic and monochrome idea of science, one that claims blank universal truths, yet demands to be the sole adjudicator over what is and isn't 'true'. This scenario is similar to the beginning of Federico Fellini's film *Orchestra Rehearsal*

(1978) where each member of the orchestra believes that only their instrument is essential. In this instance, however, it is more like one instrumentalist is so fond of blowing their own trumpet they are deaf to all the other instruments and are convinced theirs is the only one. Calls to hear 'both sides of the debate' conveniently ignore the power imbalances at play within the debate; they give credence to the university's pretence to unbiased universality and ignore the way in which the structure of the university silences Māori and Pasifika voices in its quotidian functioning.

Racism in science is never that far removed from racial science. Both share the same whakapapa to the arrogance and violence of colonialism. Following from its roots in slavery and colonialism, the twentieth century was characterised by horrors of the collaboration between racist and racial science. We might have hoped that the imperialisms internal and external to Europe in the twentieth century had been its conclusion, a final reckoning from which Western science was forced to acknowledge and transcend its irrational kernel. Yet, science continues to deny the social context that it is inextricable from in preference for blank and exclusionary universals. It is precisely in its claim to being somehow removed from its socio-historic and material context that science removes itself of the obligation of a confrontation with its history, arrogance, and continued harbouring of racist practitioners. Instead, the university further isolates itself in its ivory tower wondering why the public fail to recognise the worth of the university. This is not a new problem as wonderfully captured by the Chancellor of the University of New Zealand in 1946:

Many reasons are given for our lack of attainment. The first is the lack of public understanding and support. This is fundamental. It is due, as I believe, largely to a lack of knowledge. Because of a failure to appreciate the part which a true University could play in the life of the people, this wealthy country has starved its university... Has the Senate tried sufficiently to educate the public? (Smith, 1946, p. 22)

Māori and Pasifika researchers have led the way in engaging with, and being in the service of, communities and have much to offer in terms of embedded research practices that work to engender trust instead of eroding it.

It could be argued here, that it is no time to be calling science into question, given the urgent need for trust in the context of twin and conjoined crises of Covid-19 and climate catastrophe. Undoubtedly the lack of trust in science is an urgent challenge. However, this is crucially a problem of the relationship between science and the peoples and places that, despite science's claims to abstraction, form its real material basis. Take Covid-19 for instance. Forgetting for a moment its origins in zoonotic spillover as a result of capitalist exploitation of the planet (Davis, 2020), bio-medical science that has been so effective in producing vaccines is hardly neutral. It is capitalist science predicated on private intellectual property rights (McDonagh, forthcoming). As a result of the unwillingness to make vaccines, medicines and some medical testing open source and readily available, new and hyper-contagious COVID-19 variant has been generated and infections and diseases, such as drug-resistant tuberculosis (DR-TB) have emerged. Here, the ravages of colonial domination and underdevelopment find new expression in viral form. How will trust be earned in a science so beholden to the production of profit over and above human life, still structured along colonial fault lines? Mistrust in science, often by state led actors has led Indigenous peoples to a logical conclusion based on empirical, historical evidence (Lambert, 2022; in press).

Turning to the accelerating climate catastrophe, is this not where we should surely commit to science as our one true saviour? The first thing to note here is that it is a result of Indigenous peoples' science and practice that 80 percent of the Earth's biodiversity is found within Indigenous territories protected and inhabited by Indigenous people (Ngata, 2021). Similarly, the most forceful defences of the earth against ecological and wider social catastrophe are generally led by Indigenous communities and take place on Indigenous lands (see for example Nick Estes' *Our History is the Future*). It seems clear that there is much that big 'S' Science might learn from Indigenous science and its

relationships with the earth. Otherwise, Science will be left proclaiming its own singular claim to universal truths on a scorched and barren earth. We are left with something like an apocalyptic version of the (metaphorical) red flag raised by revolutionaries who state that, for example, issues of race and gender will be magically solved *after* the revolution. In this instance, faith in the universality of science is needed now and problems of its social base will be resolved after we have solved current calamities. Science does not take place in abstraction from its social conditions and as a result the social sciences remain crucial to untangling the multivalent crisis that is bearing down upon the planet.

In any case, Māori and Pacific social science, keeping in mind the difficulties of that conjunction, never really adhered to any strict division between the social and natural sciences, opting instead for shades of overlapping contrast, for connection. It is in the spirit of the relational and social space of the *va*, and of *whakapapa*, that we now look to that other crucial conjunction that gives us our theme for this issue: the relationship between Māori and other Pacific peoples.

There is something of the Aristotelean logic of the excluded middle in the way in which the relationship between Māori and other Pacific peoples is often framed, especially in the university.¹ To be Māori is not to be a Pacific Islander, to be Pasifika is not to be Indigenous. Yet this type of thinking, one of categorical distinction, is anathema to the relational modes of thinking that are common amongst Pacific Islanders, including Māori. The *vā va* and *whakapapa* are concepts centred in connection not separation. As Simon Barber, writing with Miri Davidson, has asked previously: “might indigeneity, in the Pacific as elsewhere, transcend the boundaries of the nation-state without forgoing the special relationship borne by many Indigenous people to a particular place and its history?” (Barber and Davidson, 2020, p. 11)

¹ “But then neither is it possible for there to be anything in the middle between contradictories, but it is necessary to affirm or to deny one thing, whatever it may be, of one thing.” (Aristotle, 2016, p. 65)

In the opening paragraph to her article in this issue, Alice Te Punga-Somerville (2022, p. 43) beautifully and succinctly summarises the stakes involved in how we answer this question:

In different but overlapping ways, Māori and Pasifika people in this place have a lot to gain from sidestepping the settler state for more productive but also, let's face it, more interesting conversations. Dominant stories of Māori origins mean we are used to introducing ourselves in relation to waka histories and descent from, but also future return to, Hawaiki, and there is a supple thread of cultural, social, political, activist, creative and genealogical connections in New Zealand between Māori people and people from elsewhere in the region.

It seems straightforward enough that having the relationship between Māori and other Pacific peoples mediated by the settler state is not the healthiest way of framing that relationship. And yet, often it is precisely this framing of our relationship that precludes us from having the discussions that could forge our relationships more directly. As Hana Burgess and Te Kahuratai Painting (2020, p. 213) point out, for Māori:

we are descendants of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, thus the moana is another important source of mana - mana moana ... being in good relation extends to our whanaunga in the Pacific, our tuakana from which we descend, who have deep intergenerational relationships with and through these waters.

In a similar vein, Moana Jackson (2020, p. 137) describes the way in which Māori, “never lost sight of the fact that we were still standing on Pacific Islands and that relationships in such a place would always be mediated through a palpable sense of intimate distance”. It is possible to suggest that, once mediated by the settler state, our research relationships have become characterised by an increasing distance at the expense of intimacy.

This call to connect outside of settler logics is echoed by Pacific peoples. Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni has, in an article previous to her one in this volume, also commented on the lack of engagement between Māori and Pasifika

researchers but notes how crucial it is that we undertake this mahi. “Like our ancestors”, Suaalii-Sauni (2017, p. 174) argues:

we won't know how things will work out in our Māori and Pasifika relations until we actually engage in the process of relating to one another. We will not know how our concepts and frameworks make sense alongside each other or in real-life settings until we actively engage them, theorise and observe them, together, in these settings. What we do know is that, as Māori and Pasifika peoples, we have been endowed with the mana and whakapapa to determine for ourselves how we exchange.

As a number of the authors in this special issue point out, there has often been a lack of direct engagement between Māori and Pacific researchers despite our shared claim to being Mana Moana. Dr Hinekura Smith and 'Ema Wolfram-Foliaki talk about how Tangata Whenua research has often literally flown over our whanaunga in the Pacific in the process of forming relationships in Hawaii and with other Indigenous peoples internationally. As remedy to this they argue forcefully that, “igniting the space between Mana Whenua and Mana Moana research alliances offers a crucial and timely return to ancient Moana relationships in the service of transforming our current lived realities” (Smith & Wolfram-Foliaki, 2022, p. 20).

In her article in this issue, Alice Te Punga Somerville makes a similar point deploying the image of whenua drained as part of the colonial project becoming too dry and brittle to remember its connection to the moana. She talks of the classroom as a crucial site for clearing the dams and silt deposits so that wai (water) might again freely trickle out to the sea, reforging the connection of whenua and moana so the latter no longer signifies Pacific Peoples *except* Māori. Once again connected to the relational space of the moana and able to face each other directly, as Te Punga Somerville (2022, p. 44) suggests, a crucial question remains: “how do we articulate our deep connections and mutual distinctiveness without reinscribing colonial configurations either of assimilation or of being in competition?”

The settler state poses two distinct relationships: a bi-culturalism between itself and Māori on one hand, and a multiculturalism, primarily signified by the presence of non-European migrants, on the other. Differences of relationship are levelled in state multiculturalism so that all differences are effectively the same type of difference. Given that the settler state manages immigration primarily in the service of the needs of capital, this multiculturalism is one that is structured from above. As a result of this structuring, Māori and Pasifika share a similar socio-economic position, held at the bottom of the hierarchy. Whether or not Māori and Pasifika researchers have managed to side-step the state sanctioned framework for our relationships, the lived reality of many Māori and Pasifika is one of shared cohabitation for socio-economic reasons. The Polynesian Panthers give a prime example of solidarities forged amidst this shared socio-economic positioning; such as the Polynesian Panthers support of the Bastion Point occupation.

In opposition to multiculturalism from above, Ashwani Sharma (2009), albeit writing about the UK, describes what he terms the existence of a vernacular multiculturalism that arises in heterogenous working-class communities that are spaces and places of *both* conviviality and racism. Perhaps racism is too strong a word for that which accompanies undoubted conviviality between Māori and Pasifika but it is fair to say there is economic competition for jobs and at times resentment. Multiculturalism from above breeds what Martin Luther King Jr. has referred to as “the stagnant equality of sameness” (1990, p. 118). As various authors in this special issue argue, our deep connections are important but so is our difference from one another. “To homogenise is to divide”, as Patrick Wolfe has said (2013, p. 265). Amongst ourselves we have incredible social technologies such as marae, a several millennia-old institution that remains unsurpassed for the gathering together without flattening difference. We of course did not start the process of bringing about the direct engagement between Pacific Island (including Māori) scholars and researchers. That work was done by our tupuna (ancestors) long ago. We only hope, through this special issue, to contribute in whatever small way to the essential task of continuing to

maintain and strengthen these connections so that they might blossom anew. The various texts gathered here are testament to the depth of creativity shared between us: a febrile moana of relationality that sparks with our connections and difference.

We were never going to be able to answer all the questions raised here in a single special issue, however, we never intended to answer these questions from an academic podium. Instead, our hope was to build on previous work, and to add another layer to the talanoa/korero around/about/within being Māori and/or Pasifika social scientists and what it is we offer this contemporary moment and future imaginings beyond what our disciplines imagine for us.

When Mana Whenua and Mana Moana make knowledge: Contributions

Dr Hinekura Smith and Dr 'Ema Wolfgramm-Foliaki's *Vā-kā: Igniting the space between Mana Whenua and Mana Moana research relations* calls for Māori and Pacific peoples to pikipiki hama—to lash our canoes together in order to transform our tertiary land/seascapes for our communities. Smith and Wolfgramm-Foliaki's careful unpacking of va and kā enable and open up a conversation about what decolonial action is possible when Māori and Pacific peoples respect and uplift what makes us unique while also recognising where our commonalities lie. When we work together in these ways we “create positive transformative change for our complex and diverse communities through our research” (Smith & Wolfgramm-Foliaki, 2022, p. 37).

Dr Alice Te Punga Somerville's *Wetland: Draining mana whenua* reminds us all that we must do more than acknowledge our connections and calls into question why she must leave Aotearoa to become Pacific. Importantly, Dr Te Punga Somerville (2022, pp. 43–44) reminds us that we have relationships (that are complex) beyond the state and asks the question: “Must I, as a Māori scholar of Pacific Studies, leave Aotearoa to be Pacific scholar again?”

Perhaps, the hardest part of this reading is the realisation that in many ways it seems impossible to have these conversations on this whenua and, instead, those that have led and encouraged all of us to think about this relationship for over a decade must leave these shores in search of fertile grounds.

Dr Robert Webb, Dr Tamasailau Suaalii-Sauni, Dr Talia Wright-Bardohl and Dr Juan Tauri's *Building understandings of Māori and Samoan experiences of youth justice: Navigating beyond the limits of official statistics* serves as a reminder that often in our research what brings Māori and Pasifika together is shared inequity within a wider settler-capitalist system. Their article enacts Māori and Pasifika collaboration through collaborative research into a system that affects both Māori and Pasifika. Their call to ensure Indigenous voices are used in analysis alongside state-sanctioned statistics is one that could be echoed across all our research spaces:

To understand and extend beyond the official picture of Māori and Pacific youth in youth justice, we need to engage with Māori and Pacific communities. Their narratives speak to the idea that Māori and Samoan communities are not simply the passive recipients of state interventions, and can challenge the monoculturalism of the justice system. (Webb et al., 2022, p. 88)

Dr David Taufui Mikato Fa'avae, Dr Edmond Fehoko and Dr Sione Vaka's *Fakakoloa as embodied mana moana and agency: Postcolonial sociology within Oceania* centres Tongan thought and concepts to unpack possibilities in post-colonial sociology that are deeply rooted in Moana perspectives. Their weaving of ideas and lived realities create a powerful moment of critique and introduces exciting and generous possibilities for the discipline of sociology. Crucially, Drs Fa'avae, Fehoko and Vaka provide us with a grounding and possibility for Mana Moana in sociology: "Mana moana is to fakakoloa and honours critical sense-making and meaning-making through Indigenous Moana practices" (Fa'avae et al., 2022, p. 115).

Dr Patrick Thomsen's *Research 'side-spaces' and the criticality of Auckland, New Zealand, as a site for developing a queer Pacific scholarly agenda*

explores Aotearoa/New Zealand as a site for intentional development and growth of a queer Pacific scholarly agenda. Dr Thomsen presents and examines the complexities of Pacific queer realities and makes the argument that Auckland is a key site for the realisation and articulation of a Pacific queer scholarly agenda. This significant contribution to social science research reminds us of the urgency of an intersectional lens and that despite the foundational whiteness of our institutions:

it is *still* important to occupy this space for queer survival. In doing so, I accept that queer realities are full of contradictions tied to our liminal existence in both our diasporic and native communities, in which our selves are integrally intertwined. (Thomsen, 2022, p. 137)

Kamakanaokealoha M. Aquino's *Ho'opili: Exploring social sciences from the 'āina* provides important insight into decolonising and indigenising the School of Social Sciences at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and the possibilities of re(creating) Hawaiian Social Sciences. At times this article reads like a wonderful whakapapa of Indigenous Hawaiian thought and legacies within an institution that holds a unique space in Oceanic thought while it also challenges the institution to move beyond the "low hanging" fruit of inclusion as:

We now have a new generation of emerging Hawaiian Studies scholars critiquing their disciplines, building on previously published works, and bringing their perspectives and identities forth. Through their published works, we see how they have strategically challenged the Euro-American discourse, continuing the genealogy and legacy of Hawaiian Studies. (Aquino, 2022, p. 161)

Ashlea Gillon, Dr Jade Le Grice, Dr Melinda Webber and Dr Tracey McIntosh's *Mana Whenua, Mana Moana, Mana Tinana, Mana Mōmona* explores holistic Māori concepts of bodies and fatness that are inscribed across whenua, moana and our whakapapa. Their beautiful weaving of Te Ao Māori with Indigenous scholarship provides an example of the potentiality of Indigenous

social sciences and provides critical insight into the richness of embracing concepts like *mōmona* beyond direct translation: “The use of the word ‘*mōmona*’, for example, as one of the main words for fat(ness) often ignores its multiplicity of other meanings, such as in good condition, bountiful, plentiful, fertile, or nourished” (Gillon et al., 2022, p. 173).

Dr Kura Paul-Burke, Rokahurihia Ngarimu-Camron, Waka Paul, Joe Burke, Trevor Ransfield, Wallace Aramoana, Kerry Cameron, Tuwhakairiora O’Brien and Charlie Bluett’s *Ngā tohu o te taiao: Observing signs of the natural world to identify seastar over-abundance as a detriment to shellfish survival in Ōhiwa Harbour, Aotearoa/New Zealand* may at first glance seem out of place in a social science journal; however, their inclusion in this special issue is recognition that disciplinary boundaries are colonial and that understanding challenges in our food systems takes a holistic approach that is not bound by disciplinary constraints. Their weaving of *mātauranga* into science serves as an example to many in today’s world who questions its place: “Intergenerational observations and ecological understandings of species interactions and patterns of use have been accumulated and grounded in the existence of Māori, which are intimately bound to residing in one place for many generations” (Paul-Burke et al., 2022, pp. 189–190).

Dr Margaret Forster’s *Working at the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science* explores how we disrupt and reimagine our understanding of social science and create He Ātea. Dr Forster provides a critical outline of how we can navigate the interface and interaction of Te Ao Māori with Social Sciences arguing that this work is urgent and necessary as:

Preparing graduates – both *tangata whenua* and *tangata tiriti* - to operate at the *ātea* and navigate the multitude of encounters is critical to practising a form of social science that is distinct to Aotearoa and can reflect the expectations and aspirations of Māori people. (Forster, 2022, p. 229)

Dr Helen Moewaka Barnes' *Rangahau rangatiratanga: Writing as a Māori scholar* centres being Māori and explores what it is to work and write te Ao Māori at the centre, rather than colonisation. The powerful crafting of this article brings forward the importance of engaging in knowledge making in ways that centre how we craft and understand knowledge; not at the institution's bidding. Dr Moewaka Barnes (2022, p. 235) reminds us all, "I do not plan to be buried at the university and my primary accountability is reflected in an ongoing question: What can working out of a university bring in terms of service to a collective kaupapa?"

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Editorial decisions

We chose to centre Māori and Pasifika voices in this issue, this includes how Māori and Pasifika authors chose to have their languages, affiliations and acknowledgements formatted and included in their articles.

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