

Chapter 5

Case Study:

Waipapa Marae

Introduction

This case study discusses the Auckland University marae, Waipapa, as a space for Maori in a western tertiary institution. The discussion is presented in three main parts: a historical perspective; western spatial perspectives; and perspectives of Maori lecturers and Maori students. Within the historical perspective, marae in general are described including the types of marae, which have evolved since colonisation. Waipapa is seen as one of these types because it is an urban marae and in an educational institution. A background to the establishment of Waipapa is also described which details the struggles that occurred with the university hierarchy to create this space for Maori.

The marae is then discussed in relation to the western spatial discourses, which were outlined in Chapter Three. Material theories of space have shown that Maori have been put into a subordinate position in society in Aotearoa because of capitalism and colonisation. These theories also show the university to be part of the dominance of capitalism. Therefore the marae is discussed in relation to these two positions. Metaphorical notions of space, in the form of radical cultural politics, are also related to the marae. However, since radical cultural politics has been linked to Kaupapa Maori theory, these metaphorical notions of space are considered at the end of the section which looks at the marae from the perspective of Maori. This section takes as its basis the views of Maori lecturers and students of Auckland University. It describes some of the activities that take place at the marae and the feelings people have about the marae and it connects these to principles of Kaupapa Maori theory.

General History of Marae

The term 'marae' or in full 'marae atea' specifically refers to the area in front of the wharenuī where manuhiri are welcomed and whaikorero may occur. The term 'marae' is also used in an informal or familiar sense to mean the entire complex of marae atea, wharenuī and wharekai. The informal or familiar sense is the sense that the term 'marae' will be given to mean in this chapter. Traditionally, marae are part of Maori tribal communities in tribal areas. They can be whanau marae, hapu marae or iwi marae. If a marae is a whanau marae then traditionally this means that the tangata whenua of the marae are from a particular whanau. Likewise if a marae is an iwi marae then every person of that particular iwi are tangata whenua at that marae. Te Rangihiroa described wharenuī and the marae atea as follows,

The guesthouse, carved or uncarved, served various social needs and various names were applied to the one structure. Structurally it was an enlarged sleeping house (whare puni). If carved, it was also a whare whakairo. It functioned variously as an assembly house (whare hui), a council chamber (whare runanga) and a guesthouse (whare manuhiri). The meeting houses formed the social focus of the tribe, hence they were generally named after tribal ancestors. ...the orators were justified when they said, 'We have gathered together within the bosom of our ancestor'. The carved meeting houses were a source of pride to the people and they gave an atmosphere to the village that nothing else could equal.... The marae, the guest house, and the storehouse formed a triple complex by which the social prestige of a tribe rose or fell."¹

Since colonisation, marae as Maori institutions have evolved encompassing the changes that have occurred in Maori society. In fact, they have been used as a reaction against and resistance to colonisation. In the late 1860's -1870's, Te Kooti Arikirangi inspired the building of several meeting houses during his years of struggle against government forces. This was a time when Maori all over Aotearoa were experiencing severe upheaval because of the land wars, confiscation of land and increasing Pakeha settlement. Ranginui Walker states that whare built in honour of Te Kooti "...symbolised the discrete cultural identity of the Maori against cultural invasion by

the Pakeha.”² However, colonisation continued unabated and decimated the Maori population, culture and land base. By the early 1900’s, Walker comments that what remained untouched in Maori culture in both philosophy and practice was tribal kinship, the tangi and the marae³.

In the 1900’s, one of the key leaders in Maoridom was Sir Apirana Ngata⁴. His vision throughout his lifetime was one of retaining Maori culture in the face of increasing Pakeha domination. One of the ways that his vision was manifested was by encouraging and instigating the building of marae especially when he became part of the government in the late 1920’s and early 1930’s. Walker states that Ngata based his crusade for “...Maori cultural revival on the carved meeting house as a symbol of Maori identity, mana and tribal traditions”⁵. Once Ngata became Minister of Maori Affairs, he ensured that a carving school was officially established in Rotorua. The carving school taught carvers from different iwi who in turn built whareniui all over Te Ika a Maui and also a few in Te Waipounamu in the style of whare whakairo or carved ceremonial meeting houses. Some of the early graduates such as Piri Poutapu, Waka Kereama, Pine and Hone Taiapa⁶ contributed a great deal over the following years in their positions as master carvers. Their buildings and carvings stood for the Maori way of life amidst the proliferation of European style buildings and de-forested alienated land.

An initiative, which arose as a consequence of the urban migration of Maori after World War II and also as a progression of Ngata’s vision was the building of what have been termed ‘urban marae’. The term ‘urban marae’ basically refers to marae built in urban centres which are not of the traditional iwi, hapu or whanau type built on tribal land. These marae have served similar purposes to traditional marae in tribal areas in catering for communal social needs such as tangi, marriages and hui. The

¹ Te Rangi Hiroa (1949) The Coming of the Maori, Whitcoulls for the Maori Purposes Fund Board: Christchurch, p374

² R. Walker (1990) Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End, Penguin: Auckland p189

³ *ibid.* p187

⁴ Apirana Ngata was one of the Te Aute students who took the matriculation test for entrance into university. He was the first Maori university graduate, graduating in law. He became a member of parliament and Minister of Maori Affairs. He was largely responsible for a scheme whereby Maori were financed to farm our own lands.

⁵ R. Walker *op. cit.* p188

community for whom they have catered and still do cater are often not the tangata whenua of the land the marae is sited on. Walker⁷ has noted several types of urban marae. The first type he identifies as being quasi-tribal in that the marae is managed under the authority of the tangata whenua but open for any Maori to be a part of the community of the marae and use the marae. He cites “Te Puea” in Mangere, Auckland as an example. This marae was the first urban marae and was opened in 1965. Secondly, there are marae which have been built by church communities such as “Te Unga Waka” in Epsom, Auckland. Then there are those marae which cater for Maori communities that have been established over time by living in the same location. These are basically multi-tribal marae where the community may change as people move in and out of an area. “Hoani Waititi” marae in West Auckland is an example of this type. In recent years, marae have been built in schools and in tertiary educational institutions in urban centres to serve the community of students, staff and parents. ‘Waipapa’ at Auckland University is an example of this.

Waipapa Marae

Ko Waipapa te marae. Ko Tane-nui-a-rangi te wharenuui. Ko Reipae te wharekai.

Waipapa is the name of the Auckland University marae. It is named after the original area that was given by Ngati Whatua and Ngati Paoa as the area for Maori, especially Maori from outside of Auckland, to use in trading with the Pakeha settlers; a place to land canoes, unload goods, and a place to stay. Over time, the area passed out of Maori ownership through laws passed by Pakeha authorities⁸. The wharenuui is named Tane-nui-a-rangi after the atua who is the progenitor of humanity and the one who pursued and gained the three kete of knowledge. Reipae, the wharekai, is named after the female ancestor from Tainui who went with her sister from the Waikato to live in Taitokerau, expressing one of the connections between these two areas.

⁶ Idem.

⁷ Ibid. p201

⁸ Pat Hohepa (1996) Personal Communication

The marae was opened in 1988 but campaigned for, for many years before then. The following section backgrounds the campaign to establish the marae as well as giving a brief account of the campaign itself. The information is largely taken from an interview with Pat Hohepa.⁹

The University of Auckland was established in 1883 and Maori became a subject of study at stage I level within anthropology after 1948. In the 1950's, there were few Maori students at Auckland University. From these students there was a group who met and discussed issues for Maori and who later became influential in their own fields at promoting Maori knowledge and issues. Some of these were Maori Marsden, Bruce Biggs, Matiu Te Hau and Pat Hohepa. Pat Hohepa commented that in the 1950's, the only visible sign of anything concerning Maori people at Auckland University was the stone wall that formed part of the old Albert Barracks.

There was the stone wall with squares cut out for firing rifles through plus a huge plaque stating that it was built by friendly Maoris to keep other Maoris, like Hone Heke, out. We always regarded that as quite hilarious that we were in the university and the wall was still there that was supposed to keep us out.¹⁰

The group of Maori students at university in the 1950's used the anthropology department, in particular their lecture room, as a meeting space for themselves as a group. According to Hohepa, this was the first sense that this group had of a space for Maori at Auckland University. After this time, Maharaia Winiata and Matiu Te Hau became staff at the Continuing Education department and the focal space for Maori at university shifted with them. Their positions at Continuing Education were for teaching Maori language and Maori knowledge in Auckland, Northland and Waikato. They were also involved in helping to build marae in tribal areas and working with their own iwi. The space they and their team occupied was in Princes St, in the building which now houses the University Club. The rooms were adorned with carvings especially commissioned for the space, carved by Henare Toka, a well-known carver

⁹ Idem.

¹⁰ Idem.

from Ngati Whatua. In brief, the space was run by Maori for teaching about Maori to a Maori audience.

As time progressed, the idea of a Maori community room was advanced by Maori members of staff at the university and this in turn led to the idea of a marae at the university as a place where Maori could meet and where formal lectures in Maori could be held. The abandoned university rugby training ground was suggested as a possible site and architecture students were approached to draw up possible plans. The university turned the suggestion and plans down. From this point the staff made a concerted effort to lobby for a marae and students came on board to lobby too. Pat Hohepa recounts

Every time we tried something there was always opposition. 'Of what use is the marae intellectually? What is its academic worth? How can we justify to government that the money that was given to us, can be used for putting up a Maori ceremonial building?' were the crucial things for the university. For about a year, we put together documentation to support having a marae. What sold was to say that for Maori and for Maori Studies, the marae is the equivalent of a laboratory for chemistry and for physics. You can not teach Maori properly, you can not speak it properly unless you have the correct laboratory setting and that is a marae. That sold the idea but then they said there is no money.¹¹

In 1984, during the end of year exam study period, Maori students protested at the university's inaction by occupying the registry building in Princes St and then the Vice Chancellor's garage. Students camped in the garage for several days, setting up a 'mini' marae to highlight the lack of suitable space for Maori.

A staff group, Tuia, was formed; it was made up of close to two hundred staff who supported the idea of a university marae. They decided to try to raise funds for the building of a marae themselves. After exploring several options they found that university staff controlled a building fund to be used for a staff parking building. They decided to try and capture these funds. In every faculty staff were lobbied to consent

¹¹ Idem.

to the fund, which contained approximately thirty thousand dollars, being turned over to the marae fund raising group. Eventually, consent was gained from university staff and the initial stages of constructing the marae began. At this point, the university powers came on board and provided a building grant for the marae in the same manner that it grants funding for any other building. Building started in 1985.

Spatial Discourse and the Marae

This section positions the university marae within the western perspectives of spatial discourse that were outlined in Chapter Three. The material theories of space that were covered in that chapter are strongly influenced by the domination of capitalism and the state and discussion of metaphorical space in discourse has been found in a radical cultural critique. From the perspective of materialistic theories of space, colonisation was and is part of the march of capitalism and urban marae in general, including the university marae, can be viewed as being established because of capitalism and colonisation. They are a consequence of the urban migration of Maori which was caused by a rise in importance of factories, a decline in importance of agriculture and the subsequent necessity for Maori of finding work in the cities. In relating dominant and subordinate power groupings, these models take capitalistic hegemony as the dominating power. Maori are considered in the subordinate power position.

Agnew's model does not emphasise dominant and subordinate power groupings. In his model, the university and the marae would be the space of the 'locale' as a physical setting where social relations take place. The marae can be seen as a culmination of a Maori social world entering the university. The university would also be a part of the macro context of 'location' as it is part of a pattern of authority and control. Accordingly, the 'sense of place' or subjective meaning attached to the marae could be that the marae is part of the dominant authority and possibly from the perspective of the university administration this would be the case. Conversely, Agnew's 'sense of place' allows for the opposite feelings about the marae - the marae can be identified as a separate entity from the university.

Fiske's model is similar to Agnew's model except that his model takes power relations into consideration and does not consider a factor of subjectivity. In Fiske's model, space for Maori would be the space of the 'locale' where those in subordinate positions try to strengthen their positions. The university is considered a 'station' as a place where the macro power or imperialising power imposes order; it is where the position or 'station' of people in society is decided. Waipapa is part of the 'station' but it is also a locale. There are several conclusions, which can be drawn from this, problematic. Firstly, that the marae is an example of the hegemony of the institution and as such the marae will only serve to maintain the status quo of Maori in a subordinate position in society. Secondly, the model could be inflexible and the marae could serve to strengthen the position of Maori in society.

Michel de Certeau's model too is one where 'places' such as schools and universities, are representations of the dominant order of society. 'Space', for de Certeau, is what those who have little power construct against the dominant order from within and it is constructed by political conflict because of the opposing interests of the powerful and the weak. The university marae could be termed a space according to de Certeau because it is a resistance to the dominating power of the university, which is based on European/Pakeha hegemony. It was constructed with political conflict between Maori interests and Pakeha administration. The Pakeha administration was hegemonic in that it accepted the idea of a marae being built on the basis of it being as a laboratory setting for learning¹². The concept of a laboratory fell within its understanding of what constituted an appropriate building in an educational institution. The administration clearly needed to 'fit' Maori into their own paradigms. This also relates to the legitimisation identified by Cheryl Smith that was written about in Chapter Four. For the administration to give legitimacy to the establishment of the marae, it had to name the process or realise the same idea.

¹² As quoted from Pat Hohepa in previous section.

According to Lefebvre, countries that are advanced capitalist states¹³ are countries that are dominated by 'representations of space' which are 'conceived' of empirically by planners, scientists and others. Representations of space are how and where order is imposed. Soja describes a representation of space as "a storehouse of epistemological power."¹⁴ which seems a very apt description of universities. The University of Auckland, as an example of a representation of space, is an institution, which dominates how life is organised in many ways. The university, following in the traditions of western universities, is a site where the western knowledge base is reified and other epistemologies are marginalised and it is a site, which produces knowledge, and people who will practise and reproduce this space. Within this site, Waipapa marae has been situated. Lefebvre's model necessarily means that Waipapa also assumes elements of space as 'conceived' or representations of space. Architecturally, in building and landscape, it is obvious that planning and empirical thought contribute to any marae. However, in terms of the dominant ideology of the university, the marae can be seen to represent a challenge to western ideology and epistemological power as a space, which stands within Maori epistemology.

A second factor of Lefebvre's model, 'spatial practice' is the space of daily life, its routines and the relations between people at home, at work and in leisure. This aspect is similar to the micro context in the models described above. Auckland University as an institution, though it was established in 1883, can be perceived as only recently becoming part of the spatial practice of Maori people, in terms of Maori teaching staff and Maori students. A distinct Maori student presence in the university emerged in the 1950's. Since this time, a greater Maori presence has been established. The number and depth of papers, which offer knowledge about Maori topics, has grown considerably. Also the number of Maori students and teaching staff in the university has grown and Waipapa marae was realised in the late 1980's.

The marae of Waipapa has become part of the spatial practice of many Maori students and staff at Auckland University. It continues to host many different events. The

¹³ Such as New Zealand especially since the market reforms which started with the fourth Labour government in 1984

following is a list of various events and activities which take place on the marae: lectures, seminars, wananga reo, hui, conferences, meetings, birthday celebrations, weddings, tangi, the first year student's powhiri, the Maori graduation ceremony, kapahaka practice, 'live-ins' including exam-stay, informal socialising and as a place to relax. The marae is booked almost solidly year round. Thus as a facility or a place where spatial practice occurs, Waipapa is used intensely and for a wide variety of purposes. However, combining analyses of representations of space and spatial practice, the marae, though it stands within Maori epistemology and is part of the spatial practice of Maori, is still part of a larger institution which is a bastion of western knowledge and power.

Lefebvre's 'representational space' is the space of the symbolic, the sacred and the subconscious. It describes what a space means to people. Marae, in general, embody the sacred and the symbolic. The symbolism of marae is generally extensive. Part of the symbolism is the understanding of the identities such as the wharenui, wharekai, the ancestors, and the living identities. Another aspect of the symbolism of marae can relate to the marae as part of Maori resistance against colonising forces¹⁵. Although in Lefebvre's model, representational space is dominated by the ideology of capitalism and its empirical notions, Maori may well disagree with such an analysis as applied to marae. The discussion in the following section will add further understanding to this question.

In the discourse of spatial metaphors in radical cultural politics, discussions of the margin and centre have developed to understand the margin as a space where radical counter-hegemonic practice can occur. Marae have previously been identified as being part of the margin in relations of power in New Zealand society. For Waipapa to be a space of radical counter-hegemonic practice can mean that the marae is seen as a focus for an assertion of Maori identity which does not measure itself by hegemonic power but by its own power. This question can perhaps best be answered by identifying assumptions and principles of Kaupapa Maori theory within the context of how Maori

¹⁴ E.W. Soja (1996) *Thirdspace*, Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts, p67

¹⁵ As discussed in the section General History of Marae.

view the marae. Since the following section discusses understandings of Waipapa from the perspectives of lecturers and students, assumptions and principles of Kaupapa Maori theory will be integrated into the discussion in this section. Connecting these with metaphorical notions of space will take place at the end of this section.

Waipapa Marae for Maori

The marae has an important role for Maori at the university both in the formal business of education and in a wider social context of participation as a Maori student or staff member. To explore the marae as a space for Maori, several interviews were conducted with Maori staff and students for whom the marae is or has been part of their lives. The two aspects of politics and culture permeated their thoughts on the marae and so the material is arranged to follow these two aspects. Where assumptions and principles of Kaupapa Maori theory can be seen to exist, these are integrated into the discussion.

From a cultural perspective, the marae plays an important role for Maori in that it allows Maori to participate at the university in ways that are considered by participants as culturally Maori. Selwyn Muru commented,

If there is a spiritual centre at the university it is the marae, much more so than the chapel. You can't sleep in a chapel; you can't fart in a chapel. Whereas the marae, you can snore in it, you can tell jokes, you can pray in it, it is a total part of our ethos.¹⁶

This quote offers the marae as a site of spirituality but it also extends this idea to offer the marae as a holistic or inclusive representation of Maori culture or Maori identity. Muru's words basically say that the marae encapsulates the spectrum of what it may mean to be Maori of which spirituality is an interwoven aspect rather than a separate part. If one accepts this description of the marae, then the marae is, perhaps, the place at the university which can accommodate to the fullest extent Maori spirituality and thus Maori ways of being. Considering this in relation to the application of Lefebvre's

¹⁶ Selwyn Muru (1996) Personal Communication

model in the previous section, the marae does not seem to be a space that is dominated by any one aspect of his model. The symbolic or sacred aspect of the marae is certainly not dominated by the ideology of capitalism and its associated empiricism. In terms of Kaupapa Maori theory, this idea of the marae holds to the principle of Taonga Tuku Iho whereby the marae gives validity to Maori culture and values Maori culture.

Following on from the idea of Waipapa representing Maori ways of being Waipapa is the site of a variety of cultural events and practices¹⁷. Many of these are similar to those, which occur at tribal marae, such as weddings, hui, wananga, and informal socialising. However, since the major connection between the people who most frequently use Waipapa is that they are either staff or students of Auckland University, there are also events that occur at Waipapa which are particular to Maori staff and students in tertiary education. These events, such as exam-time noho-marae and Maori graduation, would be unlikely to happen at most tribal marae. In some cases, these events would be unlikely to occur at the university without the marae. Linda Smith explains

There are some things which are better dealt with on the marae ...because its quite clear what the rules are, what the framework is.¹⁸

The marae, with its framework or set of rules, encourages the organisation of events for Maori. Part of this framework is the facilities and equipment of the marae, such as the kitchen, dining room, showers, bedding and so on, which mean that cultural beliefs and practices can occur. For example, a hui for Maori can not occur without the sharing of food. The food, to a certain extent, reflects the mood or the importance of the hui, so the food is generally prepared particularly for the participants of a hui, rather than say taking people to a university cafeteria. Another part of this framework refers to perhaps what Muru called 'our ethos' or the non-material cultural values and beliefs associated with the marae such as the idea that the marae has a certain mana, tapu and mauri which are part of the unseen dynamics of any event on the marae.

¹⁷ A comprehensive list of these appears in the previous section.

¹⁸ Linda Smith (1996) Personal Communication

The use of the marae as a place for exam-time noho-marae and Maori graduation can relate to three principles of Kaupapa Maori theory: Kaupapa, whereby excellence in Maori and non-Maori culture and knowledges is promoted; Whanau, whereby there is a sense of collective responsibility; and Ako, whereby the sharing of knowledge is promoted. The noho-marae supports students from all faculties in their quest for exam success and the graduation is a celebration of that success. The noho-marae can involve students and sometimes lecturers sharing knowledge and expertise and it also involves a sense that the participants are responsible for supporting each other in other ways.

One of the regular occurrences at Waipapa, which aligns it with one of the overt purposes of the university, is formal education. The wharenuī, Tane-nui-a-rangi, is used as a teaching space for various Maori papers as well as for informal teaching and learning. Selwyn Muru teaches a paper on whaikorero - Maori oratory. This paper, along with other papers concerning Maori knowledge, are examples of the principle of Taonga Tuku Iho from Kaupapa Maori theory, because in them Maori knowledge is valued and valid. The manner in which the marae is used as a teaching and learning space does not align the marae with the rest of the university, rather the framework that is written about above is invoked. In terms of the pedagogy Muru practises, the wharenuī is a necessary element. He explains,

When I was offered the job teaching whaikorero, I made a stipulation that if I was to teach in a barren lecture room, I wasn't interested, it had to be taught in the house, to give mana to the house and vice versa for the house to give mana to the students because when you are talking about a tahuhu of a house - 'anei te tahuhu o te whare', when you are talking about the ribs of the ancestor, the heke, 'anei nga rara o te tupuna', and its easy enough to say 'no hea koe' - 'no Te Arawa', 'anei to tupuna Tamatekapua'.

I book the house from midday right through the afternoon because I do not believe in taking an hour here and there, if the students are still inspired five hours later, we are still together... ..because they are in the house, there is a respect for the house that is innate and

their korero springs from them. So the language becomes richer, it is more pungent.¹⁹

Muru's pedagogy includes spiritual, emotional, intellectual and physical aspects in a relationship between the wharenuui, the students and himself. The content of the course is epistemologically Maori and the approach that Muru takes also is part of Maori epistemology. Muru notes that reciprocity is implicit in the relationship between the wharenuui and the learners in terms of mana and respect. The idea of a reciprocal relationship or a partnership between the place of learning and the students is hardly prominent in western traditional notions of pedagogy. However, the valuing of Maori preferred pedagogy is part of the principle of Ako in Kaupapa Maori theory.

As well as contributing to pedagogy, the wharenuui also contributes to the curriculum of the whaikorero paper. The whakairo found in the wharenuui, as with all whakairo, are part of Maori oral literacy in that they are symbols of our stories. Wharenuui also offer a well used metaphor for whaikorero in that a house is considered as a human body. A wharenuui carries the name of a person and the parts of a house have the names of the human body, for example the rafters are ribs - heke, or rara. This is another example of the principle of Taonga Tuku Iho from Kaupapa Maori theory, whereby Maori practices and knowledge is valued and valid.

So, the marae is sometimes the most appropriate place for events to happen and it can encourage events to happen because of the cultural framework in place and as Muru indicated, the marae is a place where Maori can feel our ethos represented. However, the marae is not a static cultural icon or cultural space. It is a space where contestation occurs and it is sometimes itself the topic of contestation. There is contestation which occurs on the marae which covers a vast array of topics because marae are places where Maori gather for debate and Waipapa is no exception. However, as well as overt contestation and debate, Waipapa is also a place where there is sometimes conflict over cultural identities. Pahiri explains,

¹⁹ Selwyn Muru *op. cit.*

There is sometimes an external process of attack from Pakeha students or Pakeha academics. Then there are also the internal conflicts, from ourselves, from Maori - Maori against Maori, Maori men Maori women, or Maori who have the reo and Maori who don't, or Maori who are 'real' Maori. It is becoming less and less as more Maori become more aware of why someone else might not have the reo or that type of thing.²⁰

The areas of contestation outlined below are neither definitive nor conclusive, instead they point to what may be considered as part of the nature of Waipapa or the nature of the thoughts and feelings about Waipapa.

Conflict among Maori students and staff at Waipapa is a phenomenon, which can not be easily explained, and such conflict occurs at other sites in the university and outside of the university. However, perhaps three factors related to Waipapa as an institutional marae can offer some small beginning of reasoning for this conflict. Firstly, at an institutional marae the tangata whenua base has a mostly transitory relationship with each other. They may, for example, be students who are at university for a three year course and thus they have interaction with other students and staff for that time only. There are likely to be only a few close kinship links within the group of staff and students and a lack of in-depth understanding of each other's life experiences including Maori experiences. There is in fact much to find out about each other and often assumptions are made which cause conflict. For example, a male student may expect a female student to know how to karanga and to perform a karanga. The female student may not have any understanding of karanga at all or may be unwilling to perform one because of her tribal kawa.

This leads into a second factor related to the activities of analysis, criticism, questioning, argument and debate, which are part of the purpose of many university courses. The training that students and staff undertake at a university encourages the challenging of assumptions and encourages vigorous debate. The marae is also a place where debate occurs. However, students especially are often still in the training

²⁰ Dallas Pahiri (1996) Personal Communication

stage of argument and debate and sometimes their debate is clumsy and ends up becoming a personal attack.

There are really staunch Maori students and you get some who are a little bit shy, or unsure about things Maori. The staunch ones can put them off.²¹

Often too, university or tertiary level education is the first time students engage with the tragic colonial history of Aotearoa. This can lead to passionate but misdirected argument. For example, a student may take exception to a Maori staff member who does not pronounce Maori words adequately enough. To the student this act may seem as intentional mutilation of the language and evidence that the staff member is not committed to the survival of the Maori culture.

A third factor, which may encourage conflict among Maori staff and students, is related to Waipapa itself as an object of contestation because of a perceived lesser status as an institutional marae. In the quote below, one of the students reinforces the idea of Waipapa as a place, which is representative of Maori and he also, identifies several points, which can make this problematic for some.

The students, I think, respect Waipapa as a marae, even though in terms of other marae it's so flash and it's in the city. We treat it with the respect of a true marae. ... A marae to me doesn't live unless there's people there. I think we have given it life and it has sheltered us. It is reciprocity - we look after it and it looks after us. Despite whatever hassles there are and the environment it is in, it's still a marae.²²

These words point to the fact that Waipapa may not be seen as a marae by some Maori staff and students or that it may be treated differently to other marae. Basically, it may not be seen as 'real' for a variety of reasons which may include that: it is relatively new; the artistry of the carving, kowhaiwhai and tukutuku make the wharenui a showpiece of modern 'traditional' Maori art; and it is situated in a large predominantly western style institution within which very few Maori participate.

²¹ Idem

Attached to the idea of Waipapa being somehow lacking as a marae is the fact that Waipapa is a marae where no particular kawa is set. The kawa is determined by whoever is hosting the hui or event at the marae. Kawa can be a contested issue because there are tribal differences in kawa and so what one person views as appropriate is not appropriate to another. Gender issues, for example, may arise over the prospect of women doing whaikorero on the marae atea and men answering a karanga. In some tribal areas, with provisos, these are acceptable activities and in others, they are not. Pahiri comments, for example,

Maori men, in particular instances, have taken on gender constructed identities as being the knowledgeable male, the speaker for all females. I think that they are creating and maintaining their own kaupapa around gender.²³

The lack of any permanently set kawa, can allow people to try to institute extra elements to kawa which may result in extending restrictions for some and conversely freedoms for themselves.

Besides these areas of contestation which have been noted as being internal or between and within Maori groups, there is another political layer which relates to Waipapa and that is Waipapa in relation to the rest of the university. The university can be viewed as an institution of the dominant power in the society of Aotearoa and historically, Auckland university and the other western style traditional tertiary educational institutions have not been places which have welcomed Maori as participants other than in a hegemonic relationship. Maori students and staff had several comments about this. Firstly, there is the notion of the marae as a symbol of Maori culture and identity.

There is nothing quite like a marae to let people know that we are here and that is not going to change.²⁴

²² Pierre Tohe (1996) Personal Communication

²³ Dallas Pahiri op. cit.

²⁴ Pierre Tohe op. cit.

Symbolically, it is important having the marae. Having the marae there means that there is another frame of reference. The marae says to the university that we actually exist, and we are not just something that the university studies. It says that we are actually real.²⁵

The physical presence of the marae offers visibility of as Smith says ‘another frame of reference’ in relation to the dominant power of the university. The existence of the marae is therefore a political act. Also, as Smith notes, the marae can be seen as removing Maori and Maori culture from the western gaze as an object of study because the marae is a living dynamic for Maori on campus rather than an unused architectural relic. The removal of Maori as object brings into play Maori subjectivity and there were a number of comments which indicate subjectivity of Maori experience in relation to the marae. For example,

I don't really see the marae as part of university. It has a relationship with the university but its sort of our own separate place for us to do what we want to do.²⁶

I don't see the university marae as the university marae as such, I see it as Waipapa te marae, Tane-nui-a-rangi te whare tupuna, Reipae te whare kai.²⁷

The first quote indicates that the point of reference used when defining or thinking about the marae is a Maori point of reference or a Maori subjectivity. The last quote centralises the marae as part of the culture of Maori rather than the culture of the university by using a Maori framework as the defining mechanism for the marae. The use of this framework also indicates the subjectivity of the marae for Maori. Maori subjectivity links with a key assumption of Kaupapa Maori theory in that the Maori world-view and being Maori are considered the norm.

The discussion in this section can now be used to return to the question of whether Waipapa is a space of radical counter-hegemonic practice. Assumptions and principles

²⁵ Linda Smith op. cit.

²⁶ Pierre Tohe op. cit.

²⁷ Dallas Pahiri op. cit.

of Kaupapa Maori theory have been located in the practices at the marae and in the thoughts and feelings that people have about marae. The marae can also be seen to be a space of multiple subjectivities in the contestation that occurs at the marae. It is a space where varying views about the marae are spoken, debated, and contested. In this aspect and in the practice of Kaupapa Maori theory, the marae can be seen to be a focus for an assertion of Maori identity which does not measure itself by hegemonic power but by its own power or in other words. From a western world perspective, it can be seen to be a space of radical cultural politics.

Summary

Waipapa marae sits within a history of colonisation which includes the land it is located on, the tertiary education system which excluded Maori, and the educational institution as part of dominant capitalist hegemony. It is an urban, institutional marae. However, it is not a space of hegemony. In material models of space, Waipapa is a space of subordinate power within the dominant hegemonic power of the university. Waipapa can also be seen as a space of radical counter-hegemonic practice because it is a space of multiple subjectivities and because principles of Kaupapa Maori theory have been identified in the understandings Maori students and lecturers have about Waipapa. Maori students and lecturers see Waipapa as a symbol and a place of Maori resistance and Maori world-view. It is a space which embodies our ethos as Maori.