Working at the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science

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Abstract
This article will explore working at the interface between Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and social science. How do we navigate encounters between Te Ao Māori and social science in a mana-enhancing or empowering way? How do we build capabilities for social science research that are grounded in Te Ao Māori and are transformative for Māori communities? This article responds to these questions using Māori understandings derived from the whakapapa (genealogical) sequence Te Kore–Te Pō–Te Ao Mārama and the ritual of pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony). Māori thinking, concepts and politics are used to disrupt and reimagine our understanding of social science and create he ātea—a place/space-scape from where we can engage in a form of social science that is distinct to Aotearoa/New Zealand and reflects the expectations and aspirations of Māori people.

Keywords Mātauranga; Cultural encounters; Interface research

A whakapapa of Māori engagement in the social sciences

Why should Māori engage with social science? Moana Jackson (2014), in a keynote address to the Māori Association of Social Science, eloquently defined Māori engagement in social science as "continuing our tradition of storying our world". This powerful insight is a reminder that Māori have a distinct and well-established research tradition that is a legitimate way of understanding the world (Jackson, 2011; Smith, 1996). This research tradition is evident through various forms of mātauranga (Māori knowledge) such as whakapapa (genealogies), kōrero tuku iho (histories, narratives from the past) and pūrākau (narratives) that story and make sense of our world. Sense-making, in this context, is shaped by Māori identity, belonging and wellbeing, encouraging certain ways of knowing and associated practices that draw on tikanga (ethical practices) (M. K. Durie, 2013; Royal, 1998) and contemporary Māori approaches to research such as Kaupapa Māori, an Indigenous way of researching underpinned by core Māori values that is transformative for Māori

communities (L. T. Smith, 1999). A key dimension of storying our world involves engaging, and often resisting, other knowledge systems. This necessitates a comprehensive awareness of mātauranga and the nature of the interface between Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and social science to enable constructive dialogue and mana-enhancing or empowering interactions. Such an approach is the basis of critical inquiry for many Māori scholars who engage broadly in the social sciences. But what underpins this tradition of storying our world?

Māori traditions of storying the world are grounded in whakapapa (Graham, 2009; Royal, 1998; Te Rito, 2007). Whakapapa is a way of ordering and understanding the world through relationships that centre identity and belonging. A simple example is whakapapa as an ancestral genealogy that maps the relationship between grandparents, parents and grandchildren. There are also whakapapa sequences that provide explanations for the origin and relationships of Atua (a term widely but inadequately translated as 'gods'; a more apt translation would be 'force/s beyond our physical senses, just beyond and blocked from our view'), trees, birds, reptiles, fish, shellfish, rocks and clay (see, e.g., Best, 1924). More complex whakapapa provide an understanding of phenomena such as the origin of the stars, the weather and fire (see, e.g., Best, 1924; Whatahoro, 1913). One example is the sequence Te Kore–Te Pō–Te Ao Mārama, which outlines a process from the void, to the darkness, and then to the world of light. This whakapapa maps "how darkness became light, nothing became something, earth and sky were separated, and nature evolved" (Royal, 2005, para. 1). While I have only identified three levels to this whakapapa sequence,[1] each level condenses a set of complex processes and relations highlighting the explanatory power of whakapapa.

Whakapapa can also be used to generate new or contemporary understandings of phenomena (Royal, 1998; Sadler, 2007). For example, Ngā Puhi elder and scholar Hone Sadler created several whakapapa sequences to explain the impact of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi on what he refers to as "Māori social and cultural fabric" (Sadler, 2007, p. 40). Sadler

[1] This is an abridged version of this whakapapa. There are numerous stages of Te Kore–Te Pō–Te Ao Mārama, and they differ by iwi.

includes in these whakapapa such things as the impact of alcohol and the emergence of social issues such as unemployment, family violence and abuse, and mental health issues. I have used whakapapa sequences and kōrero tuku iho to explain the environmental histories of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Forster, 2019). This article continues this tradition by applying the whakapapa sequence Te Kore–Te Pō–Te Ao Mārama to understanding a contemporary phenomenon: the nature and future of encounters between Te Ao Māori and social science.

The discussion that follows assumes a basic understanding of the kōrero tuku iho about the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and of pōwhiri, the customary welcoming ritual.[2]

A whakapapa of encounters

To understand the nature of the interface between Te Ao Māori and social science an exploration is required of encounters from a Māori viewpoint. Encounters and their various features are evident in whakapapa. For example, the whakapapa sequence Te Kore–Te Pō–Te Ao Mārama also explains the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku that was in part motivated by encounters with the unknown. In one kōrero tuku iho, some of their children escaped from their parents' embrace through the menstrual flow of Papatūānuku (Whatahoro, 1913). In another kōrero tuku iho, the children peeked out of her armpits (Best, 1924). Both encounters exposed the children to a world beyond their own, and to the unknown, sparking a curiosity that inspired within our people the potential for change or transformation and expansion. It is important to note that separation is not the end of this storying of the world but just a beginning. While change was inevitable, and is necessary for growth, the presence of discord indicates that there are consequences associated with all decision-making and action. Encounters, therefore, are contested spaces, where interests or agendas converge and/or diverge, leading to moments of consensus, conflict and sometimes

[2] Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother, are the primal couple in Te Ao Māori. For more information, see, for example, KIWA Digital (2015), Kohu and Roberts (2006) and Royal (2005).

compromise. This tells us that encounters have spatial qualities that are dynamic and vibrant with infinite potentiality and possibilities.

Pōwhiri are a re-enactment of the primordial separation narrative (Royal, 2007) and thus a tangible and performative platform for investigating encounters. Māori health expert and Māori development scholar Mason H. Durie (2001, pp. 69–70) argues that encounters on a marae, particularly during pōwhiri, "illustrate the complexities of Māori thought and behaviour" and have the potential to shape "thinking and behaviour and provid[e] guidelines for codes of living". The pōwhiri therefore provides a blueprint for cultural encounters that are meaningful, constructive and appropriate. For the purposes of this article, encounters discernible through pōwhiri are useful for exploring the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science interactions. But first, how do we know if encounters are meaningful, constructive and appropriate?

Meihana K. Durie (2013, p. 77) has explored "the potential for kawa [rituals] to be applied within modern contexts to enhance Māori engagement". He argued that cultural practices in specific contexts are an expression of the interplay between kaupapa (core values), tikanga and kawa. Kaupapa in this context is broadly translated as core cultural values and emerges from the intent of an encounter. Tikanga are the actions, behaviours or practices that emerge in response to the kaupapa. Kawa as ritual or protocol provides the overarching regulatory framework where kaupapa and tikanga are negotiated. Central to this negotiation are Atua, whose presence "enables human dignity to be maintained and human potential to be realised" (M. K. Durie, 2013, p. 82). The interplay between Atua and humans is particularly apparent in encounters on marae.

The welcoming ritual of pōwhiri is the most prevalent encounter observed and performed at marae. Typically, tangata whenua (the local tribal authority) welcome visitors both corporal and spiritual to their place—the marae (a physical expression of their authority). The physical location of the encounter is significant. The marae is the cultural centre and tūrangawaewae (place to stand) of the community. It is the place that connects tangata whenua to their ancestors and Atua. When this place is activated through the

pōwhiri ritual, a convergence of past, present, and future occurs, creating a multiplicity of encounters at the marae ātea (ātea in this context is the place in front of the meeting house at the marae) that transcend time and space. I argue, based on the whakapapa sequence below, that the ātea therefore is a 'place/space-scape'. If the word 'landscape' is used to draw attention to physical features of the land, then place-/space-scape conceptualises the ātea as much more than a physical place. It also includes features such as time and space that are important dimensions of encounters at the ātea:

The following whakapapa sequence by Rev. Māori Marsden provides some clues as to the nature of the ātea:

> Te Hauora (breath of life)
> Te Ātāmai (shape)
> Te Āhua (form)
> Wā (time)
> Ātea (space) (Royal, 2003, p. 181)

It reveals a relationship between life (hauora),[3] place (as depicted by ātamai and āhua), time (wā) and space (ātea). Ātea also means to be clear or free from obstruction. This speaks to the nature of encounters at the marae ātea as a place where guests are welcomed and come together during pōwhiri to connect, debate and collaborate. In this regard, pōwhiri are a re-enactment of the dilemma faced by the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku when deciding to separate their parents. By continuing the practice of pōwhiri, connections between Atua, ancestors and their descendants are refreshed and reaffirmed. This has important implications for wellbeing, Māori identity and belonging.

Pōwhiri therefore are a reminder and celebration of ancestral pursuits and aspirations. For example, sovereignty of the local tribe is secured through occupation of the ancestral territory and various activities associated with ensuring the future of the community. In time, future generations become responsible for maintaining this tūrangawaewae and progressing the goals of the ancestors. This includes imperatives set by Atua and obligations and

[3] It is important to note that human life did not emerge until the Te Ao Mārama phase. But elements for the foundation of life were established in prior phases.

responsibilities to ancestors. Atua are visible through ceremonies and rituals designed to strengthen tribal connections and navigate appropriate encounters between people and place. These encounters are present too in contemporary variations such as pōwhiri performed at a school, at a workplace, or on the stage. Encounters occur every time a visitor, and by association ancestors and Atua, are invited into the ātea through pōwhiri.

During pōwhiri, space is critical for initiating and mediating encounters. For example, at the beginning of the pōwhiri the guests stand at the gateway of the marae complex awaiting the karanga (welcoming call), an invitation to enter the marae ātea. This invitation extends to the Atua, ancestors and recently deceased who accompany the guests, thereby bringing together the past and the present. The host awaits at a designated space in the marae complex for receiving visitors. The distance between the host and the guests is critical as it mediates uncertainty and any potential conflict that might emerge from a first encounter. This distance is only reduced at the conclusion of the formal rituals, once the intent of the visitors has become apparent and a commitment to unity has been established.

The nature of these spaces can be disclosed further by considering physical expressions of the whakapapa sequence Te Kore–Te Pō–Te Ao Mārama. The gateway to the marae represents the state of Te Kore. When visitors assemble in front of the gateway, uncertainty abounds. Karanga is used to invoke the various female Atua—Papatūānuku, Hinetītama who became Hinenuitepō (mother of humankind and Atua of the afterlife)—to mediate any uncertainty associated with the new encounter and begin the process of weaving together the hosts and the guests. As the guests enter the marae ātea, they enter a new space and a new state. The marae ātea therefore is the physical expression of Te Pō and is a space of exchange—both positive and negative.

On a marae the potential for conflict is acknowledged by the presence of Tūmatauenga (Atua of war) in the space associated with the marae ātea. Peace is acknowledged by the presence of Rongo (Atua of the cultivated food) in the space associated with the meeting house. The interaction of Tūmatauenga and Rongo is critical for resolving conflict and, if possible,

achieving balance. Once the manuhiri (guests) have passed through the gateway onto the ātea, the host and guest begin the process of exchanging information about one another—the process of knowing has been initiated. This exchange is consolidated in the final physical space represented by the paepae, the place where the formal speeches take place. Other Atua are invoked in this space, such as Tāne-i-te wānanga (Atua who has spiritual provenance and influence over speech-making and debate) and Tanerore and Hinerehia (Atua who have provenance and influence over the performative arts). The presence of Atua throughout these various spaces acts as both a regulatory and protective mechanism. The paepae can be out on the marae ātea or inside the meeting house, depending on the kawa of the host and the purpose of the pōwhiri. It is in this space that Te Ao Mārama or enlightenment is achieved.

When encounters are viewed through the interplay of kaupapa–tikanga–kawa (as depicted by M. K. Durie, 2013), the following critique emerges. Physical spatial thresholds mark transition from one stage to another: from the void, to the darkness, to the world of light. Also, space and time are critical elements of the encounter, ensuring the appropriateness of the ceremony and a strong link to the tribal territory. The presence and visibility of Atua and ancestors, therefore, are important regulating devices for achieving meaningful, appropriate and enduring encounters. Specific kawa and tikanga are required to safely navigate the ātea—to traverse between states of tapu (restricted) and noa (unrestricted)—to achieve desired outcomes. Consequently, encounters centred around core cultural values or kaupapa of aroha (love) and manaaki (care, hospitality) enable relationships built on respect, kindness and generosity, thereby facilitating interactions that are mana-enhancing, empowering and constructive. This rendering of pōwhiri as an encounter offers a culturally distinct platform for what Jackson (2014) calls “storying our world” and, in regard to the central concerns of this article, for imagining an ātea that explains and defines the interface and interactions between Te Ao Māori and social science.

Te Ao Māori and social science encounters

Engaging at the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science is a recent and distinct orientation towards practising social science. It is a response to a colonial encounter that actively controlled and suppressed Māori people and our knowledge (see, e.g., L. T. Smith, 1999) to secure British sovereignty and political interests in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This legacy of colonisation privileged British ways of storying and arranging the world based on Christianity and commerce (Sorrenson, 1975; Williams, 2001). Prominent examples include understandings and systems associated with the Westminster system of Parliament, European land tenure, justice, the medical health model, and science. While the British colonial project was pervasive and effective at disrupting Māori sociopolitical systems and communal lifestyles, there is a long history of resisting colonial authority (Harris, 2004; Taonui, 2012; Walker, 1984, 1989) and asserting tino rangatiratanga (absolute Māori sovereignty).

With regard to the academy, in recent decades resistance has been evident through efforts to privilege mātauranga[4] and to secure spaces that value and enable Māori approaches to, and expectations for, research (see, e.g., M. H. Durie, 1997; Nepe, 1991; L. T. Smith, 1999). Māori ethics (Hudson et al., 2010) and Māori data sovereignty aspirations (Kukutai & Taylor, 2016) are important aspects of these approaches.

The privileging of Māori ethics, approaches and expectations has included a reimagining of the social sciences due in part to cross-cultural encounters involving the interaction of mātauranga and social science knowledge. Mātauranga in this context embodies understandings and aspirations grounded in a Māori world view, whereas social science knowledge refers to understandings of the social world derived from a Western[5]

[4] For example, the use of the Whare Tapa Whā model (M. H. Durie, 1984; see below) to challenge the privileging of the medical model of health and, more recently, Rangi Mataamua's (2017) work on revitalising knowledge associated with Matariki (both the name of the Pleiades star cluster in te reo Māori and the celebration of its first rising in late June or early July, marking the Māori new year).

[5] The word 'Western' is used here to denote an origin outside of Aotearoa/New Zealand and thus anything brought into this space through the process of colonisation. The Western disciplinary lens is based on ways of knowing and

disciplinary lens. Both views are founded on distinct cultural suppositions and trajectories that interact at multiple points, shaping encounters between the two knowledge bases.

Add to this mix colonial knowledge politics that actively suppressed Indigenous knowledge and the inevitable outcome is the invisibility of storying of the world from a Māori viewpoint. In the social sciences, the geographer Evelyn Stokes (1985) acknowledged this invisibility at three levels: the practitioner, the discipline, and the sector. Firstly, she identified a systemic "lack of knowledge of and sensitivity to Māori culture and values" (Stokes, 1985, p. i) amongst social scientists. Secondly, she argued that conventional social science research practices—particularly the focus on deficit research—were inadequate for achieving Māori expectations of research, necessary to reverse what leading Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has eloquently referred to as the damage created by past practices that marginalised mātauranga and Māori people from research activities. Stokes (1985) also pointed out that social science research seldom focused on topics of relevance to Māori and therefore made little contribution to Māori development aspirations, including addressing prevalent inequalities. As a result, Stokes (1985) advocated forcefully for change in the social sciences, particularly in the development of new research policies and practices that would better serve Māori interests. Stokes's recommendations aligned strongly with a body of work that had emerged from efforts to secure a new Māori-medium schooling option, now known as Kura Kaupapa Māori (Penetito, 2010). This body of work later coalesced into the Kaupapa Māori and decolonising research movement led by Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1996, 1999), which contests the authority of Western knowledge and associated research practices.

To summarise, contests are an enduring feature of encounters between Māori and Western views. Western views, which were legitimised by colonisation, actively suppress Māori views to establish sovereignty and power

associated practices premised on Western/European understandings, norms and values.

over their mātauranga. Māori have always actively resisted and disrupted this process by engaging in resistance projects that centre mātauranga. The interface therefore can be visualised as involving three distinct spaces: one independent space for each tradition and a third hybrid space where each tradition encounters the other. The hybrid space is contested and negotiated, and is where encounters can be simultaneously collaborative, confrontational and sometimes incommensurable. In this article, I conceptualise this interface as an ātea—a place/space-scape of infinite potentiality.

Working at the interface between Te Ao Māori and social science is therefore a distinct response to these contests. It is an approach to social science that is grounded in a Māori worldview and contributes to Māori development; it is a contemporary rendering of a Māori worldview. The goal is to reaffirm and reclaim the validity of mātauranga—Māori ways of knowing and associated practices—and resist continuing oppression. Research therefore becomes a highly political activity, committed to a social justice agenda for achieving equitable outcomes and the recognition of Māori rights and interests.

Disappointingly, these contested encounters at the interface are still evident 36 years after Stokes's initial attempt to transform the social sciences. A recent report collated by Māori scholars argued that "for a science sector to have its greatest reach and impact for all citizens, it must demonstrate relevance, accessibility and inclusion" (Kukutai et al., 2021, p. 5). Contests at the interface that are decided in favour of the exclusion of "Te Ao Māori perspectives, aspirations, and priorities [and] Māori and Pacific expertise from science advice and key decision-making roles" result in Maori having "limited opportunities to influence the science-policy interface" (Kukutai et al., 2021, p. 5). To transform the sector, Kukutai et al. (2021, pp. 5–6) recommend the following priorities:

- Strategically invest in research, science and innovation (RSI) that continues to drive Aotearoa toward equitable health and well-being outcomes, while addressing the ongoing harms caused by colonialism and racism.

- Resource and support innovation in the Māori/Indigenous economic sector in ways that create future opportunities and drive more equitable economic outcomes.
- Resource and support autonomous Māori science advice and decision-making alongside iwi-Crown partnership approaches.
- Invest in Māori trained researchers who work in the RSI sector and beyond—for example, in Iwi Research Centres—as decision-makers exerting their rangatiratanga [sovereignty].
- Recognise and support iwi, hapū and diverse Māori communities as knowledge holders, policymakers and critical enablers of individual, collective (including whānau) and environmental well-being.
- Genuinely value and utilise two of Aotearoa's rich knowledge systems—Western science and Mātauranga Māori—so that scientific advice, and the policy that it informs, is relevant and draws from multiple sources of evidence.
- Encompass measurements of science excellence and impact that are inclusive of Mātauranga Māori and widen the impact of science delivery for all Aotearoa.
- Develop Māori-controlled data infrastructure that meets Māori data sovereignty best practice and supports wise decision-making.

These priorities have the potential to minimise knowledge contests at the interface as they confirm a commitment towards parity between mātauranga and Western knowledge. Parity is critical for mana-enhancing interactions at the interface. These priorities would also enable the realisation of Māori research agendas by providing opportunity for capacity and capability building and meaningful participation in the sector.

The experiences of Māori in the social science sector mirror those of Māori in the science sector. Therefore, the experiences and aspirations mentioned above are applicable to the social sciences and, specifically, to

attempts to work at the interface between Te Ao Māori and social science (Jones, 2017; Jones & Jenkins, 2008). Key to working at the interface, however, is understanding the presence of the three distinct spaces. Understanding the space associated with Te Ao Māori involves exploring the interplay of kaupapa–tikanga–kawa (as framed by M. K. Durie, 2013). One possible interpretation is offered in the section that follows. These ideas were developed from wānanga (discussions) with staff at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi—School of Māori Knowledge, Massey University, which reflected on Māori engagement with social science and best research practice during development of specialist introductory courses emphasising the mana-enhancing use of mātauranga.

Storying a Māori view

The starting point for storying a Māori view as it relates to social science and associated practices is identifying the presence of Atua at the interface or ātea and their role in guiding the process of knowing that leads to understanding and wisdom. From a Māori perspective, the process of moving from thought to understanding and eventually wisdom has a clear whakapapa associated with the encounter between Hinengaro (Atua of mind, thought) and Tāne i te wānanga (Atua who retrieved the baskets of knowledge from the heavens and who guides knowledge production).

Hinengaro, as subconscious wisdom, and Tane i te wānanga, as achieved wisdom, appear in Rev. Māori Marsden's whakapapa sequence associated with the growth or generation of wisdom and knowledge:

> Te Mahara (primordial memory)
> Te Hinengaro (subconscious wisdom)
> Te Whakaaro (seed word)
> Te Whē (consciousness)
> Te Wānanga (achieved wisdom) (Royal, 2003, p. 181)

Hinengaro is also present in the following composition that describes the relationship between thought and action as signified by desire as an intent to act. Again, she is associated with consciousness:

Nā te kukune, te pupuke	From the conception the increase
Nā te pupuke, te hihiri	From the increase the thought
Nā te hiriri, te mahara	From the thought the remembrance
Nā mahara, te hinengaro	From the remembrance the consciousness
Nā te hingengaro, te manako	From the consciousness the desire

(Best, 1924)

Another way to understand the role and function of the Atua Hinengaro is through an exploration of the word itself. The construction of te reo Māori (Māori language) words can provide valuable clues as to a word's meaning. There are a least three key elements within the word 'Hinengaro'. First is the use of capitalisation, indicating the word is a proper noun designating a particular being or thing, in this case the Atua Hinengaro. Second is the inclusion of the word 'Hine', one of the many words that indicate a female presence. In this case it is a shortened version of Hinerei, an Atua associated with the brain, and this gives us a clue to the sphere of influence of Hinengaro—that is, *thought*. Finally, there are a series of translations associated with the second part of the word. 'Aro' is commonly translated as 'focus', 'ngā' as 'more than one', 'ro' as 'senses' (those located internally rather than physical senses) and 'ngaro' as 'to be hidden or out of sight'. When these words are assembled, Hinengaro becomes the Atua most closely associated with emotions and feelings.

Emotions and feelings are often unseen or hidden and are, from a Māori viewpoint, associated with the brain, heart and stomach and expressed through behaviours and actions. In regard to social science, the presence of the Atua Hinengaro introduces creativity to the ātea. Hinengaro also has a key role in rendering the invisible known, where the invisible can include views, values, hopes, relationships and interactions—those elements of our consciousness that are shaped by emotions and feelings.

'Hinengaro' can also be used as a noun to refer directly to thought, intellect, consciousness and awareness. This usage is prominent in the mental health sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand, primarily through Mason H. Durie's (1984) Whare Tapa Whā model, which describes health and wellbeing as a wharenui (meeting house) with four walls. This model acknowledges

hinengaro as one of the four essential elements for good health and wellbeing through qualities associated with the mind (i.e., thought, intellect, consciousness and awareness). In this sector, hinengaro encourages active engagement with one's emotions and feelings as a way to understand and successfully navigate all behaviours and actions that surface.

Now to the other Atua who operate at the ātea that supports knowledge generation. Tāne i te wānanga is associated with the retrieval and pursuit of knowledge. At the marae ātea, Tāne i te wānanga is signified by trees, birds and the meeting house itself and is invoked through karanga, whaikōrero (oratory), waiata (song) and kawa. In the context of knowledge generation he personifies research as an activity. At the marae ātea, Tūmatauenga and Rongo are associated with negotiation and mediation. Their presence can be glimpsed through a range of human encounters such as the wero (formal challenge on the marae ātea) and wānanga. Tūmatauenga resides over the domain of contest and conflict. Rongo is a mediating force pursuing peace and reconciliation. In the context of knowledge generation, they are opposing forces that interact to produce tikanga for guiding the research process.

When Hinengaro engages with these Atua, she introduces creativity, intent and cohesion (i.e., structure and order) to the process of knowledge generation. This is rendered visible through three distinct ātea or place/space-scapes: ātea motuhake (areas of absolute control), ātea rongo (area of compromise and harmony), and ātea riri (area of conflict and incommensurability). This is a useful frame for understanding and working across the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science. Both Te Ao Māori and social science occupy their own ātea motuhake where each tradition operates autonomously and with authority. The hybrid space is a dynamic shared space that is constantly shifting between a state of ātea rongo and ātea riri to accommodate the various knowledge systems and interests. This is the ātea where the risk of appropriation is greatest and protocols to protect Māori data sovereignty are most needed.

To summarise, at least four Atua are involved in the process of knowing that leads to understanding and wisdom: Hinengaro, Tāne i te wānanga, Tūmatauenga, and Rongo. A short pūrākau storying this world would be:

> "I am mind, I am heart, invisible to the senses; e kore e kitea. You know me as consciousness, I am purposeful and deliberate. Through feelings, springing forth, sometimes I am complex and disordered, on occasion clear and certain; nā te hinengaro ka puta te mohio me ngā kare ā-roto.
>
> "I dwell within; te tau o taku puku, te tau o taku ngakau, te tau o take ate.
>
> "And I have shape outside; nā te hinengaro te manako, nā te manako ka puta ngā kare-a-roto, te whai kiko i te ao tangata.
>
> "I am darkness, I am light, I traverse the unknown to find clarity for navigating the here and now; mai te pō ki te ao mārama, ka puta mai he oranga ngakau, kia piki i te waiora.
>
> "I am Hinengaro; atua wahine te ngaro e tiaki. Kia tū, kia oho, kia mataara. Whakamaua kia tina!"
>
> And Hinengaro engaged in wānanga with Tāne i te Wānanga and a pathway for navigating research appeared; ka puta he tikanga, hei arataki i te tangata ki te whai ao ki te ao mārama!
>
> And Hinengaro engaged in wānanga with the rival forces of Tūmatauenga and Rongo and manaaki flourished; hei whakamana ake i te tangata.

The above pūrākau narrates a set of encounters that are meaningful, constructive and appropriate because they are based on aroha and manaaki, thereby endorsing mana-enhancing practices. If this same logic is applied to social science, the research process can be viewed as multiple encounters with ātua guiding appropriate practice. The research process involves four broad steps: defining a kaupapa, gathering information, interpreting that information, and storying the information for dissemination. Hinengaro and Tāne i te wānanga are prominent when a kaupapa is being defined. Hinengaro engages closely with Tūmatauenga and Rongo to devise relevant and appropriate data gathering and analytical frames that are consistent with Māori expectations of research, Māori research ethics and Māori data sovereignty expectations. All are present in the final phase, ensuring new knowledge is accessible and able to support and advance Māori interests.

These relationships can be visualised as whakapapa (see Figure 1), where engagement with Tūmatauenga produces resistance projects, such as decolonising methodologies, and engagement with Rongo produces protective strategies.

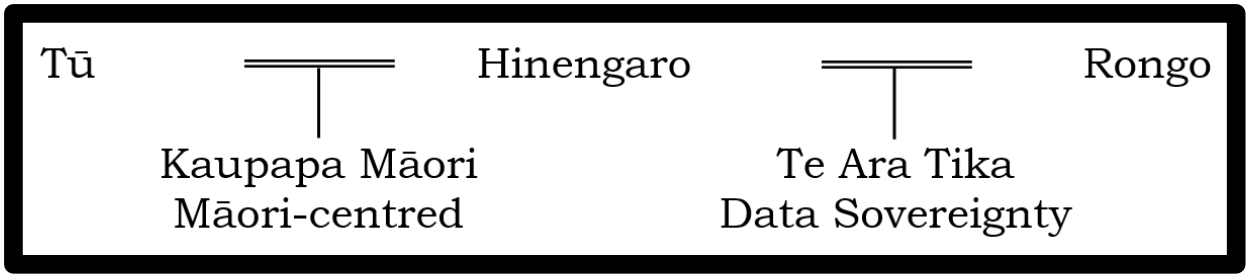

Figure 1: Whakapapa explaining research interactions between Hinengaro, Tūmatauenga and Rongo

This approach derived from the interplay of kaupapa–tikanga–kawa (as depicted by M. K. Durie, 2013) is useful for constructing a Māori worldview. In the example above, I have drawn on knowledge grounded in Te Ao Māori and created pūrākau and whakapapa sequences to act as explanatory tools that deepen our understanding of the phenomena under investigation. This is an example of how mātauranga can be used to generate new knowledge and new understandings.

The interplay of kaupapa–tikanga–kawa can also be used as an analytical tool. For example, as noted above, the Whare Tapa Whā model compares the four walls of a house to Māori health and wellbeing (M. H. Durie, 1984). It infers that good health is linked to the strength of each wall, together being integral to the structure of the house (or in this context, the person). In this analogy, the house is a whare tūpuna (ancestral house), providing a direct link to Te Ao Māori. Ranginui and Papatūānuku are considered to be the primordial whare (house), providing shelter and nourishment for their children. Whare tupuna are ancestral houses that shelter and nurture the whānau, hapū and iwi. The whare tupuna is usually located on a marae where Atua are always present, so there is a direct link to kawa.

In regard to kaupapa, Whare Tapa Whā is a resistance project deliberately designed to disrupt the dominance of the medical model of health, thereby creating a space for Māori perspective to shape the health sector. This approach indicates that Whare Tapa Whā is a strong example of mana-enhancing use of mātauranga. A weak example would be the common tendency to construct a Māori perspective by merely listing a set of cultural principles such as rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga (kinship or sense of

family connection) and kotahitanga (unity or collective action).[6] While these examples are often linked to a kaupapa, the connection to tikanga and kawa is a little obscure, so it is difficult to argue that the perspective is strongly grounded in Te Ao Māori.

Preparing graduates to navigate at the interface

Engaging at the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science is dependent on building literacies and capabilities for understanding and working effectively and ethically. There are a set of fundamental knowledges that any graduate operating at the interface must acquire. An understanding of Te Ao Māori is imperative and is gained through competencies in te reo Māori and an exploration of whakapapa, kōrero tuku iho, pūrākau and tikanga. An additional requirement is an understanding of the history and legacy of colonial encounters and resistance. This includes an understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the associated politics of identity and belonging.

These fundamental knowledges form the spine of the Māori Knowledge specialisation in the Bachelor of Arts degree at Massey University. This structure provides grounding for the application of knowledge to a specific context by building the ability to understand and successfully navigate the interface between different worlds and different knowledges. A key objective is to ensure that mātauranga is deployed appropriately. A recent addition to the suite of courses associated with the Māori Knowledge specialisation is a course called Kura mai Tawhiti: Māori Knowledge. This is an introductory course for engaging with mātauranga. The intention of the paper is threefold: to introduce students to a range of mātauranga forms; to explore the contemporary relevance of mātauranga; and to consider the application of mātauranga to a range of professional settings. A goal of the course is to provide students with tools to apply mātauranga appropriately, and this requires a concerted focus on mana-enhancing practices.

[6] Cultural principles are incredibly important for guiding actions; however, I argue that they must be grounded in something tangible.

The concept of 'mana-enhancing practices' was introduced by Leland Ruwhiu (2008) in the area of social work with the aim of protecting the mana or authority of clients. This is achieved by building practitioner understandings of our colonial past and creating mana-enhancing practice-settings that are founded on active listening and cooperative solutions (Munford & Sanders, 2011). To apply this conceptualisation more broadly, a mana-enhancing approach is concerned with manaakitanga, a Māori cultural ethics of care. In the context of mātauranga, this means ensuring the wellbeing and integrity of mātauranga, Māori ways of knowing, and associated practices. Ultimately in a mana-enhancing approach, contemporary expressions of mātauranga should maintain Māori ways of thinking and make a positive contribution to Māori communities. Failure to engage in a mana-enhancing approach often leads to knowledge disruption and appropriation. Mana-enhancing practices are, therefore, a response to knowledge disruption and appropriation, acting as a protective mechanism.

These considerations were woven throughout the design of the Kura mai Tawhiti: Māori Knowledge course. The course introduces pōwhiri as a blueprint for understanding cultural encounters that are meaningful, constructive and appropriate. This understanding deploys whakapapa as a way to understand the nature of knowledge encounters and Meihana K. Durie's (2013) interplay between kaupapa, kawa and tikanga to understand how actions in the ātea are regulated and directed towards mana-enhancing practices.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the associated politics of identity and belonging also have a key role to play here. Te Tiriti o Waitangi jurisprudence identifies mātauranga as a taonga and endorses the continuance of Māori practices, but also acknowledges that current laws and government policy provide inadequate protection of Māori interests (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Resolving these tensions will be critical for engaging in cross-cultural encounters that are meaningful, constructive and appropriate. Kukutai et al. (2021, p. 5) concur, arguing that "Te Tiriti offers a powerful framework for connecting systems and communities of knowledge in ways that are mutually beneficial and future focused". Such an approach has the potential to transform the

practice of social science in Aotearoa/New Zealand such that it is distinct and responsive to the expectations and aspirations of Māori people.

Final words

In this article I have used Māori ways of knowing and a mana-enhancing approach to constructing mātauranga derived from Te Ao Māori to continue "our tradition of storying our world" (Jackson, 2014) and make visible the intricacies of knowledge encounters between Te Ao Māori and social science. The type of engagement made possible by the approach I have outlined is simultaneously disruptive, decolonising, and transformative.

He ātea: a place/space-scape provides an opportunity to conceptualise and negotiate working at the interface of Te Ao Māori and social science in a mana-enhancing way. It provides a space for mātauranga to remain grounded in, and protected by, Te Ao Māori and the research agenda of Māori communities. It also creates a space where knowledge politics are heightened and highlighted so that encounters between multiple knowledge systems can be deliberate, actively working towards cooperative and mana-affirming relationships.

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/New Zealand and can reflect the expectations and aspirations of Māori people. This is an agenda that is led and shaped by tangata whenua, but it is also a collaborative journey that requires the support of tangata tiriti so that a Māori approach to social science can thrive and flourish.

Nā te Hinengaro, te manako!
Through Hinengaro, hope and potential becomes reality!

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