

**A Critical Analysis of Māori Women Leaders'
Perspectives of Leadership in the Tertiary Education
Sector in New Zealand**

Adrianne Junellie Vianna Taungapeau

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Karanga¹

Haere mai rā ngā manuhiri tūārangi koutou ngā kanohi maha o tēnei ao hurihuri

Haere mai i runga i te kaupapa o tēnei wā

Te whakanuinga o te mana wahine e mahi ana i ngā whare wānanga o te motu

Haere mai, haere mai rā

Mauria mai ngā tini aituā i runga i o koutou pakihiwi

Kia tangihia, kia poroporoaketia e....

E te iwi e haere mai i runga i te āhuatanga o ngā mātua tūpuna

Haere mai, haere mai rā

¹ This simple karanga welcomes readers to this thesis—it also references the methodological paradigm developed specifically for this work. The karanga and the karakia are not translated to retain the integrity of the ritual, which is always recited in Māori.

Karakia²

E kau ki te tai e, e kau ki te tai e. E kau rā, e Tane.
Wāhia atu rā te ngaru hukahuka o Marerei-ao
Aupiki atu te aurere kura o Taotao-rangi
Tapatapa ruru ana te kakau o te hoe
E au heke ana, e tara tutu ana te huka o Tangaroa
I te puhi whatukura, i te puhi mareikura o taku waka
Ka titiro iho au ki te pae o uta, ki te pae o waho
Piki tū rangi ana te kakau o te hoe
Kūmea te uru o taku waka ki runga ki te kiri waiwai o Papatūānuku
E takoto mai nei ki runga ki te uru tapu nui o Tane e tū mai nei
Whatiwhati rua te hoe a Poupoto
Tau ake ki te hoe nā Kura, he ariki whatumanawa
To manawa, e Kura, ki taku manawa
Ka irihia, ka irihia ki Wai-o-nuku,
Ka irihia, ka irihia, ki Wai-o-rangi,
Ka whiti au ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama.
Tupu kerekere, tupu wanawana
Ka hara mai te toki o Haumia e! Hui e! Taiki e!

Nā Kamira ³

² This Ngāpuhi karakia tawhito (ancient invocation to the gods) was recited when Nuku-tawhiti returned from Hawaiiki and entered the Kaipara harbour on the *waka* (canoe) Matawhaorua. This particular karakia was chosen because, apart from my Ngāpuhi, Te Aupōuri and Te Rārawa whakapapa (genealogy), it pays deference to women. Papatūānuku and “*mareikura o taku waka*” (the aristocratic women on the waka) feature in this karakia, linking it directly to this study.

³ Kamira, my tūpuna (Te Aupōuri, Te Rārawa me Ngāpuhi), was a close relative to Rīmaumau, who features in this thesis.

Abstract

Māori leadership from the viewpoint of women is still relatively unexplored in comparison to other fields of leadership study. Therefore, the significance of this thesis is that it validates Māori women's leadership. The tertiary sector is the research site for the study. It is apparent from the research that women in tertiary leadership roles draw on cultural beliefs and values as the guiding principles in their leadership praxis. The approach to this study is radical, as it places the art of *karanga*, the sacred traditional ritual performed by women, at the centre of the study. A *kai karanga* must continually follow a process that exemplifies leadership to achieve the responsibilities of the role. A recasting of the ritual overarches the overall qualitative research process. The overarching research question asks: How does cultural tradition influence Māori women in leadership roles in the tertiary sector? It is becoming increasingly evident that Māori women rely on their personal identity and cultural traditions grounded in Te Ao Māori perspectives to inform and guide their leadership practice and this is obvious no matter the context in which leadership practice takes place. The impact of decades of legislation and social attitudes to Māori women have had an enduring effect on Māori women's ability to move beyond the patriarchal understandings of a women's place in society. These views of Māori women in leadership has therefore centred on roles in the community which are located more towards the home rather than in business or politics or high-powered leadership roles across New Zealand society. Concomitantly, the research investigates the challenges that Māori women leaders experience in their roles in the tertiary sector. There is potential for this research to influence leadership practice beyond tertiary education organisations. Te Karanga, as a methodological framework, has potential to apply across other communities of women and be useful for research in other disciplines in the future. It is hoped that the thesis will inspire and assist Māori women as they navigate the complexities of leadership in tertiary education.

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Attestation of Authorship

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

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'A. Taungapeau'.

Adrianne J.V. Taungapeau

Dedication



Figure 1 Mereana Waikanae Eparaima Kingi Hoani. Photograph from my private family collection.

Engari tōku whāea, kei te tino hari ahau i to kōrero mai ki au i a rā, i a rā. Ko ōku nei whakaaro i tēnei wā, ki te mau ana au te whakamaumaharatanga i te ōrite i a koe. Nō reira e mā, kei te tino arohanui atu ki a koe.

I dedicate this thesis to my mother. She is the one person who throughout this entire process never wavered in her belief in me. Her confidence inspired me to write about and celebrate the *mahi o ngā wahine rangatira* (work of Māori women leaders). Her unwavering support and dedication have been truly amazing—and are never taken for granted.

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To all the Māori women leaders who participated in this research, you are all the creators, innovators, and nurturers of the future of te Ao Māori. You are the true keepers of mātauranga Māori, the knowledge of the world that was before, is now and is yet to be.

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The Gender and Diversity Research Group provided a grant in 2013 to explore the cultural concept of *karanga* (ritual call) with *wahine Māori* (Māori women) of my *hapū* (sub-tribe). I was also gifted scholarships from Ngai Tūkairangi Trust, awarding me the 2014 Toahaere Faulkner Tertiary Excellence Award, Māori Education Research Study Award in 2014, Omapere Taraire Block E & Rangihāmama X3A Ahu Whenua Trust.

I also acknowledge Elwyn Sheehan for the meticulous attention to detail in the final edit.

Ethics Declaration

Ethics Application 14/33 was approved by AUTEK on the 16 October 2014.⁴

⁴ The fieldwork was undertaken within the timeframe of Ethical Approval, 16 October 2014 to 13 October 2017.

Chapter 1 Introduction

It is necessary to justify (almost as a preface to the thesis) the slightly unconventional format. The justification is that this thesis draws on Indigenous ways of thinking and doing. It complies with all the requisite demands of the Academy. However, it also includes elements that reinforce and validate the Māori beliefs, values and practices that underpin this research.

The format is based on being true to the principles of engagement in a Te Ao Māori context of *whakapapa*, *whanaungatanga* and *kaupapa*. It is organised based on establishing: ‘*Ko wai au*’, (who I am), ‘*Nō hea koe*’ (where I come from), ‘*He aha te kaupapa o te rā*’ (what is the purpose of this endeavour) and *He aha taku whakaaro me te kaupapa*, (what is your thinking on the topic of investigation). The use of language is in acknowledgement of the korero Māori wherein double adjectives gives emphasis to meaning and interpretation.

The thesis is introduced with a *karanga* (ritual call), *karakia* (invocation to gods) and dedication (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986). The *karanga* and *karakia* bring to the thesis the spiritual dimension that is integral to most, if not all, Indigenous cultures (Allen, 1992; Bird, 2007; Bell, 1983; Charlesworth, 1998; Crumlin & Knight, 1991). This reference to opening Māori rituals also introduces the *kaupapa Māori* paradigm, which underpins the thesis as the key methodological framework for the study. Also included in the text are images that are not usually found in Business Faculty theses. The rationale for the minor changes to the format is that this is an Indigenous thesis, and the inclusions capture the ethos of Māori ways of thinking and doing. Māori words will be italicised, and the English meanings given in parentheses to give primacy and definition to the words. It is also noted here that the meaning of Māori words relies more on context than most other languages. Therefore, the interpretations may be different, based on the meaning relevant to the context.

The inclusion of photographs and other images give the thesis another layer of indigeneity. Māori believe that images (photographs and carvings) are imbued with *mauri* (in this context, essence, or aura) and carry the *wairua* (spirituality) of a deceased person or ancestral figure (Best, 1924b; Higgins & Moorfield, 2004; Salmond, 1976; White, 1998).

Wherever possible I have also purposefully used Ngāpuhi references as supporting evidence. This is very much a Māori idiosyncrasy, to rely primarily on personal tribal connections in the

first instance, as a kind of credibility acid test. However, the target group of women interviewed for this study are a cross-tribal representation, to elicit different perspectives on leadership discourse.

1.2 Overview of the Research Project

The paucity of information specifically about Māori women leaders' perspectives in their roles in the tertiary sector was the motivation for this research. This study focuses on Māori women's leadership practice (Ballara, 1990, 1993; Henry, 1994; Pihama, 2010; Ruru, 2016; Smith, 1992). The entire study is viewed through a Kaupapa Māori lens, which led to the development of a Te Karanga paradigm. There are constant references throughout this thesis to *karanga* (ritual welcome performed exclusively by women). The *karanga* is an oral tradition and from an Indigenous perspective is a 'literary' source (Hibbs, 2006; Higgins & Moorfield, 2004; Salmond, 1976).

The use of excerpts from *karanga* as supporting evidence or to explain a concept achieves two things. Firstly, it demonstrates the applicability of the Te Karanga paradigm, and secondly the *karanga* refrain provides a thread that gives the entire body of work a sense of cohesiveness. The paradigm is based on traditional Māori culture: *rangatira* (leaders) had to demonstrate culturally specific skills such as *whaikōrero* (oratory) and *karanga*. While these are usually gender specific, there are anomalies. Ngāti Pōrou women of the East Coast are famous for undertaking the usually male role of *whaikōrero* (oratory). Interestingly, Ngāti Pōrou men do not *karanga*. Mahuika (2008) explains these women had to observe the rule of primogeniture. Traditionally, not any male or female could perform ritual roles. 'Seniority,' age and status were the criteria for these gender-specific roles.

According to Ngā Tuarā o Hikihiki (2013), similarly:

Ngāpuhi men sometimes *timata te whakahoki me te poroporoake*. This role replaces that of the *kai karanga* (ritual woman caller) but is specific to Ngāpuhi. They take the role of the *kai whakautu* (responding to the call of the host *kai karanga* in *marae* ritual) when attending *hui* (tribal gatherings). Notably, men performing this role are limited. They don't lift the *tapu* (sacredness) off the *marae ātea* (forecourt in front of the traditional meeting house). Only women can *whakanoa* (lift sacredness) in ritual life (p. 15).

The *karanga* is the first voice heard in *marae* (sacred courtyard) rituals of encounter. The *kai karanga* (female ritual caller) in pre-contact society epitomised Māori women's leadership. Culture and identity underpin Māori women's leadership roles and explain the points of intersection in gender leadership roles. The examination of Māori leadership across the literature has tried to identify the most significant factors which influence and change Māori leadership (Walker, 1992a; 1993). The process of colonisation and the implementation of policies and programmes have played a role in successfully changing Māori society over time (Pouwhare, 2016). However, the role of the *kai karanga* (female ritual caller) was a highly specialised one. As a metaphor for change, the role of the *karanga* reflects the impact of colonisation and the way modern society has responded to it (Hibbs, 2006; Higgins & Moorfield, 2004; Salmond, 1976). In this study it is also a metaphor for women working in the tertiary sector. As *kai karanga* welcome visitors to the *marae* under a duty of care, similarly, women leaders in the tertiary sector take on the duty of care for the *rangatira* (leaders) of tomorrow.

Māori women have shown their resilience despite the challenge of assimilation, demonstrating their leadership by forging new pathways in other fields, such as welfare, education and health. Māori women have been acknowledged as leading the revitalisation of Māori in the areas of education and politics. These efforts include, but are not restricted to, the land march led by Whina Cooper in the 1970s and the establishment of *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa* in the 1980s, which were critical initiatives for Māori society (Irwin, 1990; Jones & Creed, 2011; Keepa, 1991; Ormond et al., 2006; Te Awekōtuku, 1991; Walker, 1996). In education the achievements are staggering, in a climate of the supposed demise of the language and culture, there was the establishment of *kōhanga reo*, and *kura kaupapa* which have facilitated huge advancements for Māori society.

Māori women were at the forefront of these developments took on leadership roles to ensure the ongoing success of these initiatives (Keepa, 1991; Palmer, & Masters, 2010; Te Awekōtuku, 1991; Simmonds, 2011; Te Whāiti, McCarthy & Durie, 1997). These women are the inspiration for this study.

Māori women's potential to contribute to Māori leadership knowledge generally is significant. An exploration of these achievements in the context of Māori women in leadership will provide insights into the experiences of Māori women in the tertiary sector. It is envisaged

that this material will offer alternative approaches and opportunities that will make a difference for Māori in the tertiary education sector.

1.3 Overview of the Chapters

1.3.1 Positioning the Researcher

I am a Māori woman with first-hand experience of the education system that has challenged the ability of Māori to succeed. The reality we share with other Indigenous peoples is that the mainstream education experience is a totally negative one. Despite all the obstacles, I feel privileged to have accessed tertiary education. This introduced me to a world that allowed me to articulate the injustices of colonisation and breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. In the process I began a journey that opened possibilities for myself and, by extension, other Māori. Trinity Theological College was my first foray into tertiary education. This institution proved to be a community, dedicated to learning that was transformative (Yukl, 2009). The receptivity to the Māori world and the willingness to confront challenging histories was empowering. This experience was the catalyst for exploring the stories of my *tūpuna whāea* (female ancestors). It is these *pūrākau* (stories) that inspire this thesis. They bring a dimension to this study that is truly, uniquely Indigenous (Pouwhare, 2016).

The contrast between studying at a theological institution and a university was confronting. In general, universities in New Zealand are not designed for Indigenous people. The system is dictated by the majority culture. Like many other Indigenous students, I am grateful that I was able to access higher education. I suspect other Indigenous students share the sentiment that our success is due to teachers who care. This includes non-Māori educators. However, for me it is due to those Māori women who go beyond the call of duty to make the tertiary world of learning a safe place for Māori. What I have learnt is what is good for Māori is good for everyone. Māori cultural values instilled from the past contribute meaningfully to the Academy, creating a safe learning environment for all (Kennedy, Cram, Paipa, Pipi, & Baker, 2015; Reid, 2010).

1.3.2 Literature Review

The literature shows that understandings have evolved of the concepts that underpin Māori society, Māori leadership and leadership roles that Māori women held in traditional times.

The effects of Western cultural influences are a critical feature of Māori history (King, 2003; Mikaere, 1994) and show how many of the traditional aspects of Māori women's leadership have been redefined. The key factor identified in this review is that the most detrimental effect on Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership is the process of colonisation. The incremental implementation of policies and programmes under the guise of civilising the Māori population for the benefit of their health, welfare and salvation has fundamentally changed Māori society.

This review presents quite conclusively that Māori leadership research has centred largely on the individual leader, with only limited reference to women. There is also evidence that there is commonality between some Western leadership theories (especially trait theory) and Māori leadership. Gender theory relates to the realities that Māori women navigate in mainstream, Pākehā-dominated institutions.

It also draws on an education overview to provide a historical context for the study of Māori women leaders in the tertiary sector. Leadership theories are discussed that align to Māori model/style – mainly trait and transformative. Notably, the conclusion from the literature is that all Kaupapa Māori informed leadership, both male and female, puts the collective (that is the tribe/students) before the individual (Te Whata & Kawharu, 2012).

1.3.3 Leadership Theory

Leadership in New Zealand is located within the historical relationship between Māori and the dominant culture, and this study seeks to uncover some of the socio-political layers that affect Māori women's leadership practice. Although there is a plethora of mainstream leadership theories, very few have a natural fit with Indigenous Māori leadership theory. This has led to the development of Kaupapa Māori theory (Māori driven/informed) on which *mana wahine* (women's empowerment), (Smith, 1993) as a leadership theoretical position, sits. In this study it provided a theoretical backdrop to the analysis of Māori women leaders in the tertiary sector. Under the auspices of Kaupapa Māori, the paradigms of *mana wahine* and *karanga* are explored, to complete the overview of relevant leadership theory and provide contextual, detailed information to the key methodological approaches used in this study.

Western leadership practice is also examined in some detail, to provide a context for contemporary Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership practice in the New Zealand

tertiary education sector. A chronological overview of leadership research, highlighting key leadership perspectives, helps to identify leadership theories that have a natural fit with Māori women's leadership. The key theories discussed are: Trait theory, Gender, Indigenous and Kaupapa Māori.

This section surveys cross-cultural, Indigenous and women's leadership generally. This chapter provides a background to the fieldwork that investigates specifically Māori women's personal experiences of leadership as senior leaders and managers in a tertiary education setting. Finally, it is hoped that this chapter will provide another perspective into the study of Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership today.

1.3.4 Research Design

Triangulation was used to address the key research question: How does cultural tradition influence Māori women in leadership roles in the tertiary sector? Kaupapa Māori as a methodology frames all aspects of the research design. Qualitative research methods are used, within a kaupapa Māori paradigm. Te Karanga as a paradigm was developed specifically for this study. The principles contained in this approach ensure that the qualitative research component (one focus group interview and in-depth interviews) are compatible with Māori ways of thinking and doing.

Te Karanga, as a research paradigm applied to the research process, is a metaphor for the researcher (representing the role of the *kai karanga*) and the research participants, ensuring that *karanga* retained a central space in the interview process "A number of metaphors have been constructed from a shared space that can be utilised in research" (Pattanayak 2018, p. 145). These theoretical perspectives have shaped the methods used for data collection. However, the elements contained within the approach have application across the entire thesis. Māori beliefs and values contained in Te Karanga are evident throughout the study.

The focus group interview was designed to explore the views of *kuia Māori* (eight participants who were all aged 70 years or more), to discuss Māori women in leadership and the ritual *karanga*. The findings from the focus group interview discussion resulted in the development of a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, Te Karanga, which was applied to the in-depth interviews component.

The in-depth interviews were designed to investigate the complexities that permeate the research question. The concomitant (and related) question investigates the challenges that these women face working in the education sector. The analysis of the interviews relies on thematic analysis techniques (Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas, 2013) that are presented in a narrative to capture the women's voices.

1.3.5 Research Findings

The findings from the focus group interview led to the Te Karanga model. It was hoped that the experiences they shared in their interviews would resonate with the beliefs and values that inform *karanga*. They did, and more importantly captured the “spirit” of *tūturu* (authentic) values that are integrated into leadership praxis. The overall findings from the in-depth interview's component support the theory that Māori women leaders have a clear connection with concepts and ideas drawn from (not replicating) traditional Māori cultural leadership protocols and practices. Their personal understandings and related definitions of Māori leadership incorporate a complex combination of beliefs drawn from Kaupapa Māori, personal traits, learned behaviours, and the context in which leadership is defined and practiced (Reihana & Perkinson, n.d.). Māori women view leadership more holistically and are motivated by the needs and future aspirations of the collective (Wikitera, 2011). There are challenges in the tertiary sector that the women raised. The key issues are racism, institutional racism, gender biases in employment and promotion, and maintaining a healthy work-life balance.

1.3.6 Conclusion

This chapter links the findings from the fieldwork with the literature review and discussion of leadership theories (see Chapters 3 and 4).” The most significant outcome of the study, in relation to the research question, reinforced the argument that “good Māori academic leadership is founded on a Māori worldview built on Māori cultural concepts and enacted through tikanga” (Matthews, 2011, p. 3). The findings confirmed that fieldwork participants were culturally confident, strongly identified as Māori and were committed to making a difference in education.

The Te Karanga model methodologically helped to tease out the uniqueness of Māori women in leadership roles in the tertiary sector. The study provided insights into their leadership

approaches, what constitutes their leadership practice and the challenges they encounter as part of their everyday work in the tertiary education sector. A further outcome was a foray into the challenges these leaders face in their respective institutions. The next step would naturally be to support Māori staff in the tertiary education sector to develop effective strategies to address the issues, such as institutional racism.

The implications for Māori leaders from the perspectives of participants suggested that the implementation of Māori specific strategies was important to influencing Māori educational achievement in the tertiary education sector. This had a great deal to do with being able to see Māori as role models across every academic discipline, but also to foster initiatives that are relevant to Māori, with the help of Māori in decision-making roles. The further implications of the study also indicate how they will be relevant to Māori, in the tertiary education sector. This study concludes that Māori women leadership in the tertiary sector apply a kaupapa Māori agenda to inform their work and inspire thinking that benefits Māori.

Chapter 2: Positioning the Researcher

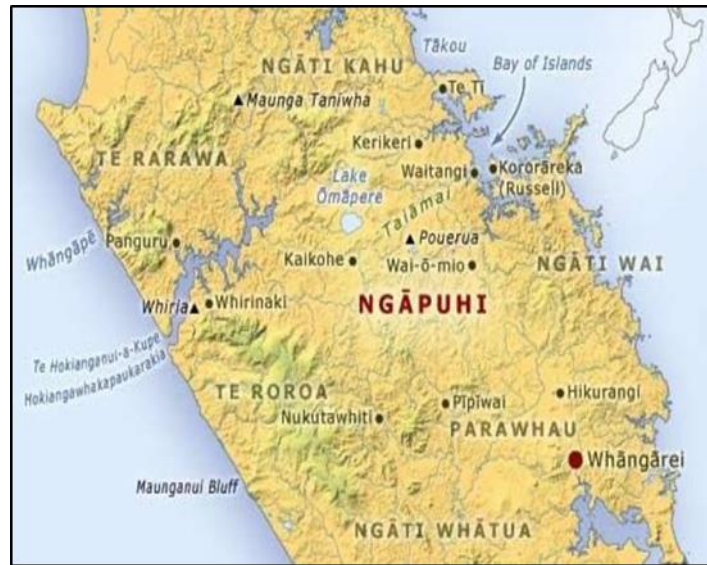


Figure 2 Map of Far Northern Tribes. Traditional lands of Ngāpuhi. Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Traditional lands of Ngāpuhi.⁵

2.1 Introduction

I grew up in a family of twelve, six girls and six boys, and in Otangarei, the worst suburb of Whangarei, a small town in Northland, New Zealand. My parents had bought our *whānau* (family) home through the Māori Affairs housing scheme. In our *whānau*, we were raised by a mother who was a fifth generation *mātāmua* (eldest child) on her mother's side and a father who was the oldest son in his immediate *whānau*. The *whānau* had a very clear understanding and expectations of taking on a leadership role, observing our parents work hard to benefit the Māori communities in Whangarei and the wider Taitokerau.

Although all the *whānau* around us spoke Māori as their first language, including my parents, aunts and uncles, grandparents and great grandparents, they only ever spoke to us directly using English. This was a direct consequence of their experiences of the education system, where speaking *te reo* (the Māori language) resulted in corporal punishment—being given the strap. It was, however, also important for our parents that we received a good education.

⁵ <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/393/traditional-lands-of-ngapuhi>



Figure 3 *Graduation Day, Representing a “First in Family” Graduate.* Photograph from my private family collection.

2.2 My Educational Experiences

My experience of the education system was not a great one. I left school at fourteen and got a job. I was tired of being told I was dumb and would never amount to anything, just like every other Māori from the place I grew up. I returned to study theology as a mature student, when I was married with two children. The environment was totally different. It was supportive and encouraging and I finished my first qualification at the age of twenty-five. That experience was the springboard for my continuation into higher education, and the opening of my eyes to a passion for New Zealand and Māori history, and a quest to understand who I was and my *tūpuna wahine* (female ancestors) before me, who shaped and moulded the environment and laid the groundwork for my future, completely unbeknown to me.

My daughters had a similar experience when they moved from Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium education) to a mainstream high school. The same bias of disempowering young Māori women and attempting to brainwash them into believing they were incompetent to take Bursary maths and being advised to take the easy route, New Zealand maths because the teacher believed they could not manage calculus and statistics. I marched into the school and told them to enrol my daughter in the classes.

My two older daughters have science, broadcasting, and health related degrees with first class honours, and the youngest daughter is on her way. My interest in the experiences of Māori girls and women in the education sector was a consequence of seeing so many Māori girls not

doing well and moving on to tertiary education. This led to post graduate research in this field. Observing the behaviour of Māori women in education inspired me to undertake research that had the potential to effect change for Māori in the tertiary education sector.

2.3 Ideas on Leadership Influenced by my own Whakapapa

I have continued to evolve and broaden my knowledge of my *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi whakapapa* (heritage) and *tāhuhu kōrero* (histories) and the experiences of my *tūpuna* (ancestors). It is in this space that the exploration of *ngā tūpuna wahine* (women ancestors) settles as the foundation for examining Western leadership, to understand the points of connection and alignment with Māori women in leadership roles. This views through a critical lens, mainstream paradigms that continue to define what constitutes “good” or “effective” leadership. Māori women look to the past for inspiration and I am no exception. This study is inspired by the women leaders of my tribes in the North and the East Coast. Therefore, it is fitting that in positioning myself to the research I include a woman who I have always been fascinated with, my *tūpuna* (ancestor), Rīperata Maumau Te Tupuā (more often referred to as Rīmaumau).



Figure 4 Rīperata Maumau Te Tupuā and Daughter Heni Farley. Photograph from my private family collection.⁶

⁶ The family allowed a copy of this photograph to be published by the Ministry of Justice, WAI1040#012(b).

As the *mātāmua* (eldest child) of Pāua Te Aniwā and Te Tupuā, she inherited chiefly status from both parents. A woman of substantial means (land and other resources) she was known for being generous in her lifetime. However, in politics she chose to support Hone Heke Pōkai, the famous Ngāpuhi fighting chief who was a thorn in the side of the early colonialists. According to Bradbury (1995) “Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Māori women, as individuals, held rights over land and resources. Those rights could be inherited by either parent and remained the woman’s property, whether single or married” (p. 64). This contrasts with the status of women in Britain at the time Rīmaumau was establishing her leadership role as a member of the Confederation of chiefs in the late 1820s.

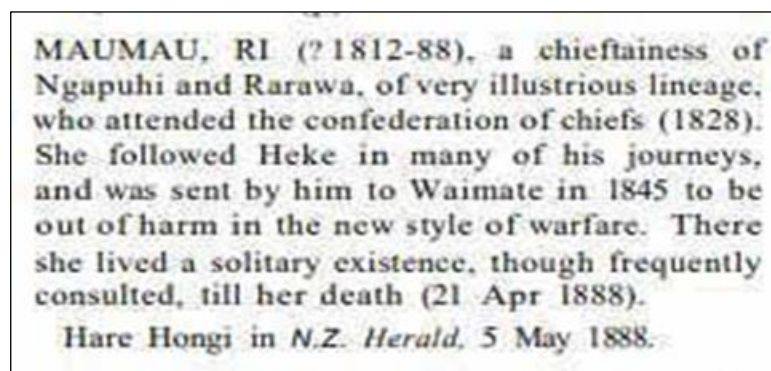


Figure 5 Excerpt from *New Zealand Herald* (1988). Rīmaumau’s Attendance at Confederation of Chiefs. New Zealand Herald Archives.

Rīmaumau proves that Māori leadership is usually, although not always, predicated on primogeniture. However, because Māori descent is cognatic (Salmond, 2001; Webster, 1975), status and other inheritance (such as property) applies to male and female (Mahuika, 1974, 1975; Salmond, 1976. Hongi (1909) provides an example of female primogeniture concurring with Rīmaumau’s status: “Titore ... has no descendants. He was the son of a younger brother, and his two cousins-female alone stood between him and this superior ‘Ariki-ship’” (p. 84).

Interestingly, when Rīperata Rīmaumau Te Tupuā was born, her father is reputed to have named her Maumau because he felt that the prestigious status she inherited was wasted on a woman. It seems likely that an alternative interpretation of her name is more plausible, given that her hereditary title, Ariki Tapairu, denotes the highest ranking and a *tohunga matakite* (sorcerer) of some renown. An analysis of her name is revealing. *Rī* (to screen) and *maumau* (to waste) in her name were used to protect the unique abilities she inherited from being wasted or abused. In adulthood her role in Ngāpuhi politics gives credence to the latter interpretation.

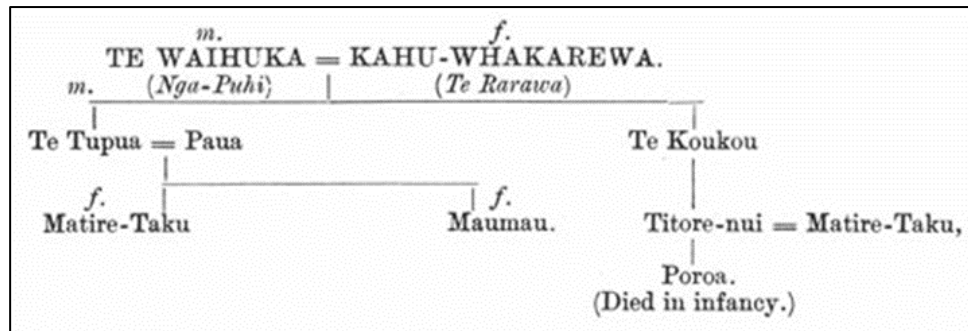


Figure 6 Whakapapa of Rīperata Maumau Te Tupuā. Note. Journal of Polynesian Society 1909, (p. 84)

According to Hongi (1888), her education would have included the ‘higher knowledge’ reserved for the aristocracy. In a modern context, the education of Māori women in higher learning is reminiscent of *wānanga* (traditional formal education institutions). Her reputation as an astute woman with leadership qualities and skills likely owed much to her education. “Rimaumau⁷ was able to speak on marae due to her lineage and was frequently consulted on tribal matters” (Hongi, 1888, p. 1). She is also reputed to have been impressed with European culture, which could have led to her union with Mathew Underdown Farley in 1840. They had five children.

However, despite her fascination with European culture, the 1840’s heralded the full devastation of British imperialism for Aotearoa. The imposition of British law, with the 1842 trial and hanging of Maketū, the violations of the Treaty agreement, the removal of the capital to Auckland in 1841 (Kawharu, 1990; 2001), and the imposition of trade restrictions (Walker, 1990) culminated in Hone Heke chopping down the Maiki Hill flagpole on the 8th of July, 1844 (Buick, 1926/2011, p. 28; McClintock, 2010, pp. 205–207). This was a definitive action based on the advice Hongi had given him, following his return from England in the 1820s (Hongi, 1888). Although she remained married to Farley, Rīmaumau often travelled with Heke on many of his journeys and attended him as his *tohunga* (spiritual advisor).

Hone Heke knew that his plan to sack Kororāreka would have consequences. Aware of Rīmaumau’s loyalty, he conferred with Farley, who assured Hone Heke of his neutrality. Under protest, Rīmaumau was persuaded to move to safety at Waimate. Hone Heke returned to Kororāreka on the 10th of March 1845 and burned the town to the ground (Hongi, 1888).

⁷ Macrons are not added when they are not included in published materials.

As a valued member of Hone Heke's leadership team, Rīmaumau would likely have found her withdrawal from politics *extremely* difficult.

According to family sources, disillusionment with Pākēha led to the end of her marriage to Farley in 1845. Although her new husband—Tohi Āniwaniwa Piripo, from the East Coast—was high ranking, he had been captured during the Ngāpuhi raids of the 1800s. They had six children, including my great-great grandfather Te Hiramai Piripo, who was the youngest child. Rīmaumau remained a very active leader in her community until her death in 1888.

The life story of Riperata Maumau Te Tupua gives some insight into several aspects of traditional Māori leadership and how these elements can be identified in Māori leadership theory and practice today. Her whakapapa put her at the apex of tribal leadership for Ngapuhi nui tonu and in attendance at strategic wananga to discuss He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirenī, at around 22- 23 years of age (Hongi, 1888). She was a daughter of a prominent rangatira, and therefore a Puhi of repute with her future no doubt plotted out as a means to secure political alliance, tribal peace or other similar strategic possibilities, but she was able to choose her own path by taking Mathew Farley as her partner. She elected to support Hone Heke in his campaign against the British despite her cousins Patuone, Tamati Waka Nene and many others with the sacking of Kororareka; and the war in the North. Rimaumau held dominion over vast tracts of land and allowed people without land or rights to live on her properties or use resources to sustain them and their whanau. The leadership demonstrated by Rimaumau through her lifetime demonstrated that mana and authority through whakapapa was a key component of leadership, as was the obligation to care for the people with manaaki and aroha no matter the links with her whanau or hapu. As a *tohunga matakite* and her educational background afforded her an extensive mātauranga of the physical and spiritual dimensions of Te Ao Māori and the innate ability to access the mātauranga from both for the benefit of the people.

The personal characteristics that she had were leadership qualities, such as integrity, loyalty, love for the people, bravery, and *manaaki rangatira*, (duty of care) that are revered in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). They defined her as much, if not more, than her aristocratic lineage.

Throughout this study, leadership qualities that emanate from *Te Ao Māori* are invariably informed by values of duty and care. Establishing the positioning of the researcher is about being aware of ones *tūrangawaewae* (place to stand), metaphorically.

2.4 The Art of Karanga and Leadership

Karanga quickly came to the fore in this study as a unique cultural practice that could be developed for this study. The goal was to further develop karanga as a methodology to be used in the present research, but also to understand the distinction between Māori female and male leadership. As a unique *taonga wahine* (treasured as a woman), the opportunity to examine the cultural practice with *wahine Māori* (Māori women) from my own whakapapa was central to the research.

I conclude this positioning chapter by establishing the intricacies of *karanga* that this study aspires to connect to women's leadership, past and present. M. Hoani references the deeply spiritual nature of *karanga* where she points out, "The first call opens the way for the spiritual dimension to become apparent. The *kai karanga* is like a channel, or a vessel, for the transmission of knowledge and emotion between the past and present". (M. Hoani, personal communication, 5 June 2013).

She also recalled an incident that provides yet another example of *karanga* in contemporary society. "When I was invited to perform the *karanga* at Canterbury University's College of Education Graduation ceremony, in 2004, I did so with some trepidation, as it was out of my traditional marae environment in which this ritual normally takes place, and also as a sign of respect and acknowledgement of the *mana whenua* (tribal authority) from the area". (M. Hoani, personal communication, 5 June 2013).

However, because the lecturer could not find a *kai karanga* and her daughter was graduating, she accepted. This was the point where her personal preparation began. She describes the process as follows:

The first step is to complete a whakawātea or clearing of the kai-karanga's physical self of all emotion and negativity. This is followed by a karakia invoking the spirits of my own tūpuna to be at one with my own spirit to protect my physical, emotional and spiritual state and keep me safe. The invocation karakia is one that is both deep and meaningful. The coming together of the wairua of my own tūpuna (ancestors), the spirits of the people gathered in the designated place for a specific purpose, plus the spirits of tūpuna (ancestors) of the place. The recalling of the *mamae* (pain and suffering) experienced at Ngā Hau e Whā Marae and the *whenua* (land) and people in a bygone era. All this emotion, these memories are brought together for the purpose of acknowledgement and settling of long-standing issues. (M. Hoani, personal communication, 5 June 2013).

The knowledge and practice of karanga outlined above, identifies the subtle links with Māori leadership from a wahine Māori perspective. The most important feature critical to both karanga and Māori leadership for women is a comprehensive understanding of mātauranga Māori, expressed and understood through *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori. It is through the extensive knowledge of the language and culture that *karanga* and leadership for wahine Māori finds practical application and articulation. Being competent in expressing concepts and ideas that give meaning to the many situations in people's lives is a part of this aspect. A second feature of karanga and leadership is the care, support and protection of the people that ensures their wellbeing is maintained with the corequisite concept of manaaki at the centre. The third feature underpins the rules of engagement and are the same for *kaikaranga* and wahine Māori leaders particularly where self-preparation informs the safety and wellbeing of all parties to the engagement or interaction. The process of engagement is where two worlds both physical and spiritual come together and the concept of discernment with a range of people and contexts is a skill that is essential to Māori leadership that helps to evaluate and shape responses.

Mereana Hoani demonstrates how the ancient custom of *karanga* can be brought into a modern world with integrity. In the process she brought the traditional and modern worlds together. Incidentally, her description of preparedness was reiterated in the focus group

interviews and informed the development of the Kaupapa Māori paradigm for the fieldwork component of this thesis.

2.5 Conclusion

My experiences, as a tertiary student and working alongside women leaders in the tertiary sector, also provided the catalyst for approaching the subject through a *karanga* lens. This was reinforced as the work unfolded and is evident in the findings, particularly those from the fieldwork. The qualities that were obvious in interviews with the Māori women in this study was their drive to support the success of Māori students to achieve in their chosen academic field, but also the deep respect for all Māori. All these women had a *hūmarie āhuatanga* (aura of humility) even when they were held in high regard as being *wahine rongonui* (well-known women) in their own fields of professional excellence.

This was the direct opposite to mainstream assumptions about leaders and leadership where the person at the top is aloof, untouchable, and unapproachable, that exuded *āhua tino whakahīhi* (aura of arrogance). The women in the study were articulate, approachable, and keen to help their people. They were incredibly hard working and driven to advocate and work for change. All of the women were guided by a sense of duty to the future of the Māori world and never once shared that they were in their leadership roles for their own benefit.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

Leadership is arguably a product of conditions within historical, social, and cultural environments. Contemporary leadership is no exception. What transpires from the study of the literature is that cultural values define “good” Māori leadership. The tertiary environment is a microcosm of modern leadership and is presented as a case study for this research. This literature review explores the influence and persistence of traditional Māori customary values and practice in this field.

It will become apparent that although *ngā uarā* (cultural values) are the cornerstone of Māori leadership theory there is not a definite list that can be applied universally to leadership. The review of the literature indicates that some values are inferred or subsumed within a similar value or belief. For example, *aroha* (caring/affection) may be inferred in the value *manaaki* (support), or vice-versa. Despite the anomalies, there is sufficient compelling evidence to support the theory that Māori cultural beliefs, values and practice inform Māori women in leadership roles (Vaccarino & Elers, 2017).

Walker (1993) cautions that:

... traditional Māori values, processes and practices associated with Māori leadership and decision-making is often contradictory and incompatible with the modern demands of the contemporary social political and economic circumstances of Māoridom (p. 23).

The “contradictory and incompatible” is not restricted to governance and institutional protocols. In the context of literary source material, it also applies to the academy’s demands that Māori scholarship comply with mainstream academic conventions. The reality for Māori scholars is that oral traditions relevant to a specific inquiry may not be published and rarely appear in credible peer reviewed journals (Wehi et al., 2009). This justifies extending the definition of “literature” to include oral literature. As this study is unapologetically Indigenous, it relies on oral traditions as supporting evidence. For example, excerpts from actual *karanga* (ritual calls) are used as source material to explain concepts.

Another issue addressed in the literature is the “continued perceptions of the maleness of leadership qualities that pervades the literature” (Henry, 1994, p. 86). There are two schools of thought that provide insights into the misconception that Māori women were traditionally subordinate. There is the argument that pre-contact Māori tended to favour patriarchal descent lines (Best, 1898a; 1898b; 1924a; Winiata, 1967). However, there is also literature that challenges this notion (Bradbury, 1995; Henry, 1994; Mahuika, 1975; Mikaere, 1994; Soutar, 2000). So, either males have primacy in creation, females have primacy in creation, or there is balance between males and females from the beginning. This is not a trivial detail. “If these stories serve to show us the ultimate reality and our place in the world” (Marsden, 2003, p. 56).

The status of women in traditional Māori society that shapes the leadership is also evidenced within cultural expressions of gender relationships. Māori subscribed to cognatic descent, whereby rights to status and property are through both parents. Salmond (1991) explains that exactly how inheritance was practiced varied between tribes. What is indisputable however, is that cognatic descent gave Māori women rights to inherit property and status. Māori language provides another clue about the nature of complementary gender relationships in traditional Māori society. Marriage partners use the grammatical possessive “a” category, rather than “o” category, to convey equality. For example: “*Ko Hongi Hika te tane a Turikatuku*” (Hongi Hika, the husband of Turikatuku). If “o” replaced “a” in that sentence it would indicate that Turikatuku was inferior to Hongi Hika.

Jenkins (1988; 1992) argues that the destruction of *mana wahine* (women’s power) coincides with the colonisation of Aotearoa, when English colonial women had no rights, and they were merely chattels. This study on Māori women’s leadership revitalises *mana wahine*.

The evidence of cultural values underpins Māori leadership roles—which, irrespective of gender, are difficult to dispute (Te Rito, 2007; Vaccarino & Elers, 2017). However, the role of the *kai karanga* (female ritual caller) differentiates male and female leadership. As a legacy from the gods, it is the instrument that carries *mana wahine*.

3.2 The Status of Women in Māori Society

Metaphorically, the true status of Māori women is possibly best understood from a cosmogonical perspective, where the inception of the Māori universe gives credence to the power of women. Relevant to this study is the value of different ontologies, epistemologies and ways of viewing the world that bring understanding to Māori leadership (Henry & Foley, 2018; Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016, Spiller et al., 2011a, 2011b). Henry and Foley (2018) support this view outlining how indigenous worldviews inform the axiology, ontology, epistemology, and methods of research. The methodology or paradigm is acknowledged as reflecting the interconnectedness between Indigenous researchers' worldviews, "values and beliefs about truth, reality and existence, and the consequent knowledge that can or should be gleaned" (Henry & Foley, 2018, p. 213). It is within the reciprocal relationships between past, present, and future that indigenous worldviews are explored and continuity between culture and identity refined. Thus, according to the sacred traditions, Papatūānuku is the earth mother, "the ancestress of all Māori, and that land is of paramount significance to Māori socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically" (Mikaere, 2011, p. 125).



Figure 7 The relationship between people and the land. *Te Rarawa (Ngāpuhi)*. Image: Waatea News. According to oral traditions (Tūhourangi, Ngāti Wāhiao)⁸ the first *karanga* was heard when Papatūānuku (earth deity) was separated from Ranginui (sky deity) to let light into the world.

⁸ This Te Arawa version is widely known throughout the tribes of that *waka* (canoe). The only written reference to this tradition is shown in a post by Wairangi Jones on Twitter:

<https://twitter.com/wairangi58/status/1057145036888932352?lang=en>

In despair, Papatūānuku calls to Ranginui. It is a plaintive call of pain, anguish, sorrow, and loss. All these emotions infuse *karanga*. As the earth mother, Papatūānuku welcomes all life into the world. The purpose of the *karanga* is to welcome *manuhiri* (guests/visitors), and welcome and farewell the dead. *Te pō* (darkness/realm of the dead) is the domain of Papatūānuku's *mokopuna* (grandchild) Hinenuitēpō, often referred to as the great goddess of the night.

Hinenuitēpō famously crushed the legendary Polynesian demi-god Māui Tikitiki a Taranga between her thighs when he attempted to enter her vagina. His mission was to bring eternal life to humanity. Walker (1992b) maintains that traditional *pūrākau* (sacred traditions) carry myth messages. The Māui and Hinenuitēpō message is explicit. Firstly, it reinforces the *mana* (power, in this context) of women and secondly, reinforces the sanctity of women. According to McNeill et al, (1988), cross-tribally rape and incest usually ended in castration or, more commonly, with death for the perpetrator. The myth message is unmistakable.



Figure 8 *Hinenuitēpō and Maui in his quest for eternal life.* Alexander Turnbull Library Reference: PAColl-6585-10. Photograph by Charles A. Lloyd

These female deities have jurisdiction over life and death: Papatūānuku, the life giver, and Hinenuitēpō, who cares for us in death. The following excerpt is from a *karanga* (ritual call)

farewell to the dead. It urges the deceased to return to Hinenuitepō, to enter her realm of *te pō*, the night. The words reassure and comfort the deceased—that they are not alone, that they are joining their loved ones under the protection of Hinenuitepō.

Haere atu rā e koro e

Takahia te ara whānui o ngā mātua tūpuna

Haere ki nuinga o te iwi kua wheturangitia e

Hoki atu rā ki te kaitiaki o te pō

Ki a Hinenuitepō

Haere rā, haere atu rā

Mana wahine is the legacy of these deities. The *kai karanga* in traditional Māori society was usually of high rank, genealogically, and had the *mana* (power) to invoke the gods and the spirits of the dead.

3.3 Karanga: The Ritual Voice

The karanga is the first voice heard at a *powhiri* (ritual of encounter) and is one of the few cultural practices that has remained virtually unchanged up to the present day (Forster et al., 2016; Higgins & Meredith, 2017; Ka'ai et al., 2004; Rewi, 2010; Salmond, 1976; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986). The alignment of the elements of both the Mana Wahine and Kaupapa Māori frameworks is important, as they underpin and are reflected across the principles of the Te Karanga paradigm. This paradigm was developed specifically for this study and was inspired by the focus group field work. Te Karanga, as a Kaupapa Māori methodological approach, is the framework for this research. Its link to leadership is very apparent. *Tino rangatiratanga*, in this study, is about the authority enshrined within *te ao tawhito* (ancient times) where *rangatiratanga* (leadership) and the people had the right to determine their knowledge and understanding of themselves and their place in the world (Mikaere, 2000b). It is a *karanga* to reunite with the knowledge of leadership taken from the primal parents, Papatūānuku and Ranginui.

Taonga tuku iho (gifts handed down by the ancestors) is a principle that applies to this research, which is grounded in *kaupapa Māori*, and recognises the status of *wahine Māori* through the mana bestowed on them from the gods. *Wahine Māori* leaders, as *taonga tuku iho*, represent unity and balance in the form of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. Te Rangikaheke's

1856 manuscripts refer to Papatūānuku and Ranginui as a “single being,” with both male and female attributes (Salmond, 2018).

The Te Karanga paradigm emerges from *te wehenga* (the initial separation) and the first karanga of Papatūānuku in her sorrowful *mihi* (greeting) to Ranginui. *Ako Māori* is the principle that aligns with *wahine Māori* ways of teaching and learning. *Karanga* uses observation, nurturing and facilitative mentoring, and practical opportunities to reinforce, guide and correct specific behaviours through reflexive action (Schön, 1993). The Te Karanga paradigm has foundations in *te reo* Māori, in the *tikanga* (protocols) of Māori ways of doing things, and in the knowledge that informs various situations and contexts in which women engage and interact.

Arguably, *karanga*, as a value system, facilitates success in tertiary education, to ensure Māori are actively involved in determining their futures. For example, the notion of *manaakitanga* (care/nurturing) in *karanga* is demonstrated in the pastoral care that Māori women leaders’ harness in their roles as educators.

According to Meri Barber (personal communication, 25 June 2017), in the past *karanga* was only performed for a *tangihanga* (funeral). Today, it is performed on a variety of different occasions—even in the preface to this work. The *karanga* from the *tangata whenua* (host) is a call to welcome the visitors, who usually respond. If there is no *kai karanga*, the visitors move silently on to the marae. The *karanga* provides information about the identity of the visitors, as well as bringing the spirits of the dead together (Edwards, 2002; Schwimmer, 1965).

Today, there are generally different calls, depending on the occasion, including *tangihanga* (funerals), *hui* (meetings), *kawe mate* (a ritual using a photograph representing the deceased, usually buried elsewhere) and *hura kōhatu* (unveilings). According to Tauroa and Tauroa (1986), there is a general pattern to *karanga*, with variations in composition dependent upon individual *kai karanga* and the occasion.

While the role has changed in contemporary society, women who karanga carry the *mana* (in this context, confidence) of the role. Invoking the gods, the dead and essentially carrying the weight of the esoteric knowledge that the role demands. The knowledge that many tertiary

women leaders hold enables them to perform cultural rituals within the institution. Maaki Howard, who was a lecturer in te reo Māori, epitomises this role.

She was the face of Māori female leadership at Auckland University of Technology for some decades. She retired in 2017 after 27 years of service. The institution's marae, *Ngā Wai o Horotiu*, was under her jurisdiction during her time. Students who made the *marae* their "home away from home" referred to her affectionately as "Nan." As a Māori woman, she could be formidable carrying the attributes, characteristics, cultural beliefs, and skills that are associated with women of *mana* (power).



Figure 9 Makarita Howard, Performing the Karanga at Auckland University of Technology. AUT archives.

The *karanga* was acknowledged to be a deeply spiritual or sacred practice and the first connection that preceded formal interactions between opposing parties (Hibbs, 2006). It is evident from the literature that including Māori women in leadership is not a post-colonial construct. However, the *karanga* role provides insights into the characteristics of leadership that are Māori-specific. Traditionally, apart from *whakapapa* (genealogy), the rule of primogeniture, ascribed or achieved status were also factors in discerning leadership. The revered status of the elderly in traditional society meant the *karanga* was performed, almost without exception, by *kuia* (post-menopausal women).

The portraits of six Māori women in section 3.4 reflect the changes that colonisation inflicted on *mana wahine* through their lives. Their individual journeys to prominence in leadership

roles was not without its challenges. It is the reality of all colonised peoples. The literature provides compelling evidence that Indigenous peoples, subject to European imperialism, endured, and continue to endure, material and cultural impoverishment (Fanon, 1963/1968; Pool, 2019; Walker, 1990; Said, 1993). Their stories are also the stories across generations of Māori women leaders. Although their experiences were shaped by the social and political situations of their times, they share common attributes that apply equally to the women leaders interviewed in this study's fieldwork.

All the women portrayed in section 3.4 of this chapter (there are many other equally important leaders who are not included) were highly educated in all aspects of Māori cultural knowledge. For example, Te Ao Kapurangi of Te Arawa/Tapuika was renowned as a composer. While they are likely to have performed *karanga*, there is no evidence in the literature to verify this. However, it is expected that women of their stature would have undertaken this role. In modern society, while a depth of customary knowledge is not a requisite to leadership, all the women interviewed identified cultural beliefs and values as the framework for their roles. Education is a key determinant of leadership. All the Māori women depicted in this study were highly educated, either in the specialised knowledge of *te whare pora* (traditional house of learning for women), in the art of *karanga* as *kuia karanga*, or in contemporary tertiary institutions.

3.4 Portraits of Māori Women Leaders

The “portraits” in this dossier give some insight into the lives of Māori women whose leadership was shaped by their lived experiences in *te ao kōhātu* (pre-contact world) (Phillips, 2019). They draw on cultural determinants that defined their leadership and are discernible amongst Māori women leaders. The common thread is service to people. This is an absolute in Māori leadership that is cross-tribal, cross-gender, and cross-generational. The wellbeing of the whole, takes precedence over the individual. It appears that Māori leadership and servitude are synonymous. This was also discernible in the interviews with the Māori women who participated in this study. In contemporary New Zealand society, despite the best efforts of colonisation, there are women who carry the legacy of those Māori leaders.

The dossier of women in leadership opens with two recognised women leaders from different tribes, Ngāpuhi and Te Arawa/Tapuika, whose paths crossed in the 1820s, the period of early European contact.

Turikatuku was the wife of one of the most celebrated chiefs of his time, Hongi Hika but this is not what defines her. She was a leader in her own right. According to Ballara (1990), Turikatuku, although blind, was famous as a seer, and described by those who met her as “extraordinary.” Her leadership skills complemented those of her husband. She was his confidante and strategist, and Hongi is reputed to have never travelled or fought without taking her as his chief adviser.



Figure 10 Screenshot of the Interactive App *Turikatuku*. Kiwa Digital⁹

Interestingly, it is another woman, Te Ao Kapurangi (Tapuika/Ngāti Rangiwewehi), who is credited with outmanoeuvring Hongi Hika when he invaded Te Arawa. Te Ao Kapurangi was captured in an earlier raid, and, as a woman of rank in her own right, was taken as a wife of the Ngāpuhi chief, Te Wera. H. M. Mead (2003) is suitably impressed at the respect and standing she engendered in her captors. She travelled with Te Wera and Hongi Hika, when

⁹ Rhonda Kite, the founder of Kiwa Digital, is a leader in her own right as an award-winning film producer. She has developed her business using digital technology to revitalise Māori language and culture.

they sought revenge on Te Arawa for killing some of Hongi Hika's men. In response to her appeals to spare her own people, who were not responsible for the killings, he assured Te Ao Kapurangi that anyone who went beneath her legs would be spared. H. M. Mead (2003) describes this as a *tikanga* (cultural practice) that rendered those who undertook this ritual *noa* (in this context, no longer able to participate in battle). She climbed on to the roof of the *wharehau* and called to her people to enter, in doing so passing beneath her thighs. She went on to negotiate the lasting peace between Te Arawa and Ngāpuhi.

Turikatuku and Te Ao Kapurangi had much in common as aristocrats. They possessed intelligence and enviable people skills, and wielded considerable political influence. Te Ao Kapurangi came to Ngāpuhi as a captive, and her skill sets included the arts. She was an accomplished composer. She composed "*Tērā koia ngā whetū*," which is included in Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones (2006) famous volumes of *Ngā Mōteatea* (ancient songs), and which is still sung in her native Tapuika tribe. Included in this *pātere* (chant) is a curse, which suggests that she and Turikatuku also possessed knowledge in the esoteric arts.



Figure 11 Meri Mangakahia. NZ History. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/>

In 1893, Meri Mangakahia, of Te Rarawa was the great-grandchild of the woman of mana, Ngā-kahu-whereo also named Herepaenga (Tate, 1990). Her father, Rē Te Tai, was an influential chief of Te Rarawa in the Hokianga district in the 1890s and later; her mother was Hana Tēra (Ballara, 1993). In 1893, Meri Mangakahia petitioned the Māori parliament to allow Māori

women to participate in the Māori parliament and to vote on matters of significance to Māori women (Rei, 1993a; Evans, 1994). Land ownership was the prerogative of men alone in early colonial society. Her intention was to ensure Māori women retained their customary rights as independent landowners.

“Meri Mangakahia’s reasoning was that as several Māori women owned extensive land holdings and were able to manage their property without having to rely on having a male” (Macdonald, 1993, p. 42). As already mentioned, cognatic descent means Māori women had the absolute right to inherit land. However, because the petition was addressed to parliament it actually challenged men’s property rights! According to Ballara (1993) she would have been influenced by the Suffragette movement, as she also petitioned for women’s right to vote.

Meri Mangakahia paved the way for Māori women to enter mainstream politics. Her interest in the rights of women was likely the inspiration for the establishment of the Māori Women’s Health League in the 1930s. The Great Depression of the 1930s exacerbated Māori living conditions, and there was a concomitant deterioration in Māori health. It was these conditions that propelled Māori women leaders into action. With the support of a Scottish nurse working in Māori communities at the time, Cameron, or *Kamerana* as she was known, the Māori Women’s Health League was established in 1937. Statistics New Zealand (2006) reports, there is no reliable data to quantify the extent of human suffering in that period.

There was no reliable statistical information available to support anecdotal observations until the 1940s. The compulsory registration of Māori deaths began in 1913 following the Births and Deaths Registration Amendment Act 1912, although Māori deaths remained under-registered for several decades. (p. 16)

The most compelling evidence can be found in more recent literature highlighting Māori health disparities (Barnes et al., 2013; Durie, 1999; 2001a; Hider, 2007). This makes depressing reading given the Health League was established in the late 1930’s to address Māori health issues. The Māori continue to occupy the lowest stratum in society, and a lower health status. A snapshot of the disparities is captured in the comparison between Māori and non-Māori mortality rates. In 2013, life expectancy at birth was 73 years for Māori males, 80.3 years for non-Māori males, 77.1 years for Māori females, and 83.9 years for non-Māori females.

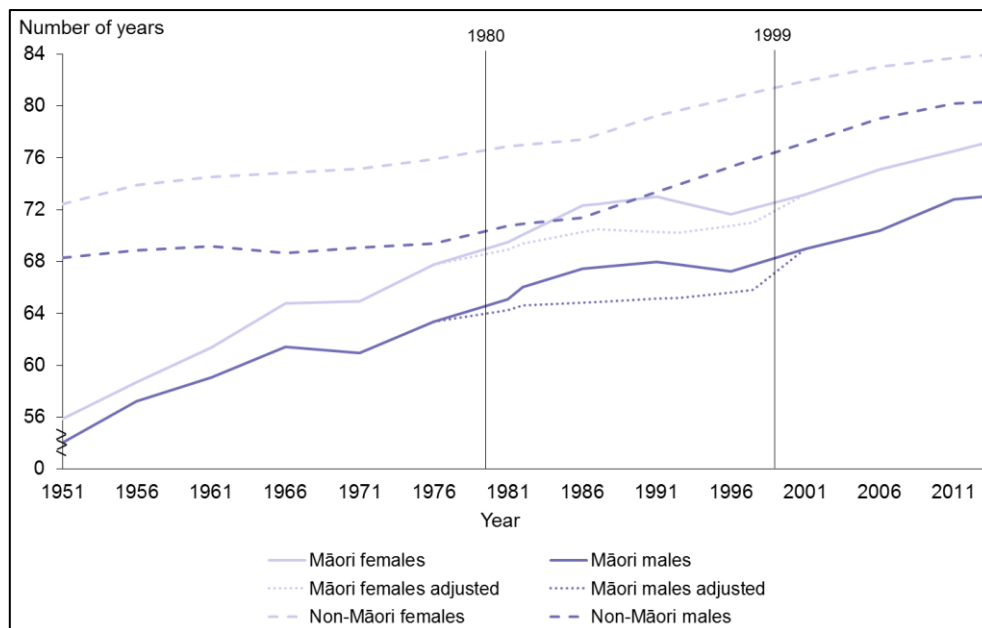


Figure 12 Ministry of Health (2013) *Life Expectancy at Birth, by Gender, Māori and Non-Māori, 1951–2013*.

Even more compelling is the present Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, arguing that “If government tackled the drivers of poverty Māori could be pulled up to a level where the group is not over-represented in some of the country’s worst statistics” (Walters, 2018). Although the health status of Māori remains problematic, it appears that in the post-World War Two environment, Māori women wanted to broaden the agenda to include the other issues that gave rise to the Māori Women’s Welfare League.

The World War 2 environment changed the conventional stereotypes of women in society. Māori women took on jobs that were originally meant for men, and while still heavily involved with the health and welfare of Māori people, they also took up the cause of Treaty injustices of the past (Jenkins & Matthews, 1998; 2005; A. Mikaere, 1994; Rei, 1993b; Oliver & Williams, 1984). Attracting one of the most revered woman leaders as patron of the Māori Women’s Welfare League gave the organisation enormous *mana* (in this context, prestige). Princess Te Puea Hērangi was a high-profile leader of the Waikato-Tainui Kīngitanga who challenged boundaries and promoted the retention of Māori culture.

As a member of the *Kāhui Ariki* (royal family) of Tainui her *whakapapa* is exemplary. She epitomised the strength and determination of Māori women through her refusal to accept gender discrimination and actively urged men of her tribe to resist conscription (King, 1997). As a leading exponent of the land development schemes initiated in the 1930s by Āpirana

Ngata, her efforts were rewarded with the large-scale involvement of her people in several initiatives that benefited the *iwi* from that time (Oliver & Williams, 1984, p. 98). Her support for Ngata gave the scheme credence in many of the tribes.



Figure 13 *Princess Te Puea*. NZ Herald Archives.

In King's (2008) biography, Te Puea recounts an incident in her childhood that obviously affected her profoundly and provides another insight into Māori perceptions of leadership. Realising her *kāhui ariki* (royal) status, she began lording it over the other children, treating them as inferior. Her horrified mother, (a respected chieftainess in her own right) beat Te Puea and reminded her that the *kāhui ariki* (aristocracy) existed only because of the people. Her role was service to the people. She took that lesson to heart. Although she had no offspring of her own, she had a legion of *whāngai* (adoptions), and her commitment to the wellbeing and betterment of the tribe is legendary (Phillips, 2019). Leadership and service is a recurring theme throughout this thesis.

According to M. King (1983), Whina Cooper was also involved in Ngata's Māori land development schemes, for which she is not as well known. It is the famous photograph of her and her *mokopuna* leading the 1975 Land March out of Te Hāpua that defines her leadership. The catalyst for the land march was the continuing loss of Māori land (Phillips, 2019). Māori land ownership dwindled in the North Island from 95 percent in 1844, to 26 percent in 1900.

By 1975, only 4 percent of the land in New Zealand was in Māori ownership (Walker, 1990; Ward, 1999). The catch cry of the Land March was “not one more acre.” This action brought Treaty issues to public attention more strongly than at any time since the 19th century.



Figure 14 *Whina Cooper and her mokopuna at the start of the Land March (1974).* NZ Herald archives.

Mira Szászy was the first Māori woman to graduate from Auckland University (Szászy, 1973). According to Williams (2018), unlike many of her predecessors, her *whakapapa* (genealogy) did not play a significant part in her role as a recognised Māori leader of the twentieth century. While primogeniture (for both genders) was a factor in determining chieftainship in ancient Māori society, it was not the only criterion. The story of Māui, discussed in the opening of this chapter, is a classic example of ascribed leadership. Māui was a younger son, but through his intelligence and skills he eclipsed his elder brothers as a leader of great fame across the Pacific. Keelan (2009) describes Māui as the epitome of entrepreneurship.

The Māui *pūrākau* (sacred narratives) prove that a Māori leader needs more than an impressive *whakapapa* to be a leader. Mira Szászy not only represents the importance of a leader's skill and knowledge, but she also represents a shift in Māori leadership (for both genders) in post-colonial New Zealand, where the emphasis is on education and skills. Her

leadership skills were honed and nurtured by the relationships she developed with Princess Te Puea and Whina Cooper. Like them, her mantra was service to the people. These women upheld the principles of humanity, social justice, and equality.



Figure 15 Mira Szászy. Te Ara the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. <https://teara.govt.nz/en>

Although Mira Szászy's leadership was not in the tertiary sector, as the first Māori female university graduate, she was a role model for all Māori women. Her leadership was characterised by the Māori values "*o neherā*" (of the ancients), service, and humility.

3.5 Māori Leadership and the Māori Worldview

Whakapapa (genealogy) was a determining factor in Māori social organisation (Hudson et al., 2007) and a unique identifier of identity. Papatūānuku and Ranginui have already been referenced in this chapter. Here, their roles take on another dimension.

Nā Papatūānuku rāua ko Ranginui tāua.

We are both the descendants of Papatūānuku and Ranginui.

This *whakataukī* (proverb) explains the Māori worldview whereby all living things descend from the primeval parents. "The world is a vast family, and humans are children of the earth and sky, and cousins to all living things. Such unity means that nature is the ultimate teacher about life" (Royal, 2010, p. 9). This ontologically is the "ultimate catalogue" in *Te Ao Māori*

(the Māori world) that “perpetuates a value base that locates people through their relationships to the physical and spiritual worlds” (Hudson et al., 2007, p. 43–44).

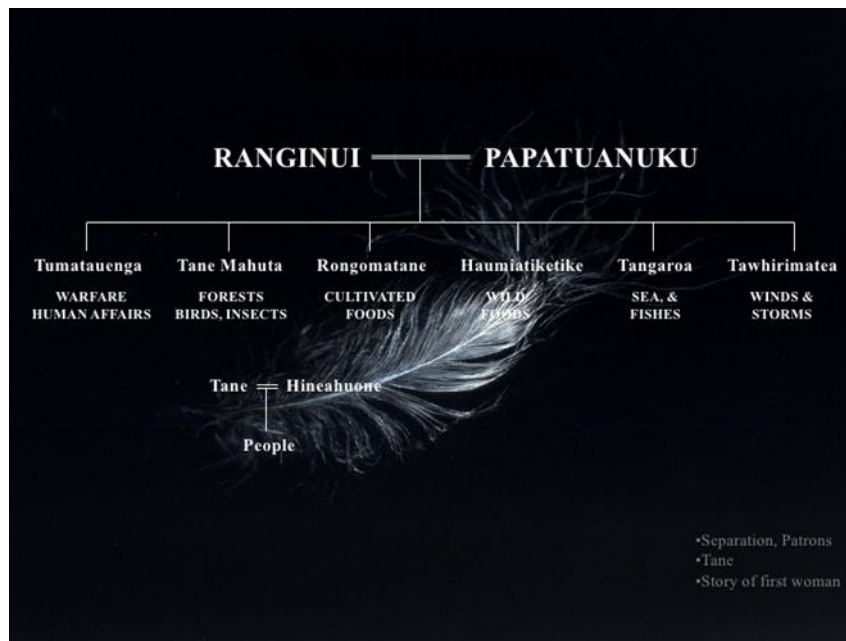


Figure 16 *Whakapapa Papatūānuku rāua ko Ranginui*. Simon J. Lambert Presentation UCB 16OCT2009.

Mahuika (2008) concurs, adding that an extensive knowledge of *whakapapa* is a way of establishing one’s own identity and position within the layers of Māori social structure (Taonui, 2013; Te Rito, 2007), and is the means to clarify links to both the people and the land (Taonui, 2012). It also places a responsibility of *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) on Māori to care for the environment—based on the *whakapapa* relationship (Awatere et al., 2011; Henare, 2001; Kawharu, 2000; Marsden, 1975; 1988; 2003; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Royal, 1999; Sisson et al., 1987). Spiller et al, (2011a) applies the concept to leadership, arguing that the *whakapapa* is relational and the wellbeing of the whole drives “good” or ethical leadership. Penetito (2011) considers the Māori world view as value-bound; the social world as being essentially relativist.

3.6 Ontological Influences on Leadership Theory

Henry & Wolfgramm (2018) describe relational leadership from an Indigenous perspective as a way-of-being and doing leadership. Their research focused on Māori leaders and practitioners in the screen industry, and they named “relational leadership” as a process of social construction, which emerges from the dynamic interaction between ontology (ways of

being) and praxis (ways of doing). The study outlines core philosophical foundations that underpin a Māori ontology and the potential of a holistic approach to theorising leadership, where culture, identity, and macro-contextual dimensions influence leadership.

Mā pango, mā whero ka oti te mahi

With the red and the white the work will be completed

In this *whakataukī* (proverb), red, the symbol of status in Māori thought, represents leadership, and white, their power base (the people). In defining leadership. The *whakataukī* above is a reminder that both are reliant on each other for success. It also implies that the collective good or wellbeing is the responsibility of everyone. In Māori this is the true meaning of *whanaungatanga* (interrelationships (Pohatu, 2013).

Traditionally an intricate system of kinship relationships, *whanaungatanga* is the glue of society, informed by tribal histories and traditions (Rangihau, 1992; Robertson, 1962; Pohatu, 2013; Walker, 1990; Winiata, 1952, 1956; 1967). Therefore, it can be safely concluded that the roles and attributes that characterise Māori leadership are predicated on Māori cultural beliefs and values. This is supported by a burgeoning body of literature on Māori leadership (Grove, 1985; Hohepa & Robson, 2009; Matthews, 2011; Houkamau, 2006; Katene, 2010) concluding that effective Māori leadership relies on a Te Ao Māori worldview underpinned by kaupapa Māori conceptual frameworks.

3.7 Disjuncture: The Colonial Experience

The Church in the colonies is the white people's Church, the foreigner's Church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter many are called but few chosen. (Fanon, 1963/1968, p. 42)

The missionaries who arrived in New Zealand in the early 1800s as the vanguard of European imperialism "believed in a divine right to impose their world view on those whose culture they were displacing" (Walker, 1990, p. 20). Their mission of converting Māori from barbarism to civilisation was predicated on notions of racial and cultural superiority (McCreanor, 1997; Tregear, 1904). This was exacerbated by land acquisition, often using dubious land transactions (Orange, 2015; Parsonson, 1990; Sorrenson, 2014; Walker, 1990). The impact of

colonisation on Māori ways of thinking and doing is well documented (King, 1997; Mikaere, 2011; Orange, 2015; Pouwhare, 2016; Walker, 1990).

Walker (2016) eloquently presents the big picture:

The consequence of this historical process, enacted in New Zealand from 1840 to 1900, is a structural relationship of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination. Subsequent institutional arrangements, including Parliament and the apparatus of the state, functioned to maintain that structural relationship. (p. 20)

Colonisation acted to replace the traditional structures of Māori society, including *mātauranga* (knowledge), cultural beliefs, values and practices, and the language (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Māori Women's Welfare League, 2007; Mikaere, 2013; Pouwhare, 2016).

In 1840, the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi consolidated British imperialism in New Zealand, changing the Māori landscape forever. The colonisers came from a patriarchal society, where women's rights were extremely limited. Mikaere (2013) insists that the "imposition of patriarchy has been the single most damaging impact of colonisation" (p. 247). It is hardly surprising that the early colonists conferred and consulted exclusively with men. According to Williams (2015) "...Ngāpuhi women who held land were side-lined in favour of their husbands when the Crown first issued titles to Māori land in the 1860s" (para, 2). In a recent article, Prue Kapua the Māori Women's Welfare League President pointed out that the Mana Wahine WAI 2700 Tribunal claim was due to alleged prejudice against Māori women "arising from Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi with damage to our customary roles and relationships with our *whenua*, *whakapapa* and *mātauranga* with serious prejudicial consequences for our social, economic, cultural and spiritual wellbeing and our access to leadership roles" (Kapua, 2020, para. 2). Thus, with few exceptions, Māori men are the Treaty signatories. A notable exception is Elenora of Ngāpuhi, one of the few women who signed the Treaty.

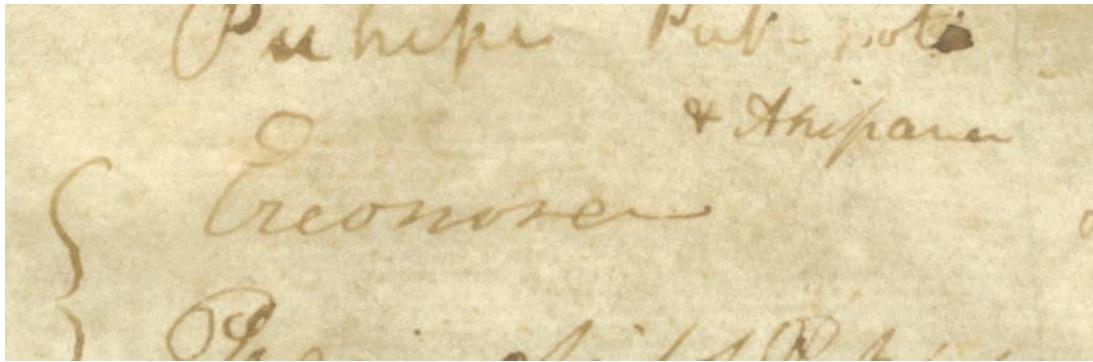


Figure 17 Elenora's Signature on the Treaty of Waitangi. NZ government archives.¹⁰

The tertiary environment in which the fieldwork of this thesis was conducted is itself a product of British imperialism. "When Great Britain annexed New Zealand under the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, it had considerable experience in the techniques of domination, subjugation and domestication of Indigenous populations in North America, Canada and Australia" (Walker, 2016, p. 19). Acclaimed indigenous educator Paulo Freire (1968/1970) maintains that years of disregard for oppressed people's humanity have ensured that mainstream institutional structures dominate and subvert indigenous knowledge. Education was one of the most effective tools in colonialism's arsenal (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Calman, 2012; Friere, 1968; 1970; Penetito, 2010; 2011).

3.8 Education: The Colonial Legacy

The early colonial curriculum focus was on developing labour and domestic service skills, in preparation for the influx of colonial settlers (Coney, 1993; Davidson, 1997; Jenkins & Matthews, 1998; Tregear, 1904). Samuel Marsden, the famous English missionary, befriended the Ngāpuhi chiefs, Ruatara and later Hongi Hika, in the early colonial period (Tregear, 1904). In 1814 he wrote to Ruatara offering to "teach boys and girls to read and write and adults how to grow wheat and corn and how to make houses" (Marsden, 2004, p. 20).

Perhaps the most devastating of all injustices was the suppression of *te reo Māori* (Māori language) (Walker, 1996). The Education Ordinance 1847 required all instruction in English. *Te reo Māori* remains an endangered language (Bauer, 2008; Benton, 2007; Chrisp, 2005; Duder, 2014; J. King, 2018; Walker, 1996). Both progressive education policies (Tomlins-Jankhe, 2006) and Christian values and beliefs (Mikaere, 1995; 2017) have been used

¹⁰ <https://archives.govt.nz/discover-our-stories/nga-tohu-wahine-and-te-tiriti-o-waitangi>

extensively to influence the lives of Māori. The colonial government subsidised mission schools in the period immediately following the signing of the Treaty, up to the 1850s (Simon & Smith, 2001).

The express goal to “civilise Māori by encouraging them to abandon their cultural values, customs and language in favour of those of the European” (Simon & Smith, 2001, pp. 7–8). This preceded the establishment of the Native Schools system with the Native Schools Act 1867. The curriculum was laid in colonial New Zealand and became entrenched later (Middleton & Jones, 1997).

Victorian attitudes towards women contributed to racist and sexist biases (Hoskins, 1994; Johnston & Pihama 1994; Middleton & Jones, 1997; Mikaere, 1994; Smith, 1992). Earlier in this chapter, I argue that the reconfiguration of gender roles led to new patriarchal-type relationships in Māori culture. This position is supported by Hoskins (1994) who contends that “Māori men in Māori society have become the keepers, interpreters and promoters of what is considered authentic, traditional knowledge and tikanga and kaupapa Māori” (p. 12).

Hokowhitu (2008) also contends that the colonial description of Māori men as the “noble savage” is deprecatingly complimentary: admiring their qualities and, at the same time, retaining their own superiority. “This juxtaposition of Māori and Western societies led to the hybridization of Māori and British masculine cultures and had a significant impact on Māori society” (Hokowhitu, 2008, p. 119). Māori women leaders in pre-contact society have been relegated to obscurity. However, as I have argued, *karanga* is the role that differentiated gendered leadership in traditional or pre-contact society. The attributes of leadership or “good” leadership in Te Ao Māori were cross-gender and generally applied to male or female equally.

3.9 Traditional Māori Leadership Traits

The characteristics or traits that are accepted as key to male leadership (see Table 1) can equally apply to women. For example, with minor amendments, Princess Te Puea meets all the criteria. What would be a male only criterion, *he toa* (warrior), applies to her bravery in the face of some very unpopular decisions. Fox (2011) cites her fight against Māori conscription during World War One as bravery. This was no doubt motivated by her personal experience of the Crown’s invasion, occupation, and subjugation of her people.

Rangatira and ariki showed they were proficient in several areas as orators, with extensive knowledge of whakapapa, and relationships (Bowden, 2008) along with practical qualities such as decisiveness of character, foresight, initiative, and personal ability. Two Māori writers, Te Rangikaheke (1850, cited in Katene, 2010) and Himona Te Hikitu (1897, cited in Katene, 2010), listed traits and qualities they believed were essential for a good leader. The lists of both writers are provided in Table 1 **Error! Reference source not found.** in priority order according to what was most important to Māori at the time.

Te Rangikaheke – 1850		Himiona Tikitu – 1897 in Best (1898)	
He Toa	Bravery and courage in war	He kaha ki te mahi kai	Industrious in obtaining or cultivating food
Kōrero taua	War speeches	He kaha ki te whakahaere i te raruraru	Able to settle disputes, mediate and manage
Mahi kai	Food procurement	He Toa	Bravery and courage in war
Tangohanga	Feasts of celebration	He kaha ki te whakahaere i te riri	Good leader in war, good strategist
Pupuri pahi	Restraining the departure of visiting parties	He mohio ki te whakairo	An expert in the arts, especially wood carving
Kōrero runanga	Council speeches	He atawhai tangata	Hospitality, generous
Kōrero manuhiri	Welcoming guests	He mohio ki te hanga whare rimu, waka ranei	Clever at building houses, fortified sites, canoes
Tawhai pahi, iti, rahi	Looking after visitors small or large	He mohio ki nga rohe whenua	Good knowledge of the tribal lands

Table 1. *The Characteristics of Māori Leadership—Ngā Āhuatanga o Ngā Rangatira.* Adapted from, “Modelling Māori Leadership: What Makes for Good Leadership?” by S. Katene, 2010, *Mai Review Journal*, 2.

It is also apparent that traditional qualities or leadership traits give credence to the contention that a chief/chieftainess could not depend solely on an illustrious whakapapa (genealogy). To be considered a leader, knowledge, skills, and compassion appear to be equal, if not more important, requisites for leadership (Mead, 1997; Mead et al., 2006).

Mead et al, (2006) also undertook a modern revision of Māori leadership qualities, translating traditional skills that were historically appropriate into a modern context. These included being an effective manager of resources; a provider for the people; socially, culturally, politically, and economically effective; a visionary; able to lead; and caring (Solomon & McMeeking, 2010). This was based on core notions of accountability, being mandated, transparent and authoritative. The key to the specified qualities was the overall ability to actively provide and care for his or her *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*, and ensure the well-being of all (Pihama & Gardiner, 2005). This sense of responsibility, which places the wellbeing of others over the personal, is a recurring theme throughout this thesis and features in all the women identified as leaders.

Leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand is located within the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā, and this study seeks to uncover some of the socio-political layers that affect Māori women leaders' identity and their leadership practice. The increasing development of a range of Māori leadership theories and perspectives shows the scope of kaupapa Māori-based concepts being explored and interpreted for new applications in leadership practice.

3.10 Tertiary Education, the Research Context

The tertiary institutions in which the fieldwork for this study is located have undergone significant changes since Szászy's time (included in the set of portraits in this chapter). According to New Zealand Universities Key Facts & Stats (2018), of the 146,190 New Zealand students enrolled in university, 11% are Māori (16,775), and 8% are Pasifika students (11,970). The Ministry of Education (MoE) reports that Māori enrolments in tertiary education have increased from 10,765 in 1994 to 24,480 in 2017 (Ministry of Education, 2018). However, the overall Māori success rates are sobering and show glaring disparities when compared to statistics about non-Māori. University participation rates are not reflective of the "big picture" in New Zealand. Figure 18 is a useful reminder of Māori disparities in the education system.

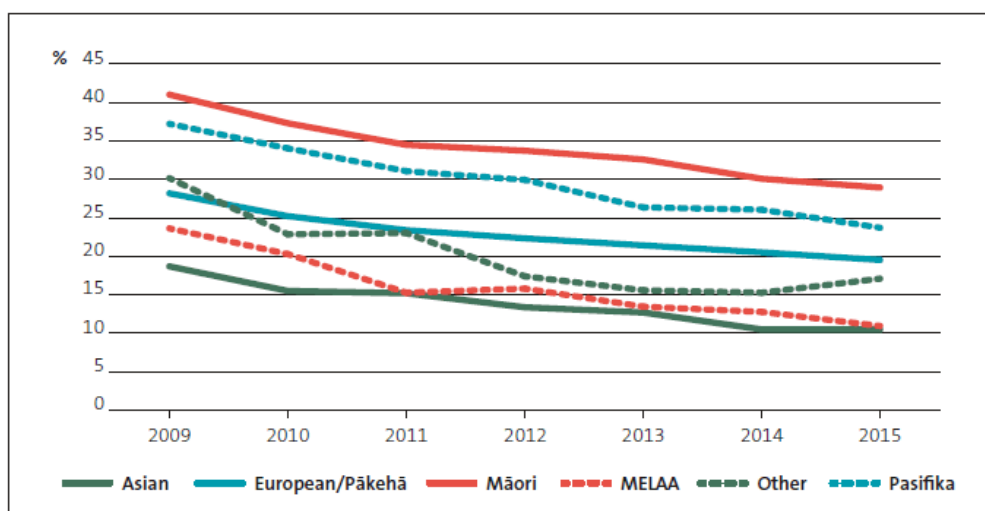


Figure 18 *Percentage of Students Leaving School with Less Than NCEA Level 1.* Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

3.10.1 Disparities

The disparities between Māori and non-Māori in the tertiary sector are highlighted in an article by McAllister et al, (2019), “Why Isn’t My Professor Māori?” They note that “Māori academics were significantly under-represented at universities between 2012 and 2017, comprising approximately 5% of the total academic workforce” (p. 325). It can be safely assumed that there will also be disparities in Māori salaries compared with non-Māori academics. “There are substantial and persistent gaps between the average hourly wages of Pākehā, Māori and Pacific employees” (New Zealand Treasury, 2018, p. 1). Pacheco et al, (2017) note that the ethnic pay gap of 18% for Māori employees and 23% for Pacific employees clearly outstrips the rate of the gender pay gap, at 12.7%. For Māori women the situation is exacerbated because of gender disparities.

It’s not clear how the descriptions of assimilationist policies precluded any attempts to address disparities. Earlier liberal discourses around equality, equity, and fairness originally informed educational policy from the 1960s onwards (Boston et al., 1999; Jones et al., 1995). Thomas and Nikora (2003) describe early assimilationist policies as prejudiced and paternalistic. Significant evidence suggests that a neoliberal agenda, that is as detrimental as assimilation, now permeates the public sector in New Zealand (Bargh, 2007; Barrett & Connolly-Stone, 1998; Thomas & Nikora, 1996).

There are those that support neoliberalism in education. Peters et al, (1993a) argue that the influence of neoliberal policies highlight the efficacy of performance and accountability measures that “reification of easily quantified goals [will be] at the demise of less measurable, but possibly more important goals” (p. 37). The extent to which neoliberal policies influence leadership, management practice, and decision-making processes will contribute to a greater understanding of how leaders and managers interpret and implement policies, (Bargh, 2007; Yukl, 2009). The analysis from Peter et al, (1993a) suggests that most tertiary education institutions strike a balance between prioritising Māori educational needs and the strategic and financial priorities of tertiary institutions.

3.10.2 Māori Tertiary Education Framework

The Ministry of Education Māori Tertiary Reference Group, established in 2001, included representation from *iwi Māori* (Mead et al, 2006). The 2003 *Māori Tertiary Education Framework* included a focus on Māori leadership development (Māori Tertiary Reference Group, 2003). Furthermore, while the framework is not endorsed by the government, it is a tool that sits alongside the Tertiary Education Strategy and is a resource that provides useful information for tertiary institutions to develop strategies for Māori educational advancement.

Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development, is responsible for the development and implementation of public policy for Māori, as well as having input into policies from other government ministries that affect Māori. In addition, Te Puni Kōkiri is responsible for monitoring the effectiveness of all government agencies with regard to Māori priorities. Both Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education are central to Māori educational advancement. The decision to include participants from both agencies was based on their expertise and influence, related to Māori public policy and education.

3.10.3 Te Kūpenga Social Well-being Survey

The Statistics New Zealand census data for 2006 and 2013 and the 2013 Te Kūpenga Social Well-being Survey are useful to supplement the information gathered from the participants in this study. The 2013 Te Kūpenga Survey was a bilingual survey that could be completed in either Māori or English. Approximately 5,000 people of Māori heritage, 15 years and older, usually living in New Zealand, took part in the survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The survey elicited a range of information covered the social, cultural, and economic well-being

of Māori in New Zealand, and information from a Māori cultural perspective. In the Te Kūpenga Survey, the population distribution showed that there were 52.2 % of the respondents were Māori women. The participants shared a select range of personal, professional, and cultural information.

According to the Te Kūpenga Survey, tribal identity and knowledge of their personal identity and knowledge of their personal *pepehā* (tribal motto) was assessed using six cultural engagement measures (as noted in Table 2).

Measure	Female
Iwi (tribe)	90.2%
Hapū (subtribe)	56.9%
Maunga (mountain)	62.1%
Awa (river)	59.2%
Waka (canoe)	55.0%
Tipuna / Tupuna (ancestor)	58.1%
None of these	8.5%
All these	43.8%
Marae tūpuna (ancestral marae)	71.8%

Table 2 *Māori Women Who Know Pepehā (Tribal Identity)*. Data from “2013 Te Kūpenga Māori Wellbeing Survey,” Statistics NZ, 2014.

The data in Table 2 represents the responses of female respondents only and shows that 90.2% of Māori women knew their *iwi* (tribe) and 56% knew their *hapū* (sub-tribe), in relation to their *pepehā* (tribal motto). The remaining measures show that 62.1 % knew their *maunga* (mountain), 59.2% knew their *awa* (river), 55% knew their *waka* (tribal canoe). 58.1% knew their *tūpuna* (ancestor), and 78.1% of Māori women knew their ancestral *marae* (tribal space, place with ancestral building). Incidentally, all the research participants in this study had links to at least one *hapū* or *iwi* that they identified during interviews.

A further interesting set of statistics were the 96.1% of Māori women who had been to their ancestral marae at some time, and of these women, 59% had been to their marae in the

preceding 12 months. There were 68.1% of Māori women who were very strongly or strongly connected to their ancestral marae as their *tūrangawaewae* (place of tribal identity). Finally, the survey looked at 17 different measures related to participation in cultural practices, over a specified 12-month period. The one statistic of interest was the 63.2% of Māori women who either discussed or explored *whakapapa* or family history. Regarding views about culture, spirituality, for 58.6% of Māori women, was very or quite important.

3.10.4 Te Reo Māori and Tikanga

Te reo (Māori language) is often described as the doorway to society and the very heart of Māori culture. In the view of McBreen (2011) “te reo holds the mātauranga, and without the mātauranga (knowledge), the tikanga (protocols) are only arbitrary rules” (para. 53). The heart, soul and *mana* of *Te Ao Māori* is described in the following *kōrero* by Ngāpuhi leader Sir James Henare, “Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori,” which translates as “the language is the life force of the Māori people” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

The 2013, Te Kūpenga Survey also measured the ability of Māori to speak *te reo* on a scale from *very well* to *no more than a few words or phrases*. The survey results for Māori women aged 15 and over, who self-identified their ability to speak *te reo*, are outlined in Table 3.

Level of Te Reo	Percentage / %
very well	5.6%
Well	6.5%
fairly well	13.5%
not very well	32.9%
no more than a few words or phrases	41.5 %

Table 3 *Level of Te Reo Proficiency by Gender, in the 2013 Te Kūpenga Māori Wellbeing Survey Note.* Data from “2013 Te Kūpenga Māori Wellbeing Survey,” by Statistics NZ, 2014.

Knowledge of *te reo me ōna tikanga* (Māori language and culture) impacts in many ways on Māori leadership. Its demise or marginalisation is a consequence of colonisation, tantamount to cultural genocide. However, the findings from the fieldwork in this study demonstrate how Māori women leadership has taken up the challenge, with all those interviewed self-

identifying as being reasonably competent in *te reo*. What is more significant, in relation to this study's objective, is that they all had extremely high knowledge levels in *tikanga* (customs, values), that they applied to their leadership roles.

3.11 Indigenous Women in Education

It has already been established in this chapter that the approach to Māori women's education in this study is a broad-based one, which pre-dates the colonisation of this country. Māori women in tertiary institutions are working in mainstream institutions. They share with other women the task of challenging male privilege in modern society. In the context of education, Blackmore (2006) contends that gender and leadership is considered "either as a category or factor of analysis or as a critical strand of theory" (p. 797). In her view, feminist and post-colonial theoretical perspectives are "shaped by wider cultural, social, and political belief systems, sociocultural practices, and discourses that are gendered, each with different policy trajectories" (Blackmore, 2006 p. 797), which underpin leadership research.

However, Fitzgerald's (2006) contemporary study of Indigenous women and education in New Zealand, Australia and Canada provides valuable comparative insights that are very relevant to this study.

Fitzgerald (2006) undertook a longitudinal study over three years which looked at Indigenous ways of knowing, leading and being led. The study highlighted the complexity involved in schools following the educational reforms in New Zealand in the 1980s and documented the impacts upon women. In her view, the distinction between women and men in educational settings were specific, with women being acknowledged as "suited to teaching in the nation's classrooms and men were naturally equipped to manage and lead bureaucracies" (Fitzgerald, 2006, p. 201). In addition, Fitzgerald contends that increasingly complex educational issues often result in calls for global solutions, but further argues that local approaches should be the priority, cautioning against the use of "homogenous" theories.

However, she identified universal challenges shared by all Indigenous women who "walk between two worlds" (p. 209). Her findings would be familiar to Māori women leaders, not only in this study, but generally:

- Community demands and accountabilities,

- Institutional expectations to be “all knowing” experts for every Indigenous problem and responsible for making it right,
- Within the education setting, mediating a “two worlds view.”

She concluded that what was “evident from their voices is that gender and ethnicity do matter in educational leadership and management and that “walking between two worlds” is complicated, contested and difficult terrain” (p. 210).

Pfeifer’s research (Pfeifer & Love, 2004; Pfeifer, 2005) is relevant to this study as it compared leadership behaviours of Māori and Pākehā sub-cultures of New Zealand. She proposed that “perceived leadership behaviour would vary as a function of cultural difference between the two sub-cultures and thereby identify a more holistic view of leadership in Aotearoa, New Zealand” (p. 5). According to Pfeifer & Love (2004), Māori and Pākehā cultures are often synthesised in leadership studies, despite the diametrically opposed values, beliefs, and behaviour patterns of the respective ethnic groups. She concluded that there were perceptible differences. Notably, Māori involved in the study described their leaders as displaying “more transformational behaviours than Pākehā New Zealanders” (Pfeifer & Love, 2004, p. 10). The same ‘traits’ or attributes she identified in her study apply to the Māori women in this study. This gives credence to the claim that cultural beliefs and values that underpin Māori leadership transcend time. These studies are testament to the resilience of colonised, indigenous cultures.

3.12 Māori in the Tertiary Sector

Māori women leaders’ experiences and perceptions of leadership and practice were explored to glean more detailed information about Māori leadership, Māori women’s perspectives of leadership, their leadership practice, and the challenges they encounter.

Statistics relating to Māori women’s educational qualifications were taken from the 2006 and 2013 census data and the article, The Pakaru pipeline (Naepi et al., 2020). In 2006, there were 156 Māori women who completed doctorates, 1,260 with Masters’ degrees and 1,656 with other postgraduate qualifications: Honours’ degrees, diplomas, and certificates. In 2013, there were 336 Māori women with doctorates, 2,127 with Masters’ degrees, and 3,222 with other postgraduate and Honours’ degrees. Participants in this study, with the highest qualifications were evenly split. The highest qualification of the academics was a doctorate,

and the highest qualification for professionals a postgraduate diploma or degree. The population of Māori women, taken from both the 2006 and 2013 census data shows that 6% held a doctorate as their highest qualification in 2006, and 5.9% in 2013.

NZ Universities Academic Role	No. Māori Academics	No. Māori Women	No. Māori Men	No. Non-Māori	Total No. Academic
Professors/ Deans	25	5	15	950	975
Associate Professors/ HOD	25	15	10	890	915
Senior Lecturer	120	77	43	2345	2465
Lecturer / Tutor	120	73	47	1120	1240
Other academic / Assistant Tutor	175	117	58	2260	2435
Totals	465	287	173	7,565	8,030

Table 4 *Numbers of Non-Māori and Māori Academics Employed Across Eight New Zealand Universities, by Academic Type and Gender, in 2012.* Note. Data from “The Pakaru ‘Pipeline’: Māori and Pasifika Pathways Within the Academy,” by Naepi et al, (2020), *The New Zealand Annual Review of Education*, 24 (<https://doi.org/10.26686/nzaroe.v24i0.6338>).

The total number of academics employed in NZ universities in 2012 was approximately 8,030, of which 7,565 were non-Māori and 465 were Māori. Of this number, 287 were Māori women and 173 were Māori men. What was interesting from the data was that 15 Māori men were employed as Professors or Deans, compared to only 5 Māori women. In the group of Associate Professors and Heads of Department, there were 15 Māori women and 10 Māori men. The remaining Senior Lecturer and Lecturer/Tutor categories contained 77 and 73 Māori women, and 47 and 43 Māori men, respectively, showing more women employed at lower academic levels.

NZ Universities Academic Role	No. Māori Academics	No. Māori Women	No. Māori Men	No. Non-Māori	Total No. Academic
Professors/ Deans	35	15	20	1010	1045
Associate Professors/ HOD	45	30	12	930	975
Senior Lecturer	130	75	88	2335	2465
Lecturer / Tutor	125	75	50	1405	1530
Other academic / Assistant Tutor	160	94	66	2845	3005
Totals	495	289	236	8525	9020

Table 5. *Numbers of Non-Māori and Māori Academics Employed Across Eight New Zealand Universities, by Academic Type and Gender, in 2017.* Note: Data from “The Pakaru ‘Pipeline’: Māori and Pasifika Pathways Within the Academy,” by Naepi et al., 2020, *The New Zealand Annual Review of Education*, 24 (<https://doi.org/10.26686/nzaroe.v24i0.6338>).

The total number of academics employed in NZ universities in 2017 was approximately 9,020, of which 8,525 were non-Māori and 495 were Māori. Of this number, 289 were Māori women and 236 were Māori men. The number of Māori men employed as Professors or Deans

increased by 5, to 20, and by 10 for Māori women, to 15. Turning to Associate Professors and Heads of Department, there were 30 Māori women, a number which had more than doubled from 2012, and 12 Māori men. The remaining Senior Lecturer and Lecturer/Tutor categories numbered 75 and 94 Māori women, and 50 and 66 Māori men, respectively. There do not seem to be huge changes in 2017. Although the figures increased significantly for Māori women being employed as Professors or Deans, Māori male numbers were negligible.

What the data does show however is that relative to the numbers of Māori students, the ratio of Māori women staff at the higher levels of Professor/Dean/Associate Professor and Head of Department was not high, given that the figures covered eight NZ universities. There were more Māori women employed at Senior Lecturer, Lecturer, Tutor and Other levels. Further to the commentary about Māori women academics and the obvious disparities in section 3.12, there is no data available that indicates where Māori women are employed as senior executives or leaders, thus making it difficult to quantify the number of Māori in such roles in tertiary institutions, including Whare Wananga.

The levels for Pasifika achievement are significant, at more than four times that of Māori. Irrespective however, the point here is that whilst there is an obvious increase in Māori and Pasifika attending university in 2017, there have been no active attempts to increase the numbers of Māori and Pasifika teaching staff, to offset the increased numbers of students (Snook & O'Neill, 2010).

3.13 Māori Women's Leadership Theory

Māori leadership from the perspective of Māori women has been relatively unexplored, in comparison to other fields of leadership study. Historically, the leadership knowledge and practice of Māori women has been subsumed beneath layers of patriarchal discourse and assumptions. The literature on Māori women scholars (Tomas, 2006; Yates-Smith, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Pihama & Gardiner, 2005; Ralston, 1993) provides valuable historical narratives of traditional Māori women leaders and leadership that anchor the wisdom for contemporary studies to make positive connections. A significant contribution of this study to Māori leadership theory is the identification of descriptions of Māori leadership practice, from the perspective of Māori women leaders in the tertiary education sector. Their experiences highlight approaches that are informed by ways of thinking and aptitudes for dealing with

issues of racism and Māori educational disparities (Henry, 1994; Hoani, 2014; Ruru, 2016; Wirihana, 2012).

Māori cultural values have been incorporated into a wide range of research and conceptual frameworks to give meaning and facilitate understanding across a wide range of academic disciplines (Kennedy, Cram, Paipa, Pipi, & Baker, 2015; Reid, 2010; Te Rito, 2006; 2007). Cultural values have been used to inform several Māori-focussed leadership studies. For example, Spiller et al, (2011a) promote the notion that ancient Māori wisdom can contribute meaningfully to business. Further studies show the cultural value *kaitiakitanga* being used to inform organisational wisdom (Spiller et al., 2011b). Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) present a holistic collaboration between culture, identity and context as factors that influence leadership. There is a responsibility to consider the emotional and spiritual needs of the collective, alongside sensitivity and recognition of the intergenerational potential.

These studies provide examples of the way that Māori women have identified and used different Māori cultural values, to underpin organisational leadership. According to Parry & Proctor (2003) transformational organisational cultures promote innovation and honest conversations. They also argue that research showed parallels between transformational culture with positive outcomes for the organisation and individuals. Spiller et al, (2011a, 2011b) summarise a series of touchstones and associated energies to explain organisations and management from a Māori-inspired perspective. Opportunities for reflection and the application of the relational well-being approach illustrate how common cultural values shed light on the scope and depth of relational well-being. These studies provide valuable insight, drawn directly from a Māori worldview, and reveal the untapped potential of knowledge and experience to be gained from Māori practitioners and the vast resource of *mātauranga* (Māori knowledge).

A Māori leader today, in many ways, is far removed from the traditional understanding of a leader, and this is even more true of, specifically, a Māori woman leader. Historical accounts crafted a view of Māori women that was not reflective of their own reality (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Mikaere, 1994; Hoskins, 1994) but more resembled 18th century British worldviews. The transformations that occurred because of the recasting of Māori societal norms (Hokowhitu, 2008; 2013) were significant and ultimately provided recognition of Māori women's lives, including their leadership status.

3.14 Gaps in the Literature

The main gaps in the field include the lack of comprehensive information detailing the chronological progression of Māori leadership. There is minimal literature available that provides definitive information about Māori women's knowledge and experiences of leadership throughout history. This has had a major effect on the ability of following generations to conceptualise Māori women's perspectives of Māori leadership. Furthermore, the capability to even begin the critical work of designing new, innovative, wahine Māori-inspired leadership models and approaches for the next phase of economic growth for Māori depends on there being at least a place to start.

This leadership literature review seeks to examine leadership theory and practice development in relation to Māori leadership and the perspectives of Māori women leaders. Two central themes guide the analysis of the literature, examining how leadership is conceptualised and theorised; and identifying the key factors that inform and contribute to leadership practice. The leadership theories under review have been selected to provide a focussed overview of the development of leadership theory and practice.

Literature specifically detailing the cultural practice of *karanga* revealed a limited range of sources up to and including 2017. The most insightful are contextualised within the practice of *karanga* in *pōwhiri* (rituals of welcome) (Forster et al., 2016; McClintock et al., 2010; Tauroa and Tauroa, 1986).

According to Kenny & Frazer, 2012, "the difference between western research terminology which strives to present the appearances of objectivity and neutrality and the Indigenous research agenda which uses social science research methodologies that reflect and purposefully carry social and political implications" (p. 105). For example, it is a challenge for Māori researchers to remain objective once a research project ends, because the relationship that occurs in a research process is about the specific issue or *kaupapa* (purpose) of the research interaction.

3.15 Conclusion

This review presents quite conclusively that Māori leadership research has centred largely on the individual leader (irrespective of gender), with only limited reference to followers or

women. There is also evidence that there are a few commonalities between early Western leadership theories and Māori leadership.

The literature shows that understandings of the concepts that underpin Māori society, Māori leadership, and the leadership roles Māori women held in traditional times have evolved. The effects of Western cultural influences are a critical feature of Māori history and shows how many of the traditional aspects of Māori women's leadership have been redefined. The key factor identified in this review is that the process of colonisation has had the most detrimental effect on Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership. The incremental implementation of policies and programmes, under the guise of civilising the Māori population for the benefit of their health, welfare, and salvation, has fundamentally changed Māori society.

This study aims to contextualise modern leadership in an historical context. I want to explore Māori women as leaders, and their leadership practice, to find out how much impact tradition has on modern leadership. It is feasible to expect that a Māori definition of leadership, from a Māori perspective, must take into consideration the cultural beliefs and values that inform practice. Existing literature on the subject emphasises a holistic, relational approach to Indigenous/Māori leadership (Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Spiller et al., 2011b).

Indigenous researchers highlight the challenges to development in Indigenous leadership scholarship (Boldon & Kirk, 2009; Evans & Sinclair, 2015; House et al., 2004; McIntosh et al., 2014; Spiller, 2011a). There are valuable implications from various cultures that resonate with Māori leadership experiences and open possibilities for future collaborations in this field. There is an opportunity for Māori scholars in the field of management and leadership to develop conceptual frameworks Māori use when thinking about leaders and leadership. There are a range of factors (including the tools and impact of colonisation, patriarchy, racism, and the influence of history) that affect Māori conceptualisations of leadership (Mikaere, 2000a). Such factors have in turn influenced historical development and key changes that have occurred for Māori women's leadership. More recent studies are more holistic in approach (Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Spiller et al., 2011b). Katene (2010) provides an overview of Māori leadership historically, and in the process implies the potential for Māori being more inclusive in the future. What is more, there is still an opportunity to examine how to approach the successful integration of Māori knowledge, culture, and values to balance the understanding of effective leadership.

Māori womens' perspectives along with recent developments of a gendered analysis together with cross-cultural, global and Indigenous leadership research has potential to inject innovation in the change the leadership landscape. This research attempts to consider this prospect by adapting Women specific Māori constructs that underpin leadership. It could also provide useful insights to better analyse and understand Māori women and leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand. Most promising is the revitalisation of trait theories, or charismatic leadership, to forge a new direction focussing on leader behaviours. These resonate with Māori leadership, past and present.

Chapter 4: Leadership Theory

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses leadership theory that has relevance to the study. Māori women's leadership perspectives, reinforced by gender, cross-cultural, and Indigenous analysis, are influencing leadership discourse in Aotearoa, New Zealand. However, Māori culture is not considered to be the national culture of New Zealand but is identified as a sub-culture or a subset of the national culture (Mead et al., 2006; Pfeifer, 2004). This needs to change. This research demonstrates (see Chapter One and Chapter Six) that Māori women in leadership roles are at the vanguard of challenging the status quo across all fields, not just the tertiary sector.

It is also apparent that, because of the colonial experience, both Indigenous and postcolonial institutions have exerted influence and encouraged collaboration. Therefore, it is useful to open this chapter with a brief overview of Western leadership theory and then explore trait, gender, cross-cultural, Indigenous and followership theories as they relate to Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership. Leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand is located within the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā; this study seeks to uncover some of the socio-political layers that affect the identity of Māori women leaders and their leadership practice.

Māori leadership, as an Indigenous theoretical perspective, has already been raised in relation to non-Indigenous trait and transformative leadership theories. Trait theory resonates with traditional Māori leadership models. Bass and Stogdill, proponents of trait theory, maintain that the "study of history was and is about the study of leaders" (Bass, 1990, p. 3). However, trait theory has been criticised as being overly simplistic and too heavily reliant on heritability, ignoring other determinants, such as leader behaviours, and, more recently, charismatic, transformational, and situational leadership. Consequently, "trait explanations of leader emergence are generally regarded with little esteem by leadership theorists" (Zaccaro et al., 1991, p. 308). Notwithstanding this, there are very few theories which possess a natural fit with Indigenous Māori leadership. This has precipitated the development of Kaupapa Māori theory, on which Mana Wahine, as a leadership theoretical position, sits. In this study it proved a theoretical backdrop to the analysis of Māori women leaders in the tertiary sector.

Mana wahine is always located within our wider relationships as Māori. And it is within such a framework that we can ensure that we are cognisant of our relationships, responsibilities, and obligations to each other as Māori, to our Indigenous relations and to those that live here on our lands. (Pihama et al., 2019, p. v)

Mana Wahine, as a concept, provides the theoretical underpinnings to the Karanga paradigm, which is predicated on the broader, overarching principles of Kaupapa Māori theory.

4.2 Traditional Leadership Theories

The scope of Western leadership literature is extensive (Bass & Bass, 2008; King, 1990; Northouse, 2018; Van Seters & Field, 1990; Van Vugt, 2006; Yukl, 1989) and difficult to traverse when attempting to identify leadership theories that align well with Māori leadership theories. As a formalised area of study, Western leadership began in the 1930s in the United States of America (House & Aditya, 1997; Smith & Krueger, 1933) and theories often targeted male leadership and how ‘effective’ the leader and leadership was. The genesis of trait theories was based on the early works of Carlyle (1846) and Galton (1869), with an initial focus on traits of prominent leaders as an indicator of leader effectiveness. Later theories moved to look at the ways that leaders behaved and acted (Bowden, 1926; McGregor, 1960), providing the impetus for the emergence of a raft of behavioural leadership studies.

This changed with Stogdill’s (1948) review of leadership research, suggesting there needed to be consideration of the person and the situation, thus shifting focus to incorporate the actions of leaders (Van Seters & Field, 1990), rather than just the traits or behaviours of leaders. Leadership research was not always progressive, and at times developed in isolation with similar research outcomes arising, such as those in the Ohio and Michigan universities’ studies of the 1940s and 50s. The situational (Hershey & Blanchard, 1969) and contingency theoretical perspectives illustrate a phase of leadership research that spans a broad focus of factors. According to Jones and George (2019), the proposition of contingency theories is that “whether a leader who possesses certain traits or performs certain behaviours is effective depends on, or is contingent on, the situation or context” (p. 342). The earliest indication of the relevance of the situation in leader effectiveness was in the surveys conducted by Stogdill

(1948, 1974) who identified specific leader's traits and the situation as key determinants of leadership.

Although the early studies did identify situation or context as a key factor, they did not go far enough in clarifying the relationship between leader traits, behaviours, and leader effectiveness in the various situations (Yukl, 2010). Furthermore, other theories show potential alignment with Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership, such as gender, cross-cultural, and Indigenous leadership perspectives, along with trait and transformational theories, and followership theories.

4.2.1 Trait Theories

The early trait theories, based on the perspectives of scholars (Darwin, 1859; Galton, 1869) and the later "Great Man Theory" (James, 1896), depict great leaders throughout history sharing specific qualities (Bass & Bass, 2008; Colbert et al., 2012). The steadily growing list of traits were subsequently classified into five leadership "personality trait" characteristics: capacity, achievement, responsibility, participation, and status—referred to as the "Stogdill Leadership Taxonomy" (Johnson et al., 1998, p. 217).

These characteristics align with traditional Māori leadership traits recorded in Rangikāheke's manuscripts. The five leadership traits are articulated differently but resonate with Rangikāheke's descriptions of: "...bravery, war speeches, food procurement, feasts of celebration, restraining the departure of visiting parties, council speeches, welcoming guests and looking after visitors" (Matthews, 2011, p. 1). The world has changed since Rangikāheke's time, but the beliefs and values of *Te Ao Māori* transcend time and space.

A criticism that is more difficult to refute is: "One problem with early trait research was that there was little empirically substantiated personality theory to guide the search for leadership traits" (House & Aditya, 1997, p. 410). However, improvements in statistical research methods have led to a revival and development of personality trait theory (House, 1971; 1977, House & Howell, 1992; House & Shamir, 1993; Shamir et al., 1993).

The indications from these methodological tools are that leadership traits produce positive organisational outcomes is giving that credence to trait theory. As a result, the development of modern visionary and charismatic leadership theories, informed by the earlier trait theory, is gaining traction (Bass, 1990; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Bryman, 1992, 2004; Caruso & Wolfe,

2004; Zaccaro, 2007; Zaccaro et al., 2004; Zaleznik, 1977). According to House (1977; 1999), charismatic leadership is rooted in the personal and behavioural characteristics of the leader; such “leaders being able to motivate followers or subordinates beyond their own and the leader’s expectations” (Conger & Kanungo, 1987 p. 14). Bass and Avolio’s (1993a; 1993b) charismatic model identified four traits of a leader (a) charisma or idealised influence; (b) inspiration; (c) intellectual stimulation; and (d) individualised stimulation. These characterise the personality traits of all the Māori women participants in this study. It is apparent that non-Māori skill sets are needed to navigate the challenges and demands of mainstream, Pākehā-dominated institutions. Although the sample is small, the humanity in the Māori women’s interview responses is palpable. It is evident in their writing that Māori women educators are motivated to effect change and move towards a transformative agenda, predicated on Māori values that are reminiscent of traditional Māori definitions of “good leadership” (Cooper & Nirenberg, 2004).

4.2.2 Followership Theories of Leadership

More recently in the corpus of leadership theory, scholars have begun to acknowledge the centrality of followers (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014), and the paucity of research on followership (Conger & Kanungo, 1987;1994; Conger et al. 2000). There are three common approaches to studying follower contributions to leadership scholarship: follower-centric, followership research, and followership theory. Follower-centric approaches refer to increasing awareness of the role followers play in the co-construction of leadership (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014, p. 86). These approaches have come about in response to the proliferation of leader-centred literature. For example, two different relational leadership theory approaches referred to are the entity perspective and the relational perspective. The entity perspective aims to identify attributes of the individual in the process of interactive relationships, whereas the relational perspective sees leadership as socially constructed. However, “both view leadership as a social process,” although with different ontological and epistemological foundations (Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2006, p. 655). Furthermore, the distinction between the two is that the ‘entity’ perspective assumes individual relationships and the ‘relational’ perspective views people and organisations as ongoing multiple constructions that take place in processes (Hosking, 2000).

Followership theory, by comparison, is “the study of the nature and impact of followers and following in the leadership process” (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014, p. 84). This theory refers to followers as actors within either a hierarchical role structure or a leadership process. There are, however, factors that influence the minimisation of followers as a key component of leadership (Lapierre & Bremner, 2010) and, according to Uhl-Bien et al, (2014), this is due in part to a misperception surrounding followership constructs and how that links to leadership.

Followership research has been considered in relation to, or as a part of, leader-centred research. The long-held, stereotypical views of followers as ‘passive’ or ‘subservient’ has arisen out of management literature and assumes leadership is both hierarchical and authoritarian in nature (Taylor, 1947). In the opinion of Uhl-Bien et al, (2014), any progress relating to followership research relies on the identification of followership constructs and its placement within the broader context of followership theory (p. 84). Discerning the differences between followership terms allows researchers to highlight follower-centric approaches. These are either concerned with the follower only or examine followership in relation to leadership (Carsten et al., 2010; Meindl, 1995), whereas followership theory looks at the role and behaviour of followers in relation to leaders and leadership (Uhl-Bien et al., 2014).

Followers tend to demonstrate obedient and subordinate behaviours in response to common beliefs that leaders are responsible for making decisions, solving problems, gathering information, and setting goals (De Vries & Van Gelder, 2005; Ravlin & Thomas, 2005). In the study of constructions of followership effectiveness, the results showed followership variation on a passive to proactive continuum (Carsten et al., 2010; Lapierre & Bremner, 2010). The role-based approaches to followership examine followership behaviours from the ‘subordinate’ position, whereas the alternative, constructionist position investigates the following behaviours, as they combine with leading behaviours to co-construct leadership and its outcomes (DeRue & Ashford, 2010; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012). Thus, followers are more actively involved in the leadership relationship (Shamir, 1992, Shamir et al., 1993) and are moderators of followership outcomes.

In a relational approach to leadership, the interpersonal dynamics are central. Scholars applying relational approaches include followership from a leadership perspective and identify “interacting factors, such as context, task, and the personal qualities of both leader

and followers that collectively impact followers' normative evaluations of leadership" (Lord & Brown 2001, p. 320). Four contextual factors were identified: organisational culture, task, leader, and follower characteristics, as they support evaluative behaviours. Collectively, this stream of research positions followers as active and dynamic agents.

In a similar manner, Follett (1949) rejected the idea of a manager's unilateral authority over subordinates. Her 'power with' view holds followers to be active and dynamic agents in a reciprocal interaction process, whilst, at the same time, she acknowledges the hierarchical positioning of the leader. Authority is a group process where all follow "what the situation demands" rather than being something that "filters down to those below" (Follett, 1949, as cited in Lapierre & Bremner, 2010, p. 43). Instead of seeing leaders and followers as those who command and those who obey, she posited that "authority or power is an integrated concept" between leaders and followers, wherein a self-generating process of control is created.

Subsequent follower research has not taken Follett's views seriously, and her egalitarian stance has been overlooked in recent constructions of followership theory. Recent research on followership theory (Uhl-Bein et al., 2014) describes a multitude of potential influencing variables on followership theory, which appears to be reviving interest in traits and behaviour.

4.3 Emerging Themes in Leadership Theory

4.3.1 Gender and Leadership

The scope of gender and leadership studies remains focussed on various aspects of gender equity and difference. Generally, the interplay of gender and leadership is constructed as a 'women's problem' premised on biological differences of sex (Appelbaum et al., 2012), discrimination, and variable leadership behaviours and effectiveness (Yukl, 2010, p. 466). Powell (2012) provides a useful overview of the definitions of the terms 'sex' and 'gender,' where 'sex' refers to the binary categories of male and female, and 'gender' refers to the psychosocial implications of being male or female (pp. 120–121). Powell maintains that "the study of sex differences in leadership examines how male and female leaders actually differ in attitudes, values, skills, behaviours and effectiveness whereas the study of gender differences in leadership focusses on how people believe male and female leaders differ" (2012, p. 121).

How perceptions of men and women as managers relate to leadership is important, given the implicit association of masculine characteristics with successful managers. For example, one issue that has continued to impact women's career progression within organisational hierarchies is an invisible barrier, often referred to by the metaphor of the "glass ceiling". Although it has been suggested that the glass ceiling metaphor is now redundant (Carli & Eagly, 2011) there is the perspective that the glass ceiling is still relevant to other cultures in the 21st century (Radhakrishnan, 2019). The literature suggests that there is little difference between male and female styles of leadership (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Bass & Avolio, 1994a; Schein, 1973; 2007; Wille, et al., 2018; Wrohlich & Zucco, 2017). Key research conducted by Virginia Schein over a span of 30 years, both independently and with colleagues in specific countries, sought to understand "the extent to which successful middle managers are perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes, and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general rather than women in general" (Schein, 1973 p. 6).

The 1973 study focussed on business students and potential managers of the future whose beliefs could influence the progression of women to more senior management roles. Female participants' attitudes, in the original 1970s studies, mirrored those of their male counterparts, where women were considered less likely to possess the requisite managerial characteristics, attitudes, skills, and temperaments required of successful managers.

Rosener's (1990) breakthrough study on women managers, interviewing female participants who had broken the glass ceiling, also showed that effective leaders did not necessarily approach issues from a single, homogenous position. The survey of male and female US managers identified several similarities, but also some distinct differences in leadership performance. Women participating in the survey tended to describe their leadership in transformational terms. For example, they motivated others using personal characteristics, such as charisma, personal skills, hard work, and personal contacts. She named this style "interactive leadership" (Rosener, 1990, pp. 120–121), which is aligned with transformational leadership and resonates with Māori leadership styles (Avolio et al., 2004; Caza & Jackson, 2011; Gardner et al., 2011; George, 2000; Zhao, 2012). Authentic leadership relies on ethical principles, beliefs, and values to achieve transformation (Avolio et al., 2004; Caza & Jackson, 2011; Gardner et al., 2011; George, 2000; Zhao, 2012). This is evident in the interview responses in the fieldwork undertaken in this study.

The interactive leadership style of women incorporates encouragement, power, and information sharing, and develops an individual's self-worth (Rosener, 1990). The broader meta-analysis of transformational leadership by Eagly et al, (2003) also found that women demonstrated more frequent transformational styles of leadership than men, and that women showed more relational behaviours, including listening skills, and the empowerment of followers (Eagly et al., 2003; Rhee & Siegler, 2015).

Results differed in the New Zealand replication of the Schein study, where male and female participants agreed that successful managers were more likely to exhibit masculine characteristics, but they both also thought that women were likely to possess managerial characteristics at a lower level (Sauers et al., 2002, p. 346). In explanation, it was noted that four high-profile, public-sector roles held by women in New Zealand provided powerful role models for improving the status of women in leadership positions locally, despite men dominating managerial positions (p. 347).

4.3.2 Women and Cross-cultural Leadership

Cross-cultural and Indigenous leadership globally, have the common thread of "culture" that connects the discussion across the separate fields of leadership. According to Jackson and Parry (2011), leadership is a cultural activity imbued with values, beliefs, ritual language, and artefacts. Cross-cultural leadership has developed to understand leaders who work in a globalised environment, and as is common across scholarship, leadership does not have a commonly agreed definition.

The perceptions of women's leadership in different global contexts have been found to be influenced by the national culture. For example, a study by Jogulu and Wood (2008) investigated gender and culture in Malaysia and Australia. The findings showed that the effectiveness of leadership styles reflected the values, attitudes and beliefs of each country's national culture, and that culture plays a critical role in influencing behaviour. Similarly, Chao (2011) explored female leadership and glass ceiling effects in non-profit organisations, in Taiwan and the US. She also found that "expected female leadership styles" are influenced by national culture, in addition to other variables, such as organisational culture and context, political system, language, and feminine or masculine characteristics.

The most influential cross-cultural research was Hofstede's (1980) study of the four dimensions of culture Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Masculinity and developed a framework based on the questionnaires (Hadwick, 2011; Catalin & Cerasela, 2012). The original study looked at leadership in a globalised world, using data and information initially gathered within one multinational corporation (IBM) and incurred significant criticism due to the singular source of data on which the study was based. According to Hadwick (2011) Hofstede created a framework of four bi-polar dimensions, and where power distance was associated with the unequal distribution of power and uncertainty avoidance referred to ensuring predictable outcomes, with the third-dimension individualism aligned with the opposite collectivism.

According to Triandis & Suh, (2002), the third cultural dimension individualism with the opposite collectivism is often used to explain cross-cultural differences. Accordingly, western societies like USA and Australia were seen to be more individualistic and eastern societies like Asia and areas with Indigenous sub-cultures (Hofstede, et al, 2010) within national cultures such as Māori in New Zealand were more collectivistic. The polar dimension collectivism is significant to the present study where many of the cultural values that demonstrate effective Māori leadership relate to caring for and leading the people. The fourth-dimension masculinity as the opposite to femininity, is referenced in terms of the social, culturally defined roles where "Men, in short, are supposed to be assertive, competitive, and tough. Women are supposed to be more concerned with taking care of the home, of the children, and of people in general" (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 138). These articulations of masculinity and femininity dimensions therefore do suggest alignment with common understandings of gender roles that do not always fit well with views of Māori women and their leadership.

The Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness Research Project (GLOBE) was developed by House in 1991, utilising Hofstede's (1980) cultural dimensions model as the basis for the project. House et al, (1999) extended the dimensions and grouped the 62 countries or societies into 10 geographical cultural clusters, with New Zealand included in the Anglo cluster, alongside the white sample of South Africa. The GLOBE study retained the power distance and uncertainty avoidance dimensions and split the individualism and masculinity dimensions (Hofstede et al., 2010). The GLOBE dimensions extended from the Hofstede (2010) model included assertiveness, gender egalitarianism, humane orientation,

and performance orientation. The changes to Hofstede's masculine and individualism dimensions was an apparent attempt to avoid the negative connotations (Hadwick, 2011; Triandis & Su, 2002). Hadwick (2011) outlines some important distinctions between the two studies. For example, The Globe study:

- focussed on leadership practices framed through culture;
- utilised three different studies to underpin the work,
- incorporated a project design that enhance validity and extended the culture items in the study;
- Larger group of researchers associated with the project around the globe;
- reframed and extended the dimensions of individualism and masculinity to be more inclusive.

The Hofstede Model:

- focussed on cultural differences.
- had a much larger following than the globe study.
- simple, more intuitive, and more widely used.
- four dimensions provide greater insight into culture where GLOBE has nine-dimensions.
- provides a common language for researchers to use. (Hadwick, 2011, p. 9-11).

Both studies make valuable contributions to the field of cross-cultural leadership and show potential for further opportunities to explore connections with Māori leadership such as the work done by Pfeifer (2004) and Mead et al, (2006) identifying the lack of consideration for sub-cultures within national culture groupings as noted briefly above.

Challenges in cross-cultural research also include cross-cultural variations and the evolutionary nature of culture. At present, there are few cross-cultural leadership studies, and almost all are situated in the US and focused on organisational leadership. Clearly there is also a tension between global and local concerns, with Indigenous leadership studies focussing primarily on local leadership issues rather than global (Pauleen et al., 2010). Dickson et al, (2003) contend that cross-cultural leadership increases the complexity of gaining a good understanding of Indigenous leadership in the wider global context.

According to Vogelgesang et al, (2009), leaders in cross-cultural settings are constantly challenged by dilemmas where their personal values and beliefs are at odds with situations in host cultures. What the authors suggest is that, instead of taking a relativistic stance, leaders need to be objective by maintaining their own personal philosophy of morals and values regardless of the system they find themselves working in (Vogelgesang et al., 2009, p. 103).

This contrasts with Māori Indigenous leadership, where cultural beliefs and values underpin leadership. Although this study focussed purely on the leader, the implications for the host culture, whether organisation or country, are problematic in practice because of the clash of cultures and the tendency for one culture (the leader's) to dominate the host culture (Ospina & Foldy, 2009; Ospina & Su, 2009).

4.3.3 Indigenous Perspectives in Leadership

Irrespective of the political nuances, what is needed to advance indigenous leadership is beginning to gain traction in leadership theoretical perspectives. Emerging Indigenous research provides a more appropriate way to examine and interpret Indigenous leadership practices in specific social contexts. House et al., (2004) identifies New Zealand within a Western context because New Zealand is known to the international GLOBE study. Therefore, Māori are defined as “western” alongside the United States of America, Canada, Australia, Ireland, England, and white South African clusters. Indigenous societies are not considered in the GLOBE study. As noted previously, the focus of cross-cultural leadership is primarily based upon the abilities of leaders to work across cultures in an increasingly globalised market, with little attention paid to sub-cultures, as such (e.g., Māori leadership).

Western or American theories are culturally specific and therefore problematic for the over 500, federally recognised, Indigenous tribal nations in the US. The difficulty lies in the assumption that universal leadership approaches, by mainstream scholars, are equally relevant to both national cultures and sub-cultures. In a review of the leadership literature related to indigenous Native Americans, Warner & Grint (2006) noted that much of the leadership research focussed on Indian educational establishments. They categorised issues as “Indian problems rather than the consequences of historical displacement and cultural destruction” (p. 231). There was little acknowledgement of the “historical difficulties” encountered by Native Americans, such as the assimilation policies and practices which affected traditional leadership models (Warner & Grint, 2006, p. 231).

Any construction of a definition of indigenous leadership needs to be cognisant of these “historical difficulties,” and the exclusion of understanding leadership within a cultural context (Kenny & Fraser, 2012). According to Warner & Grint (2006), it is difficult to understand the perspectives of the “other” and how the “other” understands the approaches to leadership, but they suggest that a good place to start is to note differences. Furthermore, they point out that “Native Americans tend to define leadership less as a position and more as a sphere of influence that must be contextualised in order to be understood” (Warner & Grint, 2006, p. 231).

The Tahdooahnippah (otherwise known as the Warner or Comanche) model of leadership outlines a framework for the discussion of differences between Western and Indigenous leadership. Persuasion that influences change is the most highly valued leadership concept by Native Americans, over and above characteristics, position, or achievements of the leader. However, it appears that the degree to which the persuasion influences is contingent on the context (Warner & Grint, 2006, p. 236).

The differences between Western and Native American approaches to leadership are obvious, given interpretations of what constitutes relevant leadership. For example, Western positional approaches to leadership differ markedly from the “persuasive techniques” commonly employed as indicators of leadership. Finally, Warner & Grint (2006) acknowledged that Western forms of leadership are generally individualistic, “Native American models are much more concerned with how different forms of leadership—individual or collective—in different circumstances can serve the community rather than enhance the reward and reputation to the individual” (Warner & Grint, 2006, p. 240). The two perspectives outlined above resonate with this study on Māori leadership.

Gorringe (2008) suggests that proposing a definition of Indigenous leadership for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait peoples is inappropriate, given the vast diversity of peoples. Instead, he offers two perspectives, the first suggests that:

there is a continuum of mainstream influences that impact on Indigenous leadership styles...and places Indigenous people as mirrors of white people working in and with Indigenous communities/organisations, and which I believe has a direct correlation to influences of culture on leadership. (p. 1)

Gorringe (2008) presents four models of leadership: two dictator models that move from a white dictatorial leadership, based on perceptions of the innate inferiority of Aboriginal peoples, to the black leader as dictator; and two saviour/servant models, where the white saviour/servant challenges obviously racist and discriminatory rhetoric, but is oblivious where the black saviour/servant works for the benefit of the people.

Gorringe & Graham (2005) use the river and other related elements as metaphors to explain their thinking “about Indigenous leadership within the mainstream cultural influence” (p. 3). The characteristics of each style of indigenous leadership includes rock, white-water kayaker, down-stream kayaker, mainstream current, and whirlpools. Conscious of the potential influence of mainstream ideologies, Gorringe (2008) suggests the challenge is that mainstream organisations have defined the qualities of Indigenous leadership that are acceptable as legitimate leadership for the entire Australian population (p. 6). Therefore, in his view, the primary concern is determining what indigenous leadership is. He poses the following question: “Is this Indigenous leadership—or mainstream leadership performed by Indigenous people?” (Gorringe, 2008, p. 6). The final point made by Gorringe is that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples must define leadership for themselves, based on who they are as individuals and as a collective.

Another Australian study by Evans and Sinclair (2015) also notes that, despite the significant research literature on leadership, Indigenous leadership continues to be an under-researched area. One of the important considerations highlighted in Evans and Sinclair’s (2015) overview of Indigenous leadership is the development of culturally-relevant approaches to studying phenomena—in other words, the necessity for culturally aligned methodologies. The effects of colonisation for many Indigenous peoples globally, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, are significant, with the wholesale destruction of their language, culture, and families, removal from the land, and denial of basic human rights (Bell, 1983; Bishop, 1999; Gorringe, 2008, Gorringe & Graham, 2005; Mead, 1994). The assimilation policies that enforced English as the language of communication and the adoption of Western behaviours directly contributed to the ongoing denigration (Evans & Sinclair, 2015, p. 474). Furthermore, Aboriginal women have been instrumental in rebelling against such behaviour (Bell, 1983; Dudgeon, 2007). Bolden and Kirk (2009) caution against applying a reductionist approach to Indigenous values and patterns of leadership that replicate colonising processes, specifically

to avoid the objectification of Indigenous leaders, which would lead to minimising the value of their leadership (Connell, 2007; Nkomo, 2011; Dorfman, 2004).

4.4 Kaupapa Māori Leadership

As already mentioned in the previous chapter the Māori approach to existence offers an alternative framework, predicated on cultural beliefs, values, and practices. Because kaupapa Māori is theory (Smith, 1992; 1996; 1997) and at the expense of repetition the main tenets are elaborated upon in the context of leadership as theory. As briefly outlined in section 3.10.4 of this thesis, tribal epistemologies provide insight into what is significant in Māori lives (Ruwhiu & Cathro, 2014; Ruwhiu & Cone, 2010; Kawharu, 2009). It is symbolic of the holistic relationship between knowledge and practice (Henare, 1998; 2007; Henry & Pene, 2001; Shirres, 1997). Tribal histories are taught using *waiata* (songs), *whakataukī* (proverbs), *kōrero tawhito* (history), *pūrākau* (stories) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) (Hohepa, 2009; Kawharu, 2009), all with the purpose of maintaining an iwi's history, values and models of behaviour (Calman, 2012). According to Salmond (1983), "tribal histories, genealogies," as well as creation and migration *kōrero*, "are all about relationships between gods, ancestors, land and living men and women" and may well account for why names are critical to Māori scholarship (p. 318). It is within this network of tribal narratives and system of maintaining tribal knowledge that the transmission to future generations is continuously reproduced.

According to Pihama et al, (2004), "The marginalisation of Māori has meant the privileging of Pākehā knowledges over Māori knowledges," suggesting that this privileging has resulted from colonisation and the imposition of colonial institutions, such as the existing education system (p. 9). Māori academics and researchers have made advances in developing and extending Kaupapa Māori research paradigms and methodologies drawn from various aspects of *te ao Māori* (Bishop, 2005; 1998; 2011; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997, 1999a; Smith, 1990; Taki, 1996), enhancing the possibilities for the future of Māori and Indigenous research.

What this means for Kaupapa Māori researchers, now and into the future, is a need for greater autonomy over all facets of Māori society (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1996), alongside support for writing that reconfigures existing interpretations of Māori histories

(Hokowhitu, 2008), to enhance contributions to the validation and transformation of Māori knowledge. It is, however, becoming an increasingly common practice for Māori academics and researchers to explore *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) to identify new and innovative research knowledge and practices, in order to challenge concerns over basic tenets of research. For example, Lee (2009) outlined how the traditional Māori narrative form of *pūrākau* (storytelling), as a research methodology, was informed by Indigenous theoretical developments and the reconceptualization of *purākau* as a “culturally responsive construct for narrative enquiry” (p. 2). Ware, Breheny, & Forster (2018) also used a method of narrative enquiry referred to as ‘*Kaupapa korero*’. The approach was based around *whakapapa* (genealogy), personal and *whānau korero* (stories) and Te ao Māori (Māori culture) to “gather, present and understand Māori experiences” (Ware, et.al. p. 45).

The view that Kaupapa Māori knowledge production “just is”—is the argument that Māori epistemologies must be taken for granted (Smith, 2000; 2003a; 2003b; Bishop, 2015)—is an important step “otherwise, there is no place for Māori knowledge practices within the larger normative space” (Cooper, 2012, p. 66). It is within the revised processes of reinterpretation of Māori histories that new and innovative knowledge production will take place (Ruwhiu & Cathro, 2014), removing the colonised view of what constitutes valid or credible knowledge that has persisted for so long (Mahuika, 2011).

Similarly, Eketone (2008) argues that Kaupapa Māori theory emerges from two different theoretical perspectives: critical theory, drawn from a Marxist tradition, and another perspective, constructivism (p. 1). In his view, Kaupapa Māori theory drawn from a critical theory perspective works to identify and address all forms of oppression and is transformative by intent. In contrast, Kaupapa Māori theory from a constructivist perspective is socially constructed (Mane, 2009). Furthermore, Eketone (2008) suggests that a way through these tensions for Kaupapa Māori is the Native theory approach espoused by Russell (2000). Native theory aligns with a constructivist strand of Kaupapa Māori theory and is defined as “the right of indigenous people to make sense of their time and place in this world” (Russell, 2000, p. 10), on the premise that both self-determination and self-definition rests with Indigenous peoples alone (Mane, 2009).

4.4.1 Kaupapa Māori Leadership Research

Kaupapa Māori leadership today has evolved from the dynamic context of traditional Māori leadership informed by an inherent and extensive mātauranga that was always continuously redefined by the leaders of their time and the situations they encountered. The mātauranga or knowledge and practice of leadership in pre-contact period was seamless.

Māori scholars (Hoani, 2014; Hohepa and Robson, 2009; Katene, 2010; Mahuika, 1992; Mead et al., 2006; Pihama, and Gardiner, 2005; Walker, 2006; Wikitera, 2011; Winiata, 1956; Wirihana, 2012; Te Rito, 2006) have discussed Māori leadership at length noting that the traditional authority of a leader was based on the two fundamental elements of whakapapa and the general acceptance of the *rangatira* (chief) by the people. The common view of leadership ‘authority’ is that chiefly *mana* (prestige) ascended from *ngā Atua* (Katene, 2010; Winiata, 1956) and affirmed through whakapapa along chiefly descent lines (Hohepa and Robson, 2009; Mead et al., 2006; Walker, 2006). Bowden (2008) however distinguishes leadership further as being made up of “two complementary yet quite different aspects—ritual or religious authority on the one hand and political power on the other” (p. 50).

Ritual authority was based on primogeniture and therefore inalienable whereas political power or authority was held by the rangatira in power. This distinction is often referred to as ascribed or achieved leadership status and as Te Rito (2007) points out, there was no guarantee that a *rangatira* or *ariki* with *whakapapa* status would gain political power as a matter of right, but they needed to show a wide range of skills, knowledge and expertise in leadership and the confidence of the people. The upward mobility of lower ranking chiefs was always a possibility and usually rested on demonstrated personal characteristics, traits, skills, abilities, and efforts (Linton, 1964), such as warcraft, or specialist knowledge such as waka building or carving. Therefore, a key indicator for identifying leadership rights, roles and obligations and determined a person’s place in society rather than by classifications related to gender or wealth was authority based on whakapapa and achievement for the benefit of the people. There is little evidence of Māori women seeking to rise in the leadership ranks, but again this is due to the limited availability of literature that details their pursuits.

The move from traditional Māori leadership functions and practice changed over time influenced by the increased migration of Europeans to Aotearoa (Katene, 2010) and the impacts of colonisation (Walker, 2016). The land alienation, the differences between cultures and the usurping of rangatira power and authority influenced the need for a new form of leadership (Katene, 2010). According to Hill (2004) despite tribal resistance to the changing order of Māori society in Aotearoa, a new generation of young, educated Māori emerged who were well versed in the ways and culture of Pakeha (Hokowhitu, 2008) such as the young Māori party members eventually became the country's first Māori politicians. This group of leaders were competent in both worlds and influential Māori leaders from the 1890's through to the first three decades of the 20th century (Hill, 2004). It was in this period that assimilationist policies were actively promoted by the new Māori leaders with a goal to help the Māori people through the social and health reforms. The downside to this approach however was the incremental loss of mātauranga Māori and Māori cultural knowledge which were the cornerstones of traditional Māori leadership.

Contemporary kaupapa Māori leadership has shifted emphasis due to the widespread loss of mātauranga through colonisation (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Māori Women's Welfare League, 2007; Mikaere, 2013; Pouwhare, 2016). *Whakapapa* is no longer considered the main criterion for the authority and power to lead. The wellbeing of the people remains a key priority of kaupapa Māori leadership and informs responses to the social, cultural, environmental, and economic needs and aspirations of Māori society. Māori leaders today are generally well educated and working in a wide variety of organisations, specialisations, and contexts with different levels of knowledge of mātauranga Māori. Therefore, according to Katene, (2010), contemporary Māori leadership requires the capability to maintain the interface between traditional Māori values and leadership practice and mainstream contemporary society.

4.4.2. Contemporary Kaupapa Māori Leadership Research

One of the most important developments in Kaupapa Māori leadership is the ever-increasing number of studies being conducted principally by Māori scholars, theorists, and researchers. Interdisciplinary research continues to make incremental contributions to the broader field of kaupapa Māori leadership research and give effect to the increasing demands on indigenous Māori leadership. Māori scholars, particularly, tend to foreground

their research with a whakapapa that ties the *kaupapa* or purpose of the research to the traditions of Māori (Henry and Wolfgramm, 2018; Hoani, 2014; Ruru, 2017; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2011a; Wirihana, 2012), which in many ways is distinctively indigenous.

For Kaupapa Māori leadership scholarship there is a wider set of considerations for new leadership theory and analysis and a greater emphasis on leadership theory that reflects Te Ao Māori worldviews. Several studies explore Māori concepts and traditional *mātauranga* to reinterpret and analyse the implications and application in the context of kaupapa Māori leadership (Hoani, 2014; Ruru, 2017; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2011a). Two separate research projects examined the notion of wellbeing, to better understand how leadership roles interact with well-being (Roche, Haar and Brougham, 2015) and in the second instance to understand how Māori women leaders ensure their physical and spiritual wellbeing. Ruru (2017) used kaupapa Māori principles as a methodological framework to guide the research process and whakatauki (proverbial sayings) to analyse the data. The study found that a balance between the physical and spiritual dimensions contributed to the wellbeing of Māori women leaders. The Roche et al. (2015) study determined that Māori leaders often operate in a western way using Māori cultural values and principles such as *tino rangatiratanga* (autonomy and self-determination), *mana* (respect and influence), *whanau* (extended family), *whakapapa* (shared history) and *whanaungatanga* (kin relations, consultation, and engagement) as positive psychological resources during difficult times to maintain their wellbeing. Both studies identified key Māori cultural values and principles drawn from Te Ao Māori *mātauranga* (knowledge) to inform their leadership practice and personal well-being.

Further leadership and organisational research articles and papers by Māori scholars (Henry and Wolfgramm, 2015; Katene, 2010; Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013; Ruwhiu and Elkin, 2016; Spiller, et al., 2011a; Wirihana, 2012) contribute valuable insights to the study of Māori women leadership. The majority confirm that Te Ao Māori knowledge form the foundation and that go beyond the identification and use of kaupapa Māori concepts and ideas to analyse, interpret and explain kaupapa Māori leadership practice and challenge the typical organisational leadership perspectives. s aimed to encourage the exploration of ancient wisdom inherent within kaupapa Māori and Te Ao Māori socio-cultural processes to understand the application within Kaupapa Māori leadership.

Both studies challenge the typical organisational leadership perspectives and encourage the exploration of ancient wisdom inherent within kaupapa Māori and Te Ao Māori socio-cultural processes to understand the application within Kaupapa Māori leadership.

In the opinion of Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, and Pio (2011a), potential business innovation embedded within Māori values enrich and improve understandings of business. The concept of kaitiakitanga was teased out to inform the creation of organisational wisdom emphasizing an interconnected worldview in business informed by ancient Māori wisdom and an ethic of care which facilitates relationships personally and with the natural environment (Spiller et al., 2011a). The use of Māori terminology is more explicit and explained thus: “In this worldview of business, humans are [kaitiaki] or stewards endowed with a mandate to use the agency of their mana (spiritual power, authority, and sovereignty) to create mauri ora (conscious well-being) for humans and ecosystems—and this commitment extends to organizations” (p. 224). Ultimately Spiller et al. (2011a) recommend businesses change their philosophy based on Māori value dimensions to promote multi-dimensional wealth. Although this research is related to organisational studies, the contribution this study makes to understanding kaupapa Māori leadership is the complex interconnectedness of Te Ao Māori, and the value of ancient wisdom in developing innovative approaches to leadership.

Similar research by Henry and Wolfgramm (2015) focused on Māori leaders and practitioners in the screen industry, and they named ‘relational leadership’ as a process of social construction, which emerges from the dynamic interaction between ontology (ways of being) and praxis (ways of doing). The study outlines core philosophical foundations that underpin a Māori ontology relative to *whakapapa* and *mana* including *mana atua* (divine sources of *mana*), *mana tupuna* (ancestral heritage), *mana whenua* (geographical and terrestrial sources of *mana*) and *mana tangata* (*mana* derived from human relationships) and *mana wahine* (the feminine principle). The study illustrates the potential of a holistic approach to theorising leadership where culture, identity and macro-contextual dimensions influence leadership.

In the study on pragmatic leadership, Ruwhiu and Cone (2013) view Māori leadership as a unique system based on cultural criteria that continues to prevail in Māori contexts today. An outline of the centrality of Māori philosophy, ethics, and knowledge (wisdom) in Te Ao

Māori (Māori world) is examined on the basis of Māori thinking and practice. From this perspective Māori leadership practice is both relational and value rational with regard to the interconnections between spirit and humanity. Ruwhiu & Cone (2013) identify the following characteristics of Māori leadership including (a) Mātauranga Māori as a philosophical foundation that guides and informs Māori leadership practice, (b) whanaungatanga as a concept of kaupapa Māori that embodies all aspects of relational connectivity; and (c) a set of cultural values that influence practice, and finally (d) the specific context in which Māori leadership practice is articulated.

The value of using the pragmatic leadership approach is that the Kaupapa Māori framework provides a structured process that identifies a specific corpus of knowledge that informs key characteristics, traits, and behaviours of kaupapa Māori leadership practice within the taken for granted wisdom of Te Ao Māori. The implications for researchers and practitioners of leadership were seen to be significant alongside the view that indigenous leadership stays true to their logical and reflective roots of good practice.

In an exploratory article on Māori and servant leadership, Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) acknowledge the various systemic challenges for leadership in the business world that have prompted the demand for more ethical forms of leadership. The authors outline the conceptualisation of two emerging domains in leadership: servant leadership and indigenous Māori leadership. They offer potential convergences of the two areas of leadership and make suggestions of specific implications for future practice and scholarship. Both perspectives share a common concern with the significance of human relationships and context-specificity that could accommodate leadership development that recognises alternative ontologies, epistemologies, and worldviews, providing for richer and more meaningful understanding of leadership for the 21st century. Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) outline shared values drawn from servant leadership and values that underpin a Māori worldview, namely leadership based on universal human principles of respect, integrity, and care for others. Several questions emerge alongside the view that indigenous alternatives may encourage more innovation in leadership development in the future.

These examples of indigenous Māori leadership research in the New Zealand context illustrate this domain is still emerging but potentially rich in terms of the scope and intent. Many of the studies outlined in the review identify the centrality of ancient Māori wisdom

and the significance of extensive mātauranga to inform the development and interpretation in future leadership research. Many of the studies also highlight the potential to utilise different cultural values and principles to interpret issues such as leader well-being (Roche, 2015), organisational management with the concepts alluded to by Spiller et al. (2011a, 2011b), ethical approaches to leadership referred to by Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) and the value of different ontologies, epistemologies and ways of viewing the world and understanding leadership (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2015; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016, Spiller et al., 2011a, 2011b) The review by Katene (2010) provides a sound overview of Māori leadership historically and the potential for Māori being more inclusive in the future. What is more, there is still an opportunity to examine how to approach the successful integration of Māori knowledge, culture, and values to balance the understandings of effective leadership and take into account the influence new leadership research models and perspective have on Māori women leadership theory and practice.

4.4.4 Mana Wahine is Leadership Theory

Mana Wahine theory provides the foundation for the present research project, as it allows for the privileging of Māori women's voices, theories and worldviews. Pihama (2001) makes a valid point:

Mana Wahine theory is a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework that attends to the multiple issues faced by Māori women and incorporates both the analysis of unequal power relations within the context of colonisation and the issues within Māori communities. (p. 261)

Gender relationships have been dramatically influenced by colonisation, and Pihama et al, (2002) argue that “Kaupapa Māori needs to engage notions of mana wahine in its principles and practices” (p. 39). Simmonds (2009) further elaborates, “Mana wahine falls under the broad umbrella of Kaupapa Māori and is consistent in its goals of privileging Māori voices, experiences and histories” (p. 23). According to Foster (2016), “Mana wahine is a concept that acknowledges the importance of Māori women in society and advocates for the continued empowerment and expression of power and authority of women” (p. 326).

Mana Wahine theory was developed, as a research framework, as a way to develop theories that embrace Māori women's experiences (Pihama, 2001). Māori female academics argue

that it is a constant battle to identify a space to articulate the validity of their experiences (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Waitere & Johnson, 2009), to gain opportunities to theorise (Pihama, 2001), and to determine what matters for Māori women's own experiences (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). In this space, the sites of marginalisation are recognised as sites of resistance and hope (Smith, 1999a). Mana Wahine illustrates the freedom to articulate Māori women's experiences and connections between present and past through *wairua* (spiritual) discourses (Smith, 1992), the power to negotiate and transform alienating spaces (Jahnke, 1997; Smith, 1993) and diverse realities, regardless of gender, sexuality, or identity (Hutchings, 2002).

Ten elements are identified by Pihama (2001) as a foundation for the development of Mana Wahine theory:

- Mana Wahine (Māori women),
- Te reo me ōna tikanga (Māori language and protocols),
- Whakapapa (genealogy),
- Whānau (families),
- Recognising diverse realities,
- Wairua (spirituality),
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi),
- Decolonisation,
- Mātauranga wahine (women's knowledge),
- Reclaiming cultural space. (p. 263)

Furthermore, Pihama (2001) argues that "these elements are not exclusive or definitive" but are central to "the development of Māori women's theories" and challenge "the imposition of colonial patriarchal structures" (p. 263). Finally, Mana Wahine theory is a reminder to maintain the continuity of the vision and drive of *ngā tūpuna wāhine* (female ancestors) evident within *whakapapa* (genealogical lines) and history, *i ngā rā o mua* (in the days before).

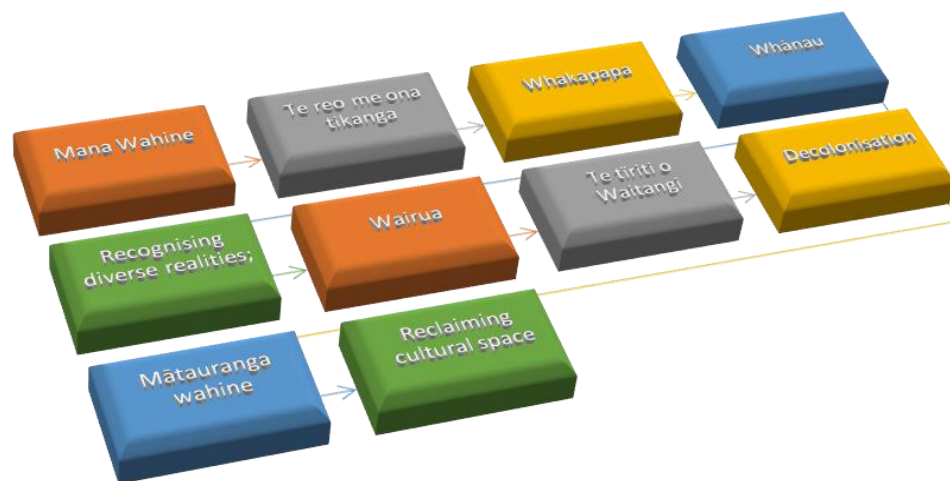


Figure 19 Elements of Mana Wahine Theory. (Pihama et al., 2001)

As the principles of Mana Wahine theory are referred to as the starting point by Pihama (2001), many of these principles are replicated in the Te Karanga paradigm. Te Karanga incorporates a series of concepts and principles, along with those found in Kaupapa Māori generally, but which are drawn together based on Mana Wahine theory and interpretations of the elements of *karanga*. Cognisant of the need for ethical behaviour, which is grounded in the notion of *whakakoha* (respect), the use of a support network, in the form of a group of available individuals, is a common approach to training or mentoring a learner. There are very few Māori with in-depth knowledge of the cultural practice of *karanga* warrants the use of an advisory network of expertise. Amidst growing concerns across Māori society about the monitoring and integrity of research (Irwin, 1994; Bishop & Glynn, 1999) consultation with *kaumatua* (elders, male and female) is an important process in Kaupapa Māori research (Irwin, 1994; Smith, 1990). *Tuarā* (backbone) is a term often used to refer to support networks, which encapsulates the notion of ethical behaviour and accountability, linked to the notion of readiness or preparation.

Both Mana Wahine and Te Karanga are *wahine* Māori-centric, focussed primarily on the voices and stories of women. *Whakapapa* and *whānau* are two principles that are the basis of te ao Māori and the central feature of a Māori reality and identity. These approaches empower Māori women to claim space. Finally, diverse realities is about the uniqueness of every Māori woman who is driven to make this world a better and safer place for our people. That is the challenge for Māori women in the tertiary sector. It is not about individual career

pathways, but about instituting positive Māori cultural beliefs and values, to challenge the Academy and pave the way for future leaders.

4.5 Conclusion

The alignment of emerging models of kaupapa Māori leadership theory and practice illustrate the integral nature of Māori cultural wisdom and the elements that emerge from the conceptual frameworks they utilise but do not always distinguish the alignment with Māori women's leadership. The literature shows that understandings of the concepts that underpin Māori society and Māori leadership and the leader roles Māori women held in traditional times have evolved. The effects of western cultural influences are a critical feature of Māori history and shows many of the traditional aspects of Māori women's leadership have been redefined. The key factor identified in this review is that the most detrimental effect on Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership is the process of colonisation. The incremental implementation of policies and programmes under the guise of civilising the Māori population for the benefit of their health, welfare and salvation has fundamentally changed Māori society.

Historical views about Māori women as leaders and their leadership practice has had an impact upon understandings of what constitutes Māori leader effectiveness relative to that of non-Māori leaders and leadership. Therefore, proposing a Māori definition of leadership from a Māori perspective must take into consideration the elements that fit with the practice. This ultimately poses a problem for Māori leadership in mainstream settings. Māori leadership scholarship is identifying potential avenues to address the perceived gaps in leadership knowledge and practice particularly and may provide the means to re-interpret existing western leadership theory and practice in the future.

The increasing development and emergence of a range of Māori leadership theories have also been influenced by mainstream theory. The discussion exposes a broad range of Kaupapa Māori based concepts being explored and interpreted for new applications in leadership. As such it brings another radical Indigenous perspective by accentuating the cultural imperatives specific to women in leadership. The findings from this chapter lean towards the revitalisation of trait theories or charismatic leadership, to forge a new direction focussing on the behaviours of Māori women leaders.

Chapter 5. Research Design

5.1 Introduction

Triangulation was used to address the key research question: How does cultural tradition influence Māori women in leadership roles in the tertiary sector? The other components of the research, notably the literature review, also methodologically contribute to addressing the research question. Kaupapa Māori, as a methodology, frames all aspects of the research design, and added another layer to the qualitative research component. Qualitative research methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) can for the most part be adapted to Kaupapa Māori research (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). This adaptation must take cognisance so that Māori knowledge is not compromised.

Māori epistemology; the Māori way; the Māori worldview; the Māori style of thought; Māori ideology; Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective; to understand or to be acquainted with the Māori world; to be knowledgeable in things Māori; to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning; Māori tradition and history; Māori experience of history; Māori enlightenment; Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition. (Wiri, 2011, p. 25)

“Qualitative data take the form of words rather than numbers. Qualitative data are analyzed and presented in the form of case studies, critiques, and sometimes verbal reports” (Frey et al., 1992, p. 7). The rationale for using a non-Indigenous research methodology is that this approach is the most effective tool for gathering, analysing, and documenting a range of information (Thompson & Barnett, 2008). Similarly, thematic analysis (Scharp et al., 2018) provided the best strategy for expediently scrutinising different responses. The in-depth interviews more focussed on nuanced discussion of the principles and that define Māori women leadership in the tertiary sector.

It was from qualitative research methodology, shaped and imbued with kaupapa Māori principles, that I developed my own model, Te Karanga, specifically for this study. The principles contained in this approach ensure that the qualitative research component (one focus group interview and in-depth interviews) are compatible with Māori ways of thinking and doing (Thompson & Barnett, 2008). However, I have been careful to ensure the integrity of Indigenous and non-Indigenous methodological approaches (Wilson, 2001).

A further note is the somewhat unusual structure of this chapter. The description of the Te Karanga paradigm precedes the participant profile description relating to both the focus group and in-depth interviews. The rationale for this structure is that the Te Karanga model is the method that applies to the qualitative interviews. The methodological discussion on the focus group interviews also precedes the discussion on the in-depth interviews. This structure also explains and validates the Kaupapa Māori methodological framework that underpins the entire study.

5.2. Te Karanga: a Kaupapa Māori paradigm

Karanga, as a research paradigm, provided a methodological strategy that framed me, as the researcher (representing the role of the *kai karanga*), and the research participants, ensuring that *karanga* retained a central space in the interview process. Te Karanga, like Mana Wahine theory, is a Kaupapa Māori paradigm that harnesses Māori knowledge and is centred on a *wahine Māori* approach. It is absolutely my contention that *karanga* is the deciding factor in differentiating gender leadership in traditional Māori society. It is also the impetus for developing a Kaupapa Māori paradigm around the *karanga* ritual that is the exclusive domain of wahine Māori. *Karanga* has undergone only minimal change since *te ao neherā* (ancient times), although in contemporary times *karanga* is used in a wider range of different occasions and settings.

Ngā tikanga refers to the specific methods chosen to be used in the research study. Overall, the Te Karanga approach guides researcher practice, informs data collection, and assists data analysis. The following section outlines, in more depth, the process of the cultural practice of *karanga*. A *kai karanga tūturu* (genuine caller) was an expert at the highest level in the field where “the role of *kai karanga* was traditionally about status according to *whakapapa*” (Stirling & Salmond, 1980 p. 24). The term *kai-karanga* refers to the *tangata whenua* (host) caller; the *kai whakautu* is the woman who performs the *karanga* on behalf of *manuhiri* (visitors) (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986; Gabel, 2005; Scott, 2006).

In times past, a critical requirement in the repertoire of a *kai karanga* was an extensive knowledge of *te reo me ōna tikanga* (language and customary procedures), *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whanaungatanga* (extended family relationships), often a consequence of age and experience. Māori women, as the keepers and purveyors of oral histories in Māori

society (Forster et al., 2016, p. 237), are integral to the transmission of cultural knowledge and the verification of *whānau* (family) claims to mana and knowledge (Binney, 2004; Pihama, 2003).

5.3 Te Karanga: A Metaphor for Research Practice

The Te Karanga paradigm presents a broader cultural context that is responsive to the research question. However, I have extended the parameters to encompass the actual research process and applied it to my own role and practice as an Indigenous researcher. Metaphorically, I symbolise the *kai karanga* and structure my research practice into two separate categories, related to: (a) the researcher's practice approach; and (b) the research project, as identified in Table 6.

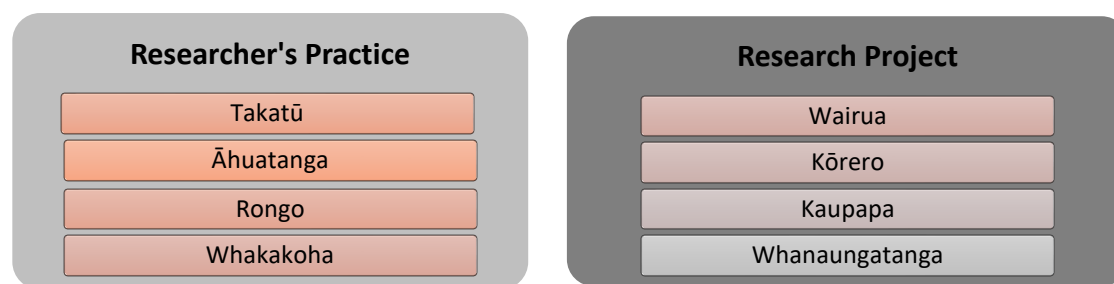


Table 6 *Te Karanga Informs the Researcher's Position*

The following translations of the elements in Table 6 give added clarity to the process.

Practice

- *Takatū*: being prepared
- *Āhuatanga*: bringing together my personal attributes
- *Rongo*: using all my senses
- *Whakakoha*: being respectful

Project

- *Wairua* (spirituality)
- *Kaupapa* (purpose of the research)
- *Kōrerorero* (discourse)
- *Whanaungatanga* (relationships)

The principles are organised in a way that illustrate the connections between researcher principles and research project principles. Grouping the principles in this way helps to organise the material to actively monitor the approach of the researcher, but also ensures that the critical analysis is both clear and attentive to the Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine perspectives of research. What underpins the process is the *mana of ngā tūpuna whāea* (the foremothers) and the wisdom of *te ao tawhito* (the ancient world). Gabel (2005) contends that *wahine* Māori have a huge task ahead, which involves reclamation, transformation, and celebration of womens' knowledge and positions Māori women in a space of *mana* (empowerment). Furthermore, Gabel (2005) argues "This means correcting the fallacies that exist but above all celebrating the truths that persevere," and using traditional *wahine* Māori cultural practices as opportunities to reinstate *mana wahine* (p. 98).

5.4 Karanga as Method

The layer underlying the principles of *Te Karanga* intersects with it as an integrated whole. The methodology incorporates *tuarā* (backbone) and *mātauranga* (knowledge). This model presupposes the oral narratives around Te Karanga, which are passed down through women. These guide the protocols of the research at different points. As a researcher, I was guided by *tūturu* (authentic) cultural principles. *Ngā ūara* (Māori values) permeates the entire research process incorporating values such as *manaaki*, (duty of care) and *pono* (ethics), that underpin all aspects of Māori leadership.

The four principles of the research project are *whanaungatanga* (building relationships and connections between researcher and researched), *kaupapa* (purpose of the study), *wairua* (spiritual nature of research), and *kōrero* (knowledge from interviews). These principles, when brought together, ensure the research maintains the integrity of the *kaupapa*. *Kaupapa* determines the purpose of people coming together. *Wairua* acknowledges the spiritual nature and intent of research with Māori people and communities. *Whanaungatanga* makes sure the connections are solid and enduring. The fourth principle is *kōrero* which is the knowledge (data) shared in the interviews.

5.4.1 Takatū

The researcher (symbolically representing a *kai karanga*) begins the research with the principles of *takatū*, the self-preparation phase. This phase incorporates critical self-reflection

so that the researcher can decide if they are sufficiently well-prepared to conduct the research in a safe and effective manner. An internal focus on physical, spiritual, and emotional elements is used to identify a range of potential issues that could have either a positive effect (unlimited avenues of new knowledge and knowing) or negative effect (health and well-being, or personal feelings or emotions) that could influence the overall outcome. The researcher self-reflects to familiarise themselves with who they are, their personal *āhuatanga* (attributes), to actively explore the cultural values and beliefs that guide practice.

5.4.2 Āhuatanga

This refers to the characteristics or attributes of a person including how they behave, and means “likeness” (Williams, 1971; Ngata & Ngata, 1993). The attributes are underpinned by *ngā ūara* (cultural values), concomitant to leadership, and a persistent theme throughout this study (Henare, 2001; Kennedy et al., 2015; Marsden, 1975). Some of the key recurring values that dictate ethical research behaviour are: *whakakoha* (respect, or being respectful), with a good *wairua* (spirit), and a *hūmarie* (humble) personality, a sense of *whanaungatanga* (relationship building and connectedness), and *manaakitanga* (an ethic of care).

These attributes, combined with the expression of each principle, contribute to a balanced approach to the maintenance of the role of kai karanga that in the Karanga research model applies equally to research behaviour. Each element contributes to the unified whole and guides the researcher’s approach and attitude to people, places, activities, and even knowledge.

5.4.3 Rongo

The principle of *rongo* denotes responsiveness to the research environment, using all the senses to examine the scope of the issues and adequately address the *kaupapa*. When this phase is complete, the researcher is free from any constraints and ready to act as a “channel” to engage with participants and the knowledge that they share.

5.4.4 Whakakoha

Māori contend that best practice engagement between researcher and participant is *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face). Nurturing respectful relationships is the ethical premise of the research, which is guided by Māori values:

- *Wairua* (spirituality)
- *Kaupapa* (purpose of the research)
- *Kōrerorero* (discourse)
- *Whanaungatanga* (relationships).

5.4.5 Wairua

Wairua, spirituality, is accentuated in Māori thought and imbues all aspects of our existence. That is our *whakapapa* (genealogy) to the gods and the environment, because in Māori thought all things are connected through Papatūānuku (earth deity) and Ranginui (sky deity). The *karanga* ritual brings the spirits of dead and the living together. The obligatory *karakia* (ritual invocation), sometimes recited silently in research, depending on the preference of the participant, gives credence to *wairuatanga* (spirituality) and, in some situations, offers protection from negative influences or forces. *Wairua* establishes the links between past and present, physical and spiritual elements, and transcends space and time.

5.4.6 Kōrerorero

Kōrerorero (discourse, discussion) is integral to any human gathering and *hui Māori* are no exception. Within the *karanga* ritual is information about the purpose of the meeting, and this opens the way for discussion. The same applies to the research process. Information about the project opens the interviews and focus groups included in the fieldwork.

5.4.7 Whanaungatanga

The principle of *whanaungatanga* (relationships) is broader than developing meaningful, ethical relationships between the researcher and the researched. It is about building relationships through the selection and recruitment of participants. It sets the platform for *kōrerorero* (discussion), which, in this context, begins with the voice of the researcher engaging, sharing, and listening to the knowledge and stories of participants. We carry on our shoulders our present and our past. That is our *whakapapa* (genealogy) to the ancestors (Salmond, 1991; Waitere, 2008).

5.5 The Qualitative Research Setting

5.5.1 The Focus Group

A focus group was established to clarify and inform knowledge about the cultural concept of *karanga* from the perspective of the knowledge keepers of the researcher's *whānau*, *hapū* and *Iwi*. The term 'focus group' refers to a qualitative approach to gather in-depth information about issues specific to the researcher from a specific cohort of people (Myumba, Wilson, Derrick & Mukherjee, 2018). In their view however, there is no prescribed guidelines or application of the approach to using focus groups. By comparison, Loteselil, (2003) suggests there is a structured approach to focus groups that determines the size and structure of the group with a defined set of questions that is managed by a facilitator. Kamberelis & Dimitriadis (2013) use the concept of a prism to articulate the purpose and functions of focus group work in terms of the perspectives and insights one gains from each angle. In this sense, the focus group as we refer to the group of *kuia*, was determined by a sense of responsibility and commitment to a *kaupapa* that was embedded in the past which only they had the knowledge and ability to share. Listening in at *whānau wānanga* in 2013, where the researcher presented on the research project to explore the ancient cultural concept of *karanga* and the relationship with leadership or *rangatiratanga* moved the *kuia* to offer their support and genuine willingness to *korero* about their own experiences.

The setting was modified from conventional protocols (Krueger & Casey, 2000) to capture a *tūturu Māori* (authentically Māori) environment. Initially, I intended to interview the women at the *marae* (ancestral house). However, as all of the participants were in their seventies it was decided that my mother's home was a warmer and more comfortable environment. The setting proved to be one that encouraged open and free discussion. The women involved led the discussion, which centred on *karanga* as central to the role of women in leadership. The *kuia* were asked about their experiences of *karanga* and their perceptions of *rangatiratanga* and leadership. The *kuia* were keen to share their knowledge and encouraged the idea of not recording the *korero* and for the researcher to use her senses to pick up what was being shared. The information gleaned from the *korero* was then written up as full notes and the *kuia* came back together, and the researcher reflected the notes which were then affirmed as consistent with what they shared. It was an enlightening experience for the researcher as the

common practice was to write or record everything. This practice did not allow for the use of all the senses including to see, hear, taste, smell and touch what was being shared. The point made by the kuia being that Māori lived and learned as an oral society and therefore, the oral culture and approach was appropriate given the *kaupapa* being *karanga*.

5.5.2 Focus Group Profile

The criteria for the focus group interview participants were Māori women with extensive knowledge of *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), culture, and language. The group comprised eight *kuia* (elderly women) from Hikihiki *hapū* a sub-tribe of Ngāti Wai. The outcomes from the interview informed and inspired the development of the Te Karanga paradigm. From this, I developed the methods which I applied to the in-depth interviews.

5.6 In-depth Interview Research

5.6.1 In-depth Interview Participant Profiles

Māori women in leadership roles in education were recruited to participate in the study, based on seniority, experience, knowledge of the sector and their expertise in *te ao Māori*. The research interview process complied with ethics protocols. Most participants were interviewed in their place of work. The observance of protocols, such as beginning with *karakia* (ritual prayer), preceded the interviews. Some chose not to recite the *karakia* aloud; it was assumed that this ritual was observed privately. One woman opened her interview with a *pepehā* (tribal proverb) that centred her tribal identity.

Of the twelve participants, six were in professional senior leadership roles, and six were in academic senior leadership roles. All participants in the research identified as Māori women leaders involved with education. Ten were employed in the tertiary sector and a further two occupied senior management, public servant positions that supported the education sector. The criteria for participation in the in-depth interviews were Māori women in senior roles (academic and professional) in tertiary institutions.

Other relevant factors for the in-depth interview participants include professional identity, to make the distinction between academic and professional leadership roles. I wanted to ensure

that there was representation from the three types of tertiary education institutions, namely, university, polytechnic and *whare wānanga*.¹¹

Code	Academic or Professional	Highest Qualification	Hapū and Iwi Affiliation	Te Reo & Tikanga
UP1	Professional	Post-graduate	Ngāpuhi	Well
UA2	Academic	Doctorate	Ngāti Kahu	Very Well
UA3	Academic	Doctorate	Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pōrou	Very Well
PA4	Professional	Post-graduate	Ngāti Raukawa Ngāti Toa	Very Well
UA5	Academic	Doctorate	Tapuika	Very Well
PP6	Professional	Post-graduate	Waikato/ Tainui	Very Well
GP7	Professional	Post-graduate	Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa	Very well
GP8	Professional	Post-graduate	Rongowhakaata	Well
WA9	Academic	Doctorate	–	Very well
WP10	Professional	Post-graduate	Ngāti Awa	Very well
UA11	Academic	Doctorate	Te Rarawa	Well
UA12	Academic	Doctorate	–	Well

Table 7. Participant Profile (In-Depth Interviews)

The research sample of 12 Māori women included two participants who worked for *whare wananga* (a Māori university), two from polytechnics, and two central government employees from Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development) and Te Tāhuhu o Te Mātauranga (Ministry of Education). The six remaining participants worked at one of three universities, comprising University of Waikato, University of Auckland (UA) and Auckland University of Technology (AUT). The number of participants by institutional type is shown in the following table.

¹¹ The Education Act 1989, section 162, sets out clear definitions specific to each type of organisation, as well as a series of five characteristics that are requisite for a university— at least one of these characteristics is required for all other tertiary institutions.

Institution	Number of Participants
University	6
Government Agency	2
Polytechnic	2
Whare Wānanga	2
Total	12

Table 8. Research Participants by Tertiary Institution

In this study, universities and polytechnics are classified as “mainstream,” while *whare wānanga*, a specifically Māori environment, are classified as “mainstream Māori.” Māori-inspired programmes incorporate Māori ways of working and employ Māori in decision-making roles to interpret the strategic direction and influence operations. One example of this type of organisational structure is Kōtahi Institute, located at the University of Waikato. In contrast, *whare wananga* are organisations that reflect a distinctive *kaupapa Māori* structure. A breakdown of the working environments of the participants shows a combined total of 10 women employed in mainstream environments, four of whom worked in mainstream Māori settings, within the mainstream environment. Only two participants were employed in a specifically Māori environment, as demonstrated in Table 9.

Working Environment	Number / Percentage
Māori	2
Mainstream Māori	4
Mainstream	6
Total	12

Table 9. Research Participants by Working Environment

The participants shared some interesting insights about the differences they observed and experienced in their respective tertiary institutions. The different tertiary institutions influenced the leadership of Māori women leaders in subtle ways.

All research participants were knowledgeable in *te reo* (Māori language) and *tikanga* (Māori protocols), with approximately 75% of participants being fluent *te reo* speakers. There was wide variation between fluent speakers and developing speakers of the *reo*, although the participants self-assessed their proficiency. Based on the conversations with all participants, the majority fit in the range from fairly well to very well.

5.6.2 In-depth Interview Questions

Interviews with the women leaders presented an opportunity to compare their perspectives on leadership with the principles that inform traditional Māori leadership. From the first interview being confirmed over the phone, participants asked for the proposed questions to be sent to them to allow them to prepare for the interview and give them time to consider their responses because they were extremely busy. I agreed as this would allow them to provide specific feedback to the *kaupapa*. The participants were not asked the overarching question outright. Rather, I chose to ask more general sub-questions with a Māori focus, to covertly elicit what beliefs and values underpinned their views of Māori leadership.

The interviews were semi-structured, with a series of open-ended questions used as the baseline data gathering instrument, but with scope to allow for further probing questioning, depending on the clarity of responses from participants, and to ensure that the *kōrero* (talk) could flow in the process. The interviews were between 1–1.5 hours in length, and dependent on the time available from each participant. This length of interview resulted in a high volume of data being generated, which was equivalent to between 18–20-page transcripts for each interview. Interview data were gathered based on guidelines which focussed on three core areas, as follows:

1. What is Māori leadership?
2. What is Māori leadership practice?
3. What are the key challenges to Māori women's leadership practice?

5.7 Qualitative Data Analysis (Both Groups)

5.7.1 Focus Group: Data Analysis

Data analysis was extremely challenging. The reason is that, because of the age of the participants, Māori protocols about respect for elders had to be strictly observed. While challenging, doing the focus group in a “Māori way” was “magic.” On a personal level, I was able to spend quality time with a group of highly revered women in my culture, something that few can ever experience. To add to that, they were focussed on my research topic, and the entire session was devoted to supporting this *kaupapa* (topic). It was a little overwhelming, and truly one of the most unforgettable experiences of my life.

As already established, the actual findings from the discussion was the catalyst for the Te Karanga model. However, in the findings I wanted to capture the ethos of the research experience. In Chapter 6, I present the focus group findings (that are separate from the findings that I used to develop Te Karanga) as a narrative. Initially, I had revisited the *kōrero* (discussion) that informed the model. The result was too repetitive and did not add to anything meaningful to the analysis. Instead, the narrative not only captures the “voices” of the participants but adds further insights to the study. In the narrative they respond to the research question by revealing how *karanga* (ritual calling) shaped women’s leadership in the past. The concepts, beliefs, and values are palpable in their conversations.

5.7.2 In Depth Interviews: Thematic Analysis

Using the computer-based analytical tool NVivo to thematically analyse Māori data has limitations. If the analysis is simply the basic identification of single Māori words and the number of times the words appear, then NVivo is adequate. After a second sweep of the data, I was needing to add the extra words manually to give meaning and this was quite a long process. If a more extensive thematic analysis is required to provide context, then a topic-specific glossary needs to be added to NVivo by the researcher. Because of the problems using NVivo presented, I chose to manually apply thematic analysis to the data.

The manual analysis of the data was supported by a smaller than usual number of in-depth interview participants (12 in total). I wrote up a case study for each participant which ranged from the briefest one being about 1500 words to most others being about 2500 to 2800

words. This strategy proved to be invaluable because avoided repetition as the original transcripts were between 15 and 22 pages long. The individual case studies provided an excellent way to focus the data and facilitated the coding aligned to the main themes.

The themes categories were (a) identity (b) values (c) impediments or barriers and (d) drivers. I wanted to understand if the responses related to (a) their own personal identity (b) if participants articulate core values, ideas, and concepts.

Comparing the earlier trial of NVivo with manual analysis brought up some advantages. Firstly, the manual method enabled a far more nuanced analysis. Secondly, I was able to discern subtleties in meaning, while honouring the participant voice (through detailed quotes). The detail that was extracted using this approach meant that having 12 participants was an advantage.

Colour coding themes gave me opportunities to further identify patterns from the information. Three copies of the transcriptions were devised as working copies: one original, one colour coded, and one participant numbered. The first approach was to collate data under the themes (linked to the questions). Next, the responses were numbered to unpack deeper meanings from the individual voices. This brought attention to the variations and differences between the different participant responses. Searching for meaning in context was available by returning to the original transcript. This helped to determine the balance between the participant's 'voice' and my interpretation of their views and perspective.

5.8 Conclusion

The entire study, rather than just the methodological sections, are viewed through a Kaupapa Māori lens. Although the qualitative research component, in particular the in-depth interviews, were conducted within its methodological parameters, the process is discernibly Māori. The focus group interview, while compliant with the protocols, was more aligned to *hui Māori* (cultural gatherings). Given the age of the participants (Māori accrue more status and power with age, because knowledge and experience are highly valued in the culture), they dictated the way the focus group discussion evolved. The outcome from those discussions justify the method. The richness of the *kōrero* (discourse) led to the development

of a Te Karanga paradigm. There are constant references throughout this thesis to *karanga* (ritual welcome performed exclusively by women). The *karanga* is an oral tradition and, from an Indigenous perspective, is a literary source. The use of excerpts from *karanga* as supporting evidence or to explain a concept achieves two things. Firstly, it demonstrates the applicability of the Te Karanga paradigm, and secondly, the *karanga* refrain provides a thread that gives the entire body of work a sense of cohesiveness. The paradigm is based on traditional Māori culture, where *rangatira* (leaders) had to demonstrate culturally specific skills such as *whaikōrero* (oratory) and *karanga* (ritual call).

As a methodological approach, Te Karanga guides the non-Indigenous components of the researcher practice, informs data collection, and assists data analysis. As already indicated, the process is delivered ethically and respects the integrity of Indigenous and non-Indigenous research.

Chapter 6 Findings

6.1. Introduction

The Te Karanga model overarches the fieldwork findings, because the paradigm informs the interview process, where the researcher is then in a leadership role. The purpose of the in-depth interviews is to capture contemporary women's leadership practice and to ascertain how much their leadership is influenced by cultural values and beliefs. It transpired that, discovering that there are subtle differences in how these are articulated, it is the "spirit" of *tūturu* (authentic) Māori values that emerge as requisite to leadership. To that end, because of the range of what constitutes values, all of the responses have been appended (Appendix 2). The key concepts expressed by the participants, in relation to leadership, are also appended (Appendix 3). Māori values are the commonality that runs through all fieldwork discussions on leadership in the tertiary sector.

6.2 Focus Group Interview Findings

Key elements from the focus group interview have been reported in the previous chapter, because they informed the Te Karanga paradigm, which was applied to the in-depth interviews. These are presented here in diagram form (see Figure 20), as a distilled research outcome.

6.2.1 Informing the Research Model

The women discussed aspects of the *karanga*, such as clearing oneself of negative thoughts and emotions through ritual *karakia*. *Takatū* is about ensuring balance on a holistic level: preparing oneself as a researcher, being mindful of the purpose of the research, making preparations for one's own wellbeing, clearing the mind, body and soul, taking the time to *karakia*, giving the body time to get in tune with the context, to create a sense of balance, and ensuring behaviour is ethical and appropriate.

The *takatū* (readiness) examples provide a snapshot of the way that the discussion on *karanga* evolved in the focus group discussions. Rather than reiterating the detailed discussion, I present the findings as two diagrams (Figures 20 and 21). These visually capture the findings from the focus group research. The principles apply equally to *karanga* (the ritual) and to Te Karanga (the methodological approach), which I applied to the in-depth interviews.

- *Rongo*: using all my senses
- *Āhuatanga*: bringing together my personal attributes
- *Whakakoha*: being respectful
- *Takatū*: being prepared



Figure 20 *Te Karanga: First Level of Principles in the Research Process*



Figure 21 *Te Karanga: Second Level of Principles in the Research Process*

- *Wairua*: spirituality
- *Kaupapa*: purpose of the research
- *Kōrerorero*: discourse
- *Whanaungatanga*: relationships

All the elements came from the discussions and are therefore an innovative way of reporting on the focus group findings. However, the hui progressed beyond the *kaupapa* of *karanga* and leadership. The broader contextual discussions on women in leadership bring into focus the values that the in-depth interviews define more sharply. Concepts such as *manaaki* (caring) are applied to real life situations throughout the focus group discussions. To honour them, I have chosen to present the next section (6.2.2) as a narrative. I believe it truly captures the spirit of the session.

6.2.2 Discussion Defining Leadership

Participants opened the discussion with an exploration of traditional Māori women's leadership. It soon became apparent that to them the notion of *karanga* (ritual calling) was the insignia of traditional Māori women in leadership. It didn't take long for a consensus to arise that women's leadership was inextricable from the art of *karanga*.

The experiences of these participants, as expert practitioners of *karanga*, brought a depth of knowledge of exceptional quality. As anticipated, the characteristics evident in the portraits of "traditional" women profiled earlier in the thesis—*whakapapa* (genealogy), *mana* (authority and prestige), and *wairua* (spirituality)—were key concepts associated with leadership. The *mana* (empowerment) of women was a constant theme throughout the discussion. One participant recalled her mother attending a *hui* (tribal meeting) with Te Puea (one of the most famous Māori woman leaders of her time, who is profiled in section 3.4 of this thesis). Te Puea, realising how awestruck she was, told her that she was just as important, and not to forget that. However, it was the intricacies of *karanga* (ritual calls of encounter) that dominated the discussion.

What became apparent was that, like all aspects of leadership, values and practices are integral to the art of *karanga*. The term *takatū* means "to prepare," "get ready," "bustling," or "hurried" (Williams, 1971; Ngata & Ngata, 1993). *Takatū ana* is the term used to refer to self-care through preparation, whether physical, spiritual and/ or emotional, and is a process a *kai karanga* completes prior to participation in *karanga*. The role of *kai karanga* included ensuring key protocols or rituals are maintained, and, according to Mead (2003), the safety, well-being, and *mana* (power and authority) or *mauri* (life principle or vital essence) of *whanau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, and particularly the marae. For example, informant Deidre Wijohn

described her first experience of doing a *karanga*, and how her mother later performed a ritual *karakia* to prepare her for the future.

Whakapapa (genealogy), *mana* (authority and prestige), and *wairua* (spirituality) guided stories of *ngā tūpuna wahine* (female ancestors), regarded as iwi leaders. Participant discussions substantiated written accounts of the women leaders in the tribes that are included in this study. The participants related the history of their *tūpuna whāea* (female ancestor) for Ngāti Wai (previously known as Ngāti Manaia), Whakaruru. She was acknowledged for her ability to attract Kaharau, the son of Rahiri, to live in Whangaruru until his death. They acknowledged that Ngāti Wai had significant links with Ngāpuhi, and most of them whakapapa to principal lineages of that iwi.

They talked about the four *tūpuna whāea* who were sisters, and owners of most of the land in the area in the early 1900s, and how their marriages were based on the abilities of their partners to work the land, to provide for the wider *whānau* with large gardens and small herds of cattle. They were active in the Relief Society Sisters group of Whangaruru, pursuing the land development schemes introduced by Ngata, and promoting being self-sufficient. They used small farms to keep their sons away from conscription, by giving them each a separate landholding, and in this way ensured the family was economically sustained. One of the participants recalled her grandmother attending a *hui* (meeting) with Te Puea (the famous chieftainess, profiled in section 3.4), who reminded her that she was just as important as Te Puea herself, and not to forget that. All the women, whilst smiling and nodding their heads vigorously, emphasized how important it was to be in attendance to support their *kai kōrero* (speaker) with *waiata* (ritual song), but also historical knowledge, *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *iwi* (tribal) interconnection, if needed.

They discussed how, in the old days, leadership was about being able to “be the last person standing” in a debate, based on the abilities of the leader to outthink and ultimately outwit their opponents. The women acknowledged how Treaty of Waitangi claims had become a really divisive process, where the leaders were always caught up in a never-ending cycle of ongoing debate and dissension within the *iwi* (tribe). The women also spoke about how, in the old days, during *tangi* (funerals) they used to have two women *tūpoupou* (chief mourners), who sat either side of the *tūpāpaku* (deceased) and were there for the wailing. They also spoke about the *wehe* (separating ritual), which was a process of sending the *wairua*

on their journey. They agreed that there was generally an absence of the wailing in the processes of *tangi* (funeral rites) now, and very few, if any, had ever heard it in all the *tangi* (funerals) they attended in the last 20–30 years. “Except Mere and Ani,” they added, giggling and laughing in unison, referring to my mother and her cousin Ani. In essence, they all agreed that this process was related to the *tangi haere* (crying talk). Women would begin their advance in response to the *karanga* at the tangi, crying as they paid tribute to the deceased.

They also talked about the *wehe* (wailing ritual) and how it was a haunting sound to listen to that set the emotions free, was extremely sad, and made everyone cry. They spoke of one kuia, Puti Pita, a *kai karanga* able to stir the emotions of everyone who heard her *karanga* with the ethereal sound of her voice.

Tuarā (backbone) and *mātauranga* (knowledge) feature in the Te Karanga model. The discussion on these principles, centred on learning from experience, is summed up by one of the participants; “you just grow into that role, you don’t choose it.” The women all agreed that training in *karanga* took the form of observation and listening to women knowledgeable in the area, rather than learning from books. Karetu (1972) contends that, “In this way, they are transmitted orally to the next generation of women, when it is their turn to assume the role” (p. 33). For example, the women recalled how the *kai karanga tūturu* (original or traditional caller) of Ngāti Wai iwi (tribe) chose to mentor a particular young woman. The *kai karanga* teacher was her backbone.

It was humbling to be the recipient of the elders’ knowledge. I hope that I have done them proud. At the risk of repetition, I do think that the narrative voice best captures the essence of their gift, and you too have the privilege of their company. Section 6.3 will analyse, using different words, the concepts, beliefs, and values, such as *manaaki* (care), associated with Māori women in leadership.

6.3 In-depth Interview Analysis

The in-depth interviews, in turn, give credence to the exploration in earlier discussions on traditional Māori leadership. In this section, the analysis of the information gathered from the interviews provides in-depth, nuanced responses to the research question: “How does cultural tradition influence Māori women in leadership roles in the tertiary sector?” The concomitant (and related) question investigates the challenges that these women face,

working in the sector. The analysis of the interviews is detailed and comprehensive. What transpires are deeper and more meaningful insights into what influences and shapes Māori women's leadership in the tertiary sector. The section concludes with a discussion on the challenges presented to women leaders in tertiary education.

Several participants started their conversations with a common Māori process of engagement, where it was a case of getting to know each other. I had already prepared myself using the Te Karanga model. The usual *karakia* (ritual prayer) signalled the beginning of the interview. However, some of the women chose to silently *karakia*, as a personal preference.

UA2: *"Before we begin, let's start with a karakia (prayer) acknowledging that all things must begin with reference to atua (gods)."*

I have taken the liberty of adding translations of Māori words to the direct quotes of participants. The women tended to use Māori words liberally in the interviews and, for non-Māori readers, the translations will facilitate the reading.

6.4 What is Māori Leadership?

This section starts with responses of participants to the first research sub-question, seeking to understand how the target group (Māori women leaders) define Māori leadership. Responses were varied, but as the interviews progressed it became apparent at how much culture influenced not only their perceptions, but also their practices of leadership.

UA5: *"In our society there is leadership by heredity. So that is really a whakapapa leadership, but the way I grew up, I knew my father was the chief sort of thing of our marae".* (This comment was preceded by her *pepehā* (tribal identity proverb).

PP6: *"I guess really a part of my story is my parents being taken from those parts where they came from, Pirongia, Otorohanga."*

WA9 started with a response about what Māori leadership was "not," by using metaphor, and then proceeded to discuss the place of people in Māori leadership. After explanations of who they were, and their understanding of what "being Māori" means in relation to them, Māori

identity followed. The responses that followed then provided descriptions or definitions of Māori leadership, from their personal perspectives.

Māori women's leadership, in WA9's opinion, is much more than being a visible and active in your community.

WA9: "If your people don't know you and don't ask you to do stuff and you aren't a part of their stuff what's that? If you're a stranger to your own culture and to your own people, then that is something else, but you've asked me what I think Māori womens leadership is and that's what it is for me. It's about not just having knowledge but being accountable for using it. You weren't given knowledge for yourself and you weren't given knowledge to sit on. It's about always being busy and always being tired (laugh) and always having too much on your plate."

Not only was AW1's personal view of Māori women's leadership about working with and for the people, it was about being accountable for the actions as a leader. She also pointed out that a Māori women leader works hard, and often is over-committed with the demands of the role. The views of AU6 and PP6 about Māori leadership contained some similarities to those of AW1, where the people are the single most important factor of leadership. Having a thorough knowledge of the people is critical in knowing how best to lead them.

PP6 comments on the leadership style of one of the most well-known Māori women leaders in the modern history of Aotearoa, New Zealand.

PP6: "I think you're coming from your own value base for a start. It's about our people transforming, it's taking people forward. Like Te Puea, she was a strong, forthright leader. The way of moving things along, actually just pushing quietly in the background as long as you're setting your goals and trying to meet those goals and bringing people along with you. In education, it's about capability building and transforming. It's always about the iwi vision too and I think it's the same in institutions like this. It's always about having that vision and then setting your strategies around what your purpose is and then attaining the goals that you've set yourself"

The way that PP6 describes a Māori women leader is having a personal value base which is complemented by a strong character. She also acknowledges the ability to motivate and encourage people, supporting the development of skills, while maintaining the aspirations of

the *iwi*. For her, being organised, strategizing toward a purpose, and achieving goals were essential components of a Māori woman's leadership.

There were further definitions and descriptions of Māori women's leadership shared by participants, with two that stood out in particular, because of the elements that emerged from the *kōrero*. UA12 outlined a version of what she called the *kaimahi* (worker) model, which she explained as natural leadership. The *kaimahi* (worker) model promotes a collaborative approach that is about working alongside people, in a supportive manner. The leader role works within the group and alongside others, rather than from the front. The model recognises different types of contexts and challenges where others take on a leading role, where and when required. The different skill sets that individuals bring to the table to address specific challenges was important, as was the priority given to the collective and bringing people along. The model was described as a relational form of leadership, centred on *whānau*, and the collective that privileges relationships.

WP10 talked about the high-profile Māori leaders she had worked with previously and pointed out that Māori women's leadership was easy to define.

WP10: *"I don't have an issue defining Māori leadership because I have seen Māori leaders at their very best and their very worst in the tertiary sector. Māori women's leadership in the first instance, is because it is Māori. There are unique and beautiful characteristics Māori women bring to a leadership role."*

At least two participants disagreed, as there was the potential to limit the meaning to a very narrow view of an extremely complex concept. UA12 pointed out that there are a wide range of definitions of leadership.

UA12: *"Certainly there won't be just one form of wahine Māori leadership."*

Nevertheless, she outlined a model of Māori women's leadership that she believed many Māori women would have a significant affinity with.

A key contributing factor that influenced the leadership practice of Māori women leaders was their cultural background. GP8, for example, discusses learning about leadership as an ongoing process.

GP8: *“I think we learn leadership from the cradle in our families. Some of us, have to just look and listen to be able to see that. Some of us are lucky enough to have been able to identify at a very young age, that this is what happens in our family. Others of us have not been given those models, those academic role models.”*

The explanation given by GP8 about life-long learning mirrors the sentiments of several other participants. For participants, being Māori and having a Māori cultural identity was about being born and raised in the midst of a Māori *whānau*, where they learned about life, and many of the cultural building blocks of Māori society, including leadership in a Māori context. A Māori cultural identity, as with most identities, is formed and developed within intricate familial relationships, across *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and the complex array of influential factors (Metge, 1997; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Te Rito, 2007).

6.5 Leadership and Identity

How *whānau* interact also has significance in determining one’s place in the collective. What it means to “be Māori” is often examined within a cultural framework of interconnectedness and understandings of *ko wai au* (who I am), in relation to *ko wai koe* (who you are), and *no hea koe* (where you come from). UA2 suggests that it is important to really get to know and understand the people.

UA2: *“For a start, if you want to know the people, you have got to know their whakapapa, where they fit in. To know their background, you have to sit down and let them tell you what their background is, where they have come through, where they want to go, what their dreams and aspirations are. So that’s about knowing the ‘whakapapa, me te ata whakarongo’ (genealogy and listening).”*

The formal markers signifying an existing relationship, alongside an understanding of how to reciprocate, are located within the broader context of *whakapapa* (genealogy). In this research, and more generally, questions explore an individual’s beliefs, guiding principles, and how this forms the person, and ultimately provide at least a partial understanding of the influences that create and mould leadership practices. These questions provide the basic foundation for each person’s unique understanding of their place in the Māori world and the make-up of their Māori identity (Te Rito, 2007).

It is well documented across educational literature that *whānau* provide the foundational place of learning (Hemara, 2000; Smith, 2002). Participants acknowledged the influence their upbringing had on their lives, which in many ways contributed to the leadership positions they held currently. Raised in a Māori *whānau* (family) environment, UA3 makes a point of the importance of the *whānau*.

UA3: *“Whānau is critical, because often you learn your leadership, your role models within a concept of whānau, and not just nuclear whānau but in a wider context. You can see modelled before you, concepts of relationships, of collective leadership, whānau roles and responsibilities, tuākana/teina (older/younger), accountability and compassion or aroha (love), collaboration so that ties quite a few concepts together. And for those who grow up within the context of whānau, you are socialised into that, but it’s not necessarily in your head until later.”*

In the quotation, UA3 refers to several concepts that are closely related to the concept of *whānau*, illustrating how many roles, responsibilities, and associated expectations are learned in the context of *whānau*. She makes it clear that the realisation and knowledge of the process of socialisation arises only when a person is older and more reflective. The responses to the question, what is Māori leadership, revealed that participants described or defined Māori leadership by referring to their formative years. They provided examples of how they were raised, what this meant to their understanding of Māori leadership, and the ways in which the involvement of previous generations was an integral part of their lives. They also referred to the learning and acquisition of leadership skills and knowledge that were imparted in specific sites, such as the marae, or by participation in *whānau* (family) activities and events. The most common feature was the learning of language and culture in the form of *whakapapa* (genealogy), *whanaungatanga* (relationships), and *tikanga* (protocols), all of which contributed to the cultural identity of participants, underpinning their understanding of leadership. As mentioned throughout this thesis, cultural values are a recurring theme, and are almost synonymous with Māori leadership.

What was obvious from the overall list identified by participants, however, was that each person shared a unique series of cultural values, specific to her. No set of cultural values was the same, and this is likely due to *whānau* background, and level of knowledge of *te reo* (language) and *tikanga* (Māori culture). The most frequently recurring cultural concepts

identified by research participants included *whānau* (family), *whakapapa* (genealogy), and *whanaungatanga* (relationships). These are followed by the cultural values *manaakitanga* (caring), *whakakoha* (respect), and *tuākana-teina* (older/younger). Finally, a further cluster of cultural values, such as *aroha* (caring/compassion), *pono* (integrity), *tika* (honesty), *maia* (courage), and *whakautu* (reciprocity) mirror the traditional values discussed in earlier chapters.

Understandings of the concept of *whakapapa* have remained constant over time. It continues to be the primary way in which an individual determines their place in Māori society, and, to a large extent, dictates how they behave toward others. GP7 held a similar opinion to that of UA2 on the importance of *whakapapa*, suggesting that the intergenerational needs or *whakapapa* of Māori society had a major influence on the leadership role she holds.

UA2: *"I think seeing the generations past and the generations to come, it is very much how I think about the role I have to play. That definitely plays into the role of whakapapa."*

For her, intergenerational awareness was critical for her role as a leader in the present and for the type of leadership she practiced. UA12, on the other hand, acknowledges the role of *whakapapa* but suggests it is not a determinant of the future:

UA12: *"I don't believe its destiny you know, so is there descent destiny.... I am not sure". In her view, being a leader and leadership took more than a "fabulous whakapapa" (genealogy) there were other cultural values that were central to being a leader."*

UP1 highlighted the value of *whakapapa*, and how often Māori in modern society do not consider incorporating this knowledge when working with Māori. What is defined in mainstream society as a "conflict of interest" is *whakapapa* to Māori. Managing close genealogical relationships in the workplace is seen as an advantage in Māori communities.

UP1: *"I think one of the things I learned from Pa Tate actually was around whakapapa was so often when we're trying to do things, services and different kinds of things, they kind of look at what we didn't do well."*

UP1 highlights how all too often *whakapapa* is secondary to focussing on the negatives, and how the common approach to working with people and understanding how to address

present issues is then disjointed. The value of this point is that *whakapapa* may well be a way to overcome some of these issues. Furthermore, UP1 acknowledged that the concept of *whanaungatanga* taught her to “look back into the history,” and shared how this became real for her, when asked about her own mother’s legacy.

UP1: *“My mum spent many years in the north although she’s not from the north, trying to do the right thing by young people. I thought about that and I thought how proud she would be of the work that I do... Would I have been in this mahi (work) and would I have the world view that I have without what my mum did, my father did? Probably not... We “don’t kind of drill down enough about our whakapapa (genealogy) ... I mean I always thought about my mum’s mahi (work) but I never really thought about how connected or interrelated it was to who I am and what I do.”*

The *kōrero* shared by UP1 highlights two key points. The first point is the value of establishing the interrelatedness of the past, present, and future. The point can be explained by the *karanga*, which is an ancient, physical representation of dynamic connection, created through the sound of a woman’s voice, between the present and the past, the living and the dead. The ability to create a link between realms is important, as it allows for the expressions of emotion and the transmission of knowledge and information. The second point refers to how important it is to explore *whakapapa* (genealogy) through *whanaungatanga* (relationships). *Whanaungatanga* is a concept that is linked to *whakapapa*, adding depth through relationships and connectedness. UA2 clarifies the connections between *whakapapa* and *whanaungatanga* and describes it as the first foundation block, through which relationships are navigated, and where the roles and responsibilities of everyone, including the *rangatira* or leader, are facilitated.

Whanaungatanga, for the most part, establishes a series of obligations across a wide network of relationships that determine the degree of connectivity and reciprocity (Reid, Varona, Fisher & Smith, 2016). The complex nature of multiple Māori identities, such as leader, mother, aunt, sister, teacher, and more, also illustrates the diverse responsibilities attached to each role. What does occur, however, is a number of active concepts that come into play, such as support, hospitality, kindness, and generosity. There are many more, similar concepts that facilitate the execution of responsibilities to address any perceived obligations or duties

within relationships—primary concepts that underpin Māori society and inform leadership practice.

UA11 talked about how important it was to provide opportunities for *whanaungatanga* (relationships based on cultural principles) in an environment that does little to support Māori student educational success, but also acknowledged that it can be difficult to achieve this in a monocultural tertiary setting.

UA11: *“So, we will do it but try and make sure we have mechanisms for mitigating the colonial ideological framework that we have to work into sausage machine them through. To provide opportunities for whanaungatanga (relationships); to provide opportunities for cultural learning to provide opportunities to deconstruct and liberate and understand marginalisation, it’s a big beast.”*

6.6 Cultural Values and Ethics

Although cultural values are conspicuous throughout the entire interview process, this set of responses relates specifically to values in the tertiary context. The creation of a positive environment that builds sustained relationships is used to ensure support and connectedness across a group of students, with the goal of educational success. Further concepts that informed participants’ thinking and contributed to their personal philosophy included *wairuatanga* (spirituality), *aroha* (love), *whakakoha* (respect), *whakaiti* (humility), *moemoeā* (vision), *ngākau aroha* (compassion), *ngākau tapatahi* (integrity), and *ūkaipō* (source of sustenance).

The easiest way to explain the application of most values is to understand the inclusive concept of *whakakoha* (respect). To interpret how respect is applied is to know how an individual’s behaviour is going to affect others, and what that means to them personally, but even more so, what that means to the family. If an action occurs without thinking of the implications for the individual, then that is construed as disrespect of the individual and collective *mana*. Therefore, to take another person’s belongings without their express permission runs the risk of *utu* (retribution), to the individual and the collective. Great care was taken to maintain the *mana* of an individual, in the context of *whānau*, *hapū* and other collective configurations.

A group of distinctive cultural values was identified. However, for WA9, Māori concepts form the knowledge base to promote an understanding of a much bigger picture, which is Māori leadership. The cultural values *whakapapa*, *whānau*, and *moemoeā* are part of the foundations for leadership.

WA9: *“For me joining the dots is whakapapa (genealogy), it’s whānau (family), it’s moemoeā (dreams/aspirations), it’s the mātauranga (knowledge) base to get you moving.”*

Manaaki and *manaakitanga* (caring) were the second most-identified cultural values described by participants and the most significant cultural values that demonstrated leadership in practice. GP8, PA4 and GP7 shared similar stories about how, early in their lives, living at or near the *Pā* was how they inevitably learned many essential Māori concepts. They discussed how they applied them in a particular way, and why.

GP8: *“My family of socialisation, which is Rongowhakaata, it’s been around our ability to manaaki (care) or to offer hospitality. The concept of manaakitanga, that whole concept around wairua (spirit), whakawhanaungatanga (meaningful relationships), because without these, why would anyone bother?”*

She goes further, pointing out the rationale for a leader ensuring that these values are part of leadership practice.

GP8: *“For Māori if they want to follow a leader, then you have got to be a leader worth all of those key concepts that are critical to us as Māori.”*

PA4, on the other hand, spoke of *manaakitanga* (caring) in the following way, where it was more to do with the collective *mana* (prestige) of the *marae* (cultural place).

PA4: *“The oldies, aunties, were more about the mana. They never talked in that language, they never said this is about the mana of Ngāti Toa at all, she said you’re going to embarrass us. Just putting a little bit of a cup of tea on with no kai (food), you’re going to embarrass us. But that’s about mana. That’s about manaakitanga (hospitality) when people come here, they need to experience the manaakitanga of the iwi. That’s what elevates the mana. We don’t talk in those terms, but we all understand actually at the end of the day looking after manuhiri (guests).”*

WP10 was adamant that Māori concepts and ideas are essential to understanding and practicing leadership. She described how being Māori was integral to her leadership and was reflected in everything she did.

WP10: “I try to draw on tikanga and āhuatanga Māori (Māori way) in my application of leadership and have become more confident over the years to do that. I have been in executive leadership roles for twenty-five years in the tertiary sector initially as many Māori women were, I had the cultural capital to be able to choose when to demonstrate ... Māori-based leadership. Absolutely, obviously that’s what makes Māori leadership unique and special. Being Māori is taken for granted and your leadership is reflected in all aspects of being Māori. The best leaders she was privileged to work alongside practiced leadership from an inherently, overtly and explicitly kaupapa Māori lens.”

The participants demonstrated how their lives have been heavily influenced by their Māori identity and the culture’s mores, norms, and values that define their leadership practice. These concepts and ideas are expressed as Māori cultural values and were central to participants’ definitions of Māori Women’s leadership. While there were commonalities, the diversity of definitions provide insight into the way a Māori leader is shaped, trained, and/or mentored.

Because values and ethics are so inextricably linked to Māori leadership (Henare, 1998) they emerge throughout the entire fieldwork. The findings confirmed that Māori cultural values are a primary aspect of Māori culture and identity and thereby a key feature to understanding Māori leadership. The series of cultural values incorporate the philosophical underpinning of Māori culture, and, specifically in this instance, Māori leadership from the perspective of most of the participants. These cultural values contain the fundamental *mātauranga* (knowledge), that explains a way to “make sense” of, and “interpret” the concept of *rangatiratanga* (Māori leadership). The *kōrero* (information) from WA9 sums up this point of view: “For me joining the dots is *whakapapa* (genealogy), it’s *whānau* (family), it’s *moemoeā* (dreams/aspirations), it’s the *mātauranga* (knowledge) base to get you moving”.

Further analysis of the cultural values, characteristics, behaviours, and traits shared by participants indicated that they could be logically classified into at least three common

categories. The first type of cultural value identified were more philosophical in nature, such as *mana* (prestige/status), *tapu* (sacred), *noa* (lift or neutralise the sacred), *whakapapa* (genealogy), *wairua* (spiritual), and *mātauranga* (knowledge). This group of cultural values are classified as fundamental principles of culture. The second type of cultural value includes more action-based cultural values, such as *manaakitanga* (hospitable), *awhi* (caring), and *tautoko* (support), and are classified as leadership practice principles.

6.7 Shaping Leadership in Māori Settings

There were clear indications from the interviews that the participants' identification as Māori was integral to shaping their leadership. It is difficult to evaluate whether being Māori can be determined from a limited number of characteristics, but participants clearly explain that Māori identity is informed in the context of *whānau*, and how one is raised is only the beginning. Participants shared their experiences of being raised in Māori settings, noting how their *whānau* upbringing was a critical factor in their personal development and influenced their leadership practice in later life.

UP1, for example, highlighted the value of being raised in the midst of *whānau* and discussed how not every Māori is fortunate to be raised in such circumstances. Although UP1 doesn't strongly identify as Māori, she feels a strong sense of connection to her *taha* Māori (Māori roots/side). She has become really interested in who she is as a Māori woman.

That again is some really important stuff that we need to do because there's those of us that were fortunate enough to be brought up very Māori alongside our marae and our kuia (grandmothers) and kaumātua (elderly).

UP1 contends that, in contemporary times, not every Māori woman has the opportunity to grow up in a Māori world, suggesting that there is scope to support them as future leaders.

By comparison, UA2's cultural background demonstrates the difference that growing up in a distinctly Māori setting brings to modern leadership discourse. The interview started with a *karakia* (ritual prayer) and UA2 proceeded to contextualise responses to questions always in the form of teaching, highlighting examples of leadership with distinctive Māori concepts, ideas, and thinking around the notion of Māori leadership and what that means.

UA2: *"I've been trained in it by kuia and kaumātua ever since I was quite young. Leadership is a role you acquire only after many years and only after having been not only trained, but also being found to be suitable. Some people are, some people aren't, that's just the way it is. But early in life, if you are seen to have leadership qualities, your old people recognise it and so they will nurture that it in you."*

UA2's *tūturu Māori* (authentically Māori) upbringing, compared to a person raised without extended *whānau*, or living in an urban environment, demonstrates the cultural advantage of UA2 compared with UP1. Being raised in the context of *whānau* provides some core values centred around *whakapapa*, or lines of descent, and the relationship building blocks of *whanaungatanga* (relationships). Understanding how an individual operates goes beyond the basics of identity growth and development and extends into the complex suite of values and beliefs of a person.

Participants spoke of the learning they gained in their formative years and the influence that had on the roles they have today. They spoke of how growing up in the midst of their *whānau* taught them many critical ways of behaving and interacting with others. Understanding the functioning and expectations in the context of an operational marae was central to streamlined practice for each group in the *whānau*, including those in the kitchen preparing to *manaaki manuhiri* (hospitality towards guests), leaders and speakers in the *marae* (cultural space).

GP8: *"When I think about the paepae (orators seating in ritual) and Māori leadership I think that it's taking the roles that each of us has, been either assigned or ascribed by our families, hapū or iwi. You might have a role to lead a particular process and that process could be around what happens on the marae... the kitchen or what happens socially in the context of the marae."*

In her view, the *marae* (cultural space) provided a window into a *te ao Māori* context, and it was in settings such as the *marae* that young Māori learned a lot about leadership, taking responsibility for particular tasks and seeing them through to completion.

GP8: *"The marae sets a supreme example of Māori leadership for all Māori but particularly for women because our roles have not been prescribed only in the doing or the helping. Our roles have been prescribed in the supporting role."*

Most *marae* around Aotearoa have an “aunty” or designated person who has the complete authority or control of a particular area, whether it is the *whare hui*, (place of discussion) or *whare kai* (dining room, usually attached to the traditional meeting house). PA4 sums this up:

PA4: *“The aunties, you know the doers, and they were the ones in the meetings to make the decisions and they had the courage to make the tough decisions. When I think back over my experiences and learning over the last 20–30 years really, it has been shaped by the aunties.”*

For GP7, the *marae* was the perfect training ground for all aspects of leadership, across the different areas of the space. The shaping of leadership was a collective contribution of many, who provided not only opportunities to practice, but also to learn in environments that were a part of everyday life. This process has changed little in contemporary society, and where a person was identified for leadership role, every opportunity was also provided for mentors to support the development.

6.8 Mentoring the Potential of Future Leaders

Almost every participant identified significant individuals, both male and female, who mentored and supported them in their lives, and who were critical to them reaching their present leadership status. All participants were of a similar mind about the pivotal role of older members in a Māori community.

UA2: *“At the end of the day your kuia/kaumātua (old people) are there “hei tuarā mau”(covering your back), whether you are a leader or whatever they are always there for you. You can never underestimate the strength you will get as a leader from your kaumātua (elders).”*

Kaumatua (elders) were, and still are, considered integral to fostering the development of leadership qualities and nurturing those strengths. Their role is often seen as “hei tuarā mau” (covering your back), which provides advice and a network of support. Traditionally, a leader was developed over a lifetime, and there are several stages or progressive phases that are still followed, as UA2’s response demonstrates. UA2 identified Māori concepts to illustrate her perspective of how a Māori leader is nurtured and developed, to eventually take on the

role of leadership. She also outlined how many of the people who mentored her about leadership, throughout her life, were Pākehā and Māori men, both *whānau* and professional colleagues. UA2 explained her experience thus:

UA2: *"In this situation but even at home it was the men. My father's brother. It had to do with the fact that all my father's brothers and sisters had died. So, when I was still pretty young, the one that was left was my father's brother. He spent a lot of time with me, teaching me leadership. For the hapū and the iwi, it was my uncle, he spent days and days and days with me going through stuff. Another one who spent a lot of time with me was Māori Marsden. Deliberately training me."*

She was positive about the contributions each person made in developing and shaping her leadership skills and abilities. WP10 described how the mentoring from her father was the extra little push she needed, in times when she was unsure of her plan of action.

WP10 *"One of the greatest mentors in leadership for me was my dad. Of his generation, he was one of the few Māori in executive mainstream leadership roles, and a really senior role in NZ Guardian Trust, and I would often ring him."*

She shared how her father's brother also took on a critical role, following the passing of her father, helping to shape her knowledge surrounding leadership.

Comments from UA2 and WP10 illustrate the central role of their male *whānau* in their respective leadership journeys. WP10 also outlined how, during her tenure in a senior leadership role at Unitec, there were instances where she was unsure of what to do next. She described her approach in these situations in the following way: "Every single time his response was to draw on who I was in making the decision and to draw on being Māori. And from being Māori, I would make the right decision and that would be demonstrated in my behaviour, so from an early stage that was the direction."

The mentoring and support provided by the men did not minimise the role of women elders in the lives of their *whānau*. Everyone had a *whāea* (mother), *kuia* (female elder), *tuākana* (older sister), *teina* (younger sister), or *whāea kēkē* (aunty) who played a critical role in their learning, but the reality for many was that males were often the only ones available to provide dedicated support and advice. Many Māori are in the same position as UA2, where the people

who possessed the requisite knowledge had passed away, or their *whānau* had moved to an urban context for study or work.

These ideas are expressed as Māori cultural values and were central to participants' definitions of Māori leadership. The diversity of definitions provide insight into each participant's possession of a discrete set of cultural values that guided and informed their leadership. In addition, it was clear that cultural values contributed to the way a Māori leader is shaped, trained, and/or mentored.

6.9 Leadership or Management

Several participants indicated that there were obvious differences between leadership and management. For WP10, the difference between leadership and management was the language used to define the terms. Several participants, for example, described management as a practical activity that related to managing resources, such as desks, budgets, or money. PP6 also suggested that management referred to the day to day implementation of organisational, strategic planning and projects. GP8 was of the opinion that management could be learned. From her perspective, management is described as a mechanical activity that is task oriented and easily taught and learned.

GP8: *"Anyone can learn to manage, and being a leader means that a huge component of what you do is around managing."*

PA4 did not believe in managing people:

PA4: *"People are not managed; they are led. The things associated with leading people are around relationships. That human aspect where leadership is nothing without people."*

She was not the only participant who had this view. Leadership for them was about being visionary and inspirational, and having the ability to influence people to follow.

UP1: *"Leadership is about inspiring and influencing people to support and follow your mahi (work). I think the leader is always keeping an eye on the big picture which might impact on where you're trying to go. I think it's bringing all the parts to bear in an issue, focussing on the vision or being strategic and not caught up in the everyday things."*

PP6 agreed adding that working toward the achievement of the overall goal was paramount.

PP6: *“Leadership is about that ability to take someone on the walk with you. Being able to influence the thoughts and the minds of others to a particular position. You can learn management. Leadership, true leadership, is different. People have to want to follow you. There’s this phrase and no matter how much I try to forget it – and actually it’s not a Māori phrase, it’s an old Afghan phrase, and it says if you think you are leading and no one is following, you’re just taking a walk.”*

The view that leadership requires a response from others, to take up the vision of a leader and follow them, is an important consideration noted earlier by UP1. It does not include the compulsion involved with an employee-employer relationship. It is about the fact that leadership is not a way to compel people to complete tasks, it is an ability to influence people to participate.

UA11 raised the differences between *tikanga* (values) and *kawa* (processes that express values), applying this approach to management.

UA11: *“Tikanga is more about the values and kawa is the processes for expressing those values. There is a grey area where tikanga becomes process as well. Leadership is often the aspirational element and the management is the practical, getting tasks done through other people’s effort. But I think you can be a leader and provide aspiration and inspiration without being a manager.”*

GP7 had similar views.

GP7: *“Always an idea about how to get the best out of people and to utilise their capacities. Whether that’s knowing how to do something, and how to do things with other people and what that intelligence does to achieve that objective. Its relationship with leadership is then being the way in which either the person or the group is motivated to do something greater than their singular goal. And the leader leadership is very much like being a wise steward and a responsibility that goes beyond activity and links very much to an idea, and the idea of what we are trying to achieve.”*

All acknowledged that there were differences between leadership and management. Management was viewed as a task oriented, practical approach to achieving goals. Leadership

was about being inspirational—the vision was achieved by influencing others toward the outcome.

6.10 The Making of a Rangatira (Māori Leader)

Further enquiry was made in the initial interviews with the next question: “In your opinion, are the terms *rangatira* and *rangatiratanga* equivalent to the terms ‘leader’ and ‘leadership,’ and if not, how do they differ?”

Five participants responded to this question and confirmed that the English terms ‘leader’ and ‘leadership’ did not directly equate with the Māori terms *rangatira* and *rangatiratanga*, despite being used as common translations. UA2 explained that, although the terms ‘leader’ and ‘leadership’ were “*tauiwi*” (non-Māori, usually European), they were also the best possible translations for the *kupu rangatira* (leadership definitions) and *rangatiratanga* (leadership concept).

She went on to point out that a Pākehā understanding of a leader assumes that the leader has absolute power. She argued that it was not possible to be a dictator in a Māori world.

UA2: *“The leader role is out front, telling people what to do, A rangatira has to bring the people with him or her. And going back to that keep the people together, take the people with you. A Pākehā does not have to do that, they can be dictators. If you try to be a dictator in Te ao Māori, you’re history. You just can’t do that. Leader and leadership in the Pākehā world it is about getting awards and being recognised. That’s not what it is in the Māori world. In the Māori world, it is whatever your hāpori (part of a group or community) is, whether it’s your whānau, whether it is your hapū (sub-tribe), whether it’s your iwi (tribe).”*

Several of the participants concurred with UA2 about the importance of life-long learning in the practice of leadership. Many agreed with her view on the responsibilities of a *rangatira* (Māori leader).

UA2: *Rangatiratanga (leadership) to me, is about the overall capability of our people to exercise their mana and live as healthy, wealthy, prosperous people with our own resources. It is the job of the rangatira to bring those resources to the people so that they can prosper in the world.*

There was not unanimous support for this position. There was significant discussion regarding conceptualisations of Māori leadership. For some participants, it depended upon whether a person who was Māori could be considered a Māori leader, or not. Another key determining factor was whether an individual was raised in a Māori environment and was competent in *te reo me ōna tikanga* (Māori language and culture).

The individual interview feedback centred on defining a Māori leader. An interesting insight came from half of the participants. I have collated their responses and report their collective opinion that someone in a leadership role who does not operate from a *tikanga Māori* perspective cannot be classified as a *rangatira* leader (Māori leader). Some participants referred to the type of Māori leader who, although fluent in *te reo* and knowledgeable about *tikanga*, did not subscribe to *tikanga*. In their opinion, this type did not meet the standard set for *rangatira*.

UP1: “So, we’ve got academics and then there are people like Matire (pseudonym). She was the most senior Māori in the organisation. As a Māori wahine, some of her leadership traits have been learned from her background, in marketing and advertising, rather than *tikanga*.”

The distinction made was about a Māori woman in a professional leadership role who demonstrates characteristics drawn from non-Māori sources, which influenced her leadership practice. The inference was that she operated from a non-Māori perspective and therefore is acknowledged as fitting within the “leader who is Māori” understanding of leadership.

UA12: “*I recognise rangatira are leaders but some of them may not exercise their leadership. It depends on whether it is ascribed or achieved leadership. Certainly, I have seen many ascribed leaders who have taken their chiefly roles through their descent lines and all those things. They are truly rangatira, you can really feel them.*”

From the conversations with these women the definition of a “true” rangatira came into focus. It is evident that even in contemporary times and notwithstanding the traditional status and attributes, that they exude a sense of mana (status and power). Being Māori is part of Māori identity and participants views provide insight about how their Māori identity has

shaped their leadership. Participants' backgrounds highlight the key learnings that have contributed to the development of their leadership skills, knowledge and experience.

Traditional Māori leadership is virtually impossible to achieve by even the most proficient individuals in contemporary society, as much of the knowledge has been lost, but elements that remain continue to be evident in Māori society. UA12 shared how her mother viewed leadership. UA12's mother viewed people like her grandfather as epitomising the notion of a "true" *rangatira*, whom people wanted to follow, as opposed to someone like herself. She was adamant that her mother was herself a leader, but did not see herself that way:

UA12: *"My mum is an amazing leader. She would never see herself as a rangatira. She is a leader with all the qualities that are important. Her leadership around knowledge of people, ways of being, all those things. That type of knowledge imbedded in a Māori worldview. Completely acknowledged by others in that role, I think that it begins and ends there for her."*

For UA12, her mother demonstrated the quintessential nature of a traditional leader, who was seen to possess the specific qualities of a *rangatira* described previously by UA2, where knowledge of people and ways of being were the key elements of authentic, traditional leadership. This was an important finding, where a true *rangatira* did not go around saying "I am a rangatira," but was a person with deep humility and *mana* that was recognised and acknowledged as such, by others.

In these instances, it was obvious that there was a clear difference in understanding the terms *rangatira* as leader and *rangatiratanga* as leadership. The Māori terms were much broader and are much broader and more nuanced than the English meanings. This was reiterated by UA2, who pointed out that although she translated these terms in this way, she was also very clear that there were huge differences between the meanings, and, therefore, any definitions of these words would only ever be approximate.

The comments from participants suggest an association of the Māori term *rangatiratanga* (chief)—traditionally linked to the attribute of humility and an undeniable demeanour that exuded *mana*. Participants also aligned the concepts of 'leader' and 'leadership' with contemporary understandings of management and business. The fact that they did not equate a CEO, or senior manager, with a *rangatira* was linked to the importance of cultural

values and to attributes being largely absent from demonstrations of leadership in organisational settings. Where the terms were used, it was more likely to be in a ceremonial way. The traditional understandings of a *rangatira* (leader) and *rangatiratanga* (leadership) were woven together with the cultural values that were part of the *korowai* (cloak) that contribute to the making of a *rangatira* (Māori leader). The consensus from participants is that what sets *rangatira Māori* apart is the unique attributes that define them.

6.11 Attributes of a Māori Leader

Discussions around the essential characteristics, traits, and behaviours of a Māori leader evoked comments from each woman that were unique to her personally. The responses identified several characteristics, traits, and behaviours of a Māori leader that are referred to as leader attributes, to bring together the different terms for the purpose of the study., reminiscent of Trait theory.

The attributes of a leader required in today's environment are more complex than in pre-contact and early contact times. However, specific leadership characteristics, traits, and behaviours have endured over time. UA12 saw attentiveness and responsiveness as essential to Māori leadership.

AU12: *"I think with Māori leadership, you must be so much more careful around relationships. To know your place in terms of the cultural hierarchies and those sorts of things. It means we are more attentive to issues of leadership. I can think of Māori women leaders who are perhaps not attentive to those things, but still have strong leadership skills. I think an attentiveness, and a responsiveness and care taken to not over-reach one's position or over-reach one's rights is one of the real strengths."*

For her, attributes of Māori women leaders were the knowledge of who they were and what they believed in, central to the understanding of being Māori, their cultural identity. These were things they refused to compromise for anyone. Similarly, WP10 described Māori women's leadership in terms of the uniqueness of being Māori and how this influences particular characteristics and behaviours. The *tūturu Māori* (authentically Māori) way is intensified by Māori women in their leadership practice.

She explains that Māori women are less likely to have an ego problem and more likely to behave in a way that is authentically humble, and authentically Māori. Not all Māori women

do that. There is also, inherent in *te taha wahine*, a deepness around intuition, so Māori women are more likely to see, feel, taste, perceive light when there is darkness and sound when there is silence. The characteristics identified by WP10 suggest that a *tūturu Māori* (authentically Māori) nature that draws on *tikanga Māori* (protocols) and works from a Māori cultural lens provides a deeper insight into important aspects of Māori women's leadership and the cultural values that guide them. It also brings to the fore the holistic notion of *wairuatanga* (spirituality) (Yates-Smith, 1998), that has been used and extended by Māori scholars as they try to theorise on mainstream leadership.

The respectful nature of Māori women, recognising and acknowledging the strengths of others, is an important feature of Māori women's leadership. This model was similar to one described by GP7, where leadership was possible through leading from the front, in the middle, or from behind. She asks the following question:

GP7: "Is there a difference between Māori leadership and wahine Māori perspectives of Māori leadership? My experience thus far has suggested that a female leader is happy to lead from the middle and from the back and not necessarily always being out the front. That there are times when a female leader has to be in the front, but she will know when that is."

GP7 was also certain that at times the concept of humility played a role in the process of leadership and needed to be overcome. She added:

GP7: Often, I think that sometimes the trait of humbleness is something we must overcome. The times we have to step out into the front, we have to be cognisant of why we want to step out into the front, because leading from the middle or the back is just as good, but it does have a different impact than when we are seen to be in the front."

The idea of positioning oneself, coupled with the ability to discern the most effective placement in a particular context all come into play for a *wahine Māori* leader exercising leadership.

6.12 Diversity in Māori Women's Leadership Styles

All research participants described personal understandings of Māori leadership in different ways, based on several underlying factors, including what informs their leadership and how leadership is practiced. UA3, for example, acknowledged the varied nature of Māori leadership, noting how it pervades every facet of Māori society, across primary social structures and a wide range of contexts:

UA3: "I think there is a diversity of Māori leadership anyway. I think you see leadership everywhere. Wherever you see Māori gathered, there is a leadership component and I think there are layers of leadership. What we do in a whānau, what we do in a marae, what we do nationally, and what we do professionally in our professions, so I think there are all those contexts in which Māori leadership is quite a critical component of how we grow ourselves, how we develop."

In this quote, UA3 highlights how leadership is a central part of Māori society and evident across a wide range of environments and contexts. In UA3's view, leadership is often practiced in specific situations by individuals who don't consider themselves leaders. Other participants, including UA12 and UA11, held similar views, acknowledging the diversity of Māori leadership and Māori women's leadership. UA12, for example, made a comparison between Māori women's leadership and other leadership perspectives, suggesting that it was reasonable to assume that there would be several forms of Māori women's leadership.

UA12: "Like any forms of leadership, they will be diverse and divergent. Certainly, there won't be just one form of wahine Māori leadership."

UA5 shared her understanding of Māori women's leadership, as a Tapuika woman, and the way that the *kai kōrero* (orator) or *paepae* (orator's bench) was only a part of leadership.

UA5: "When I think about women and leadership and also about coming from Te Arawa tribes, although we are Tapuika, they are very strong and acknowledged by the men. Tapuika women are very opinionated, especially the women's movement I was a part of in the eighties. There's talk about women not speaking on the marae but we always understood that the whaikōrero or the paepae (male roles) wasn't the be all and end all of leadership. For us it was the roles and the defining of the roles. "

The women of her tribe, Tapuika, were acknowledged as accomplished leaders, although they have strong *whakapapa* links to Te Arawa (reputed to be patriarchal). For example, the Tapuika CEO of the Post-Settlement Governance Entity (PGSE), their chief negotiator, is a woman.

All twelve research participants compared Māori and Pākehā leadership in terms of hierarchical structures. In Māori society, Māori leadership was based on a Māori organisational structure that was flat; tribal members were considered equal in *mana* to the *rangatira*, or leader. Most of the participants acknowledged the deference due to the power and authority of the *rangatira*, unless there were obvious issues, such as incompetence, where the leader was replaced. This idea reflects the understanding of ascribed and attributed leadership status.

In the view of a few participants, Māori leadership could be described as a “*natural leadership*” or as “*being developed in a Māori child’s formative years.*” For UA11, Māori women’s leadership often arose in times of need, but also in a range of settings that were part of everyday life. Furthermore, these instances were opportunities to develop and practise leadership skills. In her opinion, even the most mundane activities were considered examples of developing leadership.

UA3: “*It was a kind of ‘natural leadership’ that a lot of Māori have, and it is natural because Māori are socialised to look after the group. For a Pākehā, the leader has an individual vision to inspire her or his followers, while for Māori the vision is more likely to be collectively owned at the outset.*”

Visionary leadership was acknowledged as being more about the visionary ability of the leader and more about relationships, care and service to others.

6.13. Māori Leadership Practice

The nature and associated attributes of a Māori leader were seen to be a particularly important foundation from which to practice leadership. A closer examination of the ways Māori practice leadership revealed some interesting information. The participants shared

their perspectives on how others viewed their leadership and on differences in leading, in relation to Māori men and non-Māori women.

When asked whether the perceptions of others influence her personal leadership approach or practice, WP10 was reluctant to respond, noting:

WP10: *"I have an issue with the word perception because perception can be truth or can be.... so... peoples' views of my leadership matter to me and I really value peoples' feedback."*

UA5 was of the opinion that the response to the question was about *"power relations."* In that context, there was a power imbalance, a disparity which, for her, meant that in a leadership role she can *"pull rank"* to get compliance, but, as she argued, that is not how it works *"at home"*—you would bring everyone together and have a conversation about how to address the issues. Ultimately, for her:

UA5: *"Leadership must be kaupapa driven. The kaupapa is not about an individual's wanting to do whatever. In the end who are we serving? It's service. I see this job as being a servant. Because the thing is who you are serving is, you are serving the students. And if you don't make the best circumstance, why are you here?"*

For these participants, the perceptions of others mattered little, except that there was the potential for growth and development from feedback. Furthermore, leadership that is *kaupapa*-driven, using an attitude of service was seen as the most appropriate approach. The differences in practice between Māori women and men were expressed in different ways by participants. According to GP8, there was a definite difference in the ways that Māori women and Māori men lead. In her view the differences come down to being driven by the heart or the intellect:

GP8: *"I think Māori women lead first from the heart and then from the head. I think that's a difference with many Māori men is that they lead from the head. At times it's difficult to lead from the heart. I think the difference for Māori women leading from the heart is that essentially you will see something that needs to be done and then you will look at ways of achieving that are consistent with your values, beliefs and those of your whānau so it might be a gentler approach to the way that you achieve an*

outcome. It might be slightly longer than your male counterpart, but you'll achieve the outcome with buy-in and with support."

This approach was important for GP8, as it meant that the outcome would ultimately be achieved in a way that was much more in touch with the needs of the individual. On the other hand, UP1 shared how Māori men demonstrated a more combative approach, which for her was a disappointment. She also referred to differences in the practice of non-Māori women, suggesting that they did not seem to realise their ability to be a role model.

UP1: "Non-Māori women do very much lead with their heads. So, if you ask a Māori, they'll be passionate about being a woman and they're Māori. The Pākehā don't tend to be passionate about who they are. They're passionate about lots of things and what they do, but not about themselves. I think that is something that distinguishes us, because we are connected, we do believe that what we do has an impact on our people and that's important to us. Similarly, I don't think a lot of Pākehā women see themselves as role models to their people. They might be role models to their kids, but they don't see their influence on generations to come, again because they're not structured in the same way that we necessarily are."

The differences between Māori women, Māori men, and Pākehā women were interesting, as it reflects a long-term intergenerational approach for Māori women that seemed to underpin much of their leadership. GP8 referred to the differences in terms of the inclusive language Māori women used and the stance of Māori men in many situations—the way they stand and occupy space. Overall, these points made by GP8 are cognisant of the, at times, dominant roles men take on board; and for the women, the inclusiveness of language appears to reflect the notion of taking the people forward.

Throughout the interviews, participants expressed differences in the leadership approaches of Māori women, non-Māori women, and Māori men, suggesting that distinctions were culturally bound, with Māori women showing traditional tendencies to maintain the integrity of the *whānau* and *hapū*, and Māori men showing tendencies toward a more colonised or patriarchal approach to leading.

Māori leadership theory and practice are a culmination of the conceptual thinking and ways of working for Māori that continually evolve to meet the demands of each era. Therefore, I

turn now to responses about the qualities and behaviours of leadership. The ways of working based on Māori cultural perspectives, and the experiences, understandings and differences of Māori women leaders in the tertiary education sector.

PA4, for example, suggested that Māori leadership is underpinned by the traditional concept of *mana* and is dictated by a vision for the future.

PA4: "In terms of Māori leadership, it is about our mana. It is about any vision at the end of the day and it does come down to elevating who we are as Māori and then things like manaakitanga come in and actually define how we do things."

For PA4, Māori leadership based on a clear, long-term vision for the future, coupled with an understanding of the implications of being able to elevate the position and *mana* of the marae and the people. Enacting *manaakitanga* (hospitality) was important for the *kuia* (elderly women) of the marae.

PA4: "That example like my aunty on the marae and the tensions with the young catering committee. The aunties were more about the mana, they never talked in that language they never said it was about the mana of Ngāti Toa, they would say something like, "you are going to embarrass us," just put a cup of tea on the table; with no kai you're going to embarrass us. But that's about mana. That's about manaakitanga when people come here, they need to experience the manaakitanga of the iwi. That's what elevates the mana. We don't talk in those terms, but we all understand actually at the end of the day looking after manuhiri, about being generous to others, that looks after the mana "don't you dare embarrass us by people going away from here being hungry."

From this perspective, practice was seen to emerge because of assumptions that were later modified by the knowledge of the *kuia*, who were aware of the implications of the behaviour for individuals specifically, but also for the collective associated with the marae. The *kōrero* shared also highlights the way that Māori culture is changing, and how the next generations must be taught about what is appropriate behaviour for potential Māori leaders, in modern terms.

Māori leadership is constantly evolving and leadership styles for Māori have changed over time, based on radical shifts in the socio-political environment in New Zealand, in the last 70

years. What is also evident is the ever-increasing range of leadership roles for Māori, across many sectors.

6.14 Situational and Contextual Leadership

UA3 described leadership in different situations. In her view, Māori women do not often aspire to leadership roles, suggesting it is more a case of a person happening into the role rather than it being an exclusive activity for an elite group. She provides her view of Māori women as leaders and leadership in everyday situations.

UA3: “Lots of Māori women are leaders of their whānau. We perform leadership roles and responsibilities at different times, and at different ages. Leadership skills are practiced in various modes, many of them unrecognised or acknowledged for women particularly. Some of the most impressive women I know are women that deal with everyday challenges in small but very important ways. What might be considered small from a national or regional perspective, but try running a hui (gatherings), a marae (cultural space), a kōhanga reo (Māori early childhood), a family on a budget, having teenagers, being a teacher, you know, I imagine they are all real challenging leadership roles.”

UA11 was loath to define Māori leadership explicitly, because, in her view, this limited the scope and flexibility of Māori leadership. However, in so doing, she expressed her understanding of what leadership meant for her.

UA11: “I don’t know why I would want to define it. I think you happen into it. I think that you end up in it. So, I don’t think it necessarily means that you are some sort of top dog in a pyramid. I think it means that you have got some responsibilities – and most of us have got responsibilities. Leadership has this high-faulting definition, whereas I think it should be normal.”

In PA4’s view, Māori women’s leadership is about doing, getting the work done and making sure that ego does not get in the way. She illustrates her understanding of Māori women’s leadership in the following way.

PA4: *"I think as a way of defining and describing it is drawing on the experiences, I have had with Māori women and leadership. You go back to being on the marae, and the aunties you know the doers, and they were the ones in the meetings to make the decisions and they had the courage to make the hard decisions and they follow through with it."*

6.15 Challenges for Māori Women's Leadership

There are, of course, both positive and negative challenges that impact Māori women leaders and the kind of leadership they wish to practise. Participants were asked to identify the most critical challenges for Māori women in a leadership role, in a tertiary education setting. In determining what factors influenced Māori women in leadership, there were a variety of interesting points identified by the research participants. In some instances, where one participant identified a specific factor as a driver, another participant would refer to the same factor as a barrier.

Commonly mentioned factors included racism and the serious impact it had on the academic progress of Māori staff, students, and academics in tertiary institutions. A lack of understanding of cultural knowledge by Pākehā (Wehi et al., 2009) and the entrenched patriarchy raised the question of the education sector as a level playing field. In these instances, Māori women took on a lot of extra work to mitigate these issues. The implications of this high stress and extra workload, on health and well-being, was recognised by many participants. At times there was acknowledgement by these women of the compromises that arise for them and how this can have a detrimental effect on their identity, well-being, and spirituality.

6.15.1 Leadership: Future Prospects

It was evident from the interviews that the reason for these women to take on a leadership role was to create or determine a better future for Māori, and, in particular, future generations. Feedback from the majority of participants is summed up by GP7.

GP7: *“As a Māori woman leader, I think about what my role is, constantly thinking about having a positive impact for those mokopuna here right now and the mokopuna yet to come. So, if my outlook hasn’t thought through what is required to achieve that then I am just like any other leader. Being able to know that the role that I wanted to have, expects me to be cognisant of what I do today. How to show hope and potential for what’s to come that is what I would define to be one aspect of the leadership that I have sought to portray.”*

She shares her hopes for the future but also the challenges that motivate her, in her role as a Māori leader.

GP7: *“I am inspired by what the future can be and will be because I worry about what it might not be. I worry about whānau not being able to be active in their iwi space. It gets me out of bed.”*

GP7’s reference to mokopuna and her role in Māori women’s leadership is reinforced by UA2’s commitment to her *mokopuna*. She allocates the weekends for her *mokopuna*, and she guards that time fiercely.

6.15,2 Racism

Arguably, the single most pervasive challenge for Māori women in senior leadership roles was racism, in its various forms. Institutional racism, personal racism and internalised racism all served to undermine the women in their positions and to inhibit progress in achieving the goals they set for themselves. Institutional racism was referred to by half of the participants in the study, illustrating how entrenched racism is in Aotearoa New Zealand society. All participants shared personal experiences of the impact of racism on their *whānau* (family) and professional lives, and they explained some of the ways they dealt with it.

Racism has been evident in Aotearoa New Zealand ever since colonial contact in the early 1800s and continues to be so today. The history of Aotearoa New Zealand reflects systemic racism. Both UA2 and WA9 spoke about the racism experienced by their parents due to mixed-race partnerships, in the 1940s. Excerpts from their interviews provide some insights

into the societal reality that are the broader context for Māori leadership. There have been changes, but racism is a very real challenge for Māori in this country.

WA9: *“They were not allowed to stay there because she’s a Māori woman. So, she was allowed to be a cleaner in that hotel in 1921, she was allowed to work out the back, but she was not allowed to be a paying guest with her Pākehā husband. So those are the kinds of experiences that they experienced.”*

WA9 also shared how her father had to seek permission from the church to marry her mother, because he was Pākehā and she was Māori. UA2 shared *kōrero* about her parents’ experiences and how her father tried to deal with the issue:

UA2: *“My mother is English and was absolutely stunned when she came back out here after the Second World War in the late 1940s. She could not believe what she was seeing and especially when she married my father and realised how bad it was. He couldn’t go into certain hotels you know. This is my father saying no, no and my mother saying why not? Why can’t we go in there and then going in and she gets thrown out. And she can’t believe it. Or on their honeymoon and she wants to go and stay in the hotel and my dad said no he wants to go and stay with his whanaunga (relative) because that’s how he dealt with it you see. And my mother was adamant to stay in the hotel. And they said ok you can have a room but he has to sleep in the shed.”*

This was a common occurrence for Māori generally, but also for bicultural couples during that era, right through to the late 1960s. Māori awareness of racism resulted in a response from UA2’s father to avoid the issue, by seeking accommodation with *whānau*; however, UA2’s mother, had no concept of such a reality and, being used to Pākehā privilege, tried to fight back.

These events had a major impact on the lives of both participants. For example, WA9 shares how her background influenced her in later life, pointing out that those experiences focussed and grounded her:

WA9: *“That’s the kind of background we come from where you see the world the way that it is, but you don’t accept that. You grow up with the vision of the way the world is, the way the world you want to be, and you steadily work yourself to that. So, here’s*

the way the world is, there's the way the world should be in terms of your vision, and your job is to work yourself there, not here."

UA2 also describes how the situation with her parents influenced her in later life.

UA2: "I was brought up being told about those things and my mother telling me if anyone tells you that you can't do something because you are Māori, 'Don't listen to them'. Now that's very powerful for a child to be told that kind of thing. The point is that one is to recognise [racism]; and two is to know what to do with it. She said to me 'people who say those things to you are ignorant.'"

Both participants' experiences had a powerful impact on the way that they viewed and dealt with racism in later life. They were unwilling to accept the status quo and worked hard to address racism in their professional lives.

UA2 said she spent a lot of time working in the NZ Academic Audit Unit and was very clear that racism is widespread in universities, pointing out that:

UA2: "The reality is, and I guess it is something you just have to sort out and come to terms with, is that you have deeply entrenched racism in this university and all universities."

She provided descriptions of her experience of racism, linking it to poor Māori educational outcomes.

UA2: "...dealing with institutional racism, if we didn't have to deal with that, we would be streets ahead. So, when you are working in an institution like that, when you are a leader, you need to tell your staff and students the reality. It is not something you should find yourself battling by yourself. We all see it, now let's try and find ways to get around it, navigate around the racism."

In UA2's opinion, it was no easy task to address the various forms of racism. PP6 noted the ever-present nature of racism, pointing out;

PP6: "I think there's always going to be – I suppose it is racism, but you've got some stereotyping that goes on in people's minds, you've still got those kinds of barriers."

WP10 went further, suggesting that there were more challenges than just racism:

WP10: *“There’s racism, there’s expectations that you are everything to everyone. There’s the duality of fulfilling the expectations of the organisation and fulfilling the expectations of the tribe.”*

This factor was a real problem for Māori women in leadership roles, as there could be a mismatch between organisational and iwi goals and expectations, and this was a major dilemma for many Māori women leaders. It was obvious that the senior leadership roles were often constrained by organisational policies and processes. UA11’s situation was interesting: in a leadership role in the university, she expressed her concern about the responsibilities of the senior leadership role:

UA11: *“A lot of us who have roles and responsibilities like me are stuck in the middle. We don’t live in a Māori world; we’ve got one foot in it. But in our work life, in our leadership role we have to operate in a Pākehā world, and we have to promote a Māori kaupapa within the constraints of an often racist Pākehā environment. So how do we do that because in my role it is compromised by this context. The Pākehā world views, the demand for Pākehā rights, the bare recognition of the Treaty. So, my job is how I move the middle ground.”*

For the most part, senior leadership roles required some compromise, in terms of cultural identity and associated values and the demands of the organisation. For UA11, it is a case of walking between two worlds and trying to identify the potential to achieve incremental gains. Most of the participants regularly dealt with the differences between the Pākehā and Māori systems, in a range of forms, and at times had to make concessions that, in UA11’s view, compromised their position. There were obvious differences in opinion, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours of non-Māori senior leaders.

Both UA3 and UA5 also acknowledged that racism affects both Māori men and Māori women.

UA3: *“I don’t think it’s just Māori women, I think it’s Māori men too. Perceptions whether real or imagined, I think there still is institutional racism, you know.”*

Māori men, particularly those employed in the tertiary education sector (although other sites were also noted), were an impediment to Māori women in senior leadership roles. At times,

perceptions of non-Māori supporting Māori men, over more qualified and skilled Māori women, was of some concern. UA3 suggests that the experiences for Māori men and women differed, which resulted from levels of paternalism and manipulation.

UA3: *“Because I think men encounter different kinds of paternalism than women. I think Māori men experience a different kind of racism than women. I think it’s expressed differently. Although we still experience it, both of us. We then have to react. For example, the men get patronised very quickly, by other men. Then you have the Pākehā women running around after them, and they don’t know what the hell is happening and we are all watching going yeah. Because they can’t see the manipulation.”*

It is important to point out that this was common for both Māori and non-Māori men, although the reasons for such behaviour can only be speculated about. On the whole, racism is insidious, and at times there can be the appearance of internalised racism, where Māori in positions of power act to deny the basic Treaty rights of other Māori by restricting access to resources or services.

6.15.3 Contestable Spaces

A further consideration for Māori women’s leadership was described by WP10, in relation to selecting the context in which to have a voice or express an opinion.

WP10: *“I qualify that by saying voice is so important for Māori women’s leadership. And it’s about selecting the context for that voice. A voice in the context of whaikōrero to me is not important. There is the reo pōwhiri, a reo ka kōrero, that is the domain of men. I don’t have an issue with that. Because actually not a lot is said in that. You know it’s all-around protocol. In the whare, different context. That’s when debate, meaningful debate happens and there’s a voice for all Māori women.”*

For her, Māori women needed to be strategic about the context in which to voice their views and opinions, as this would allow for more robust discussion. UA2 made sure that the Māori department of her university was organised, in her time as Head of School:

UA2: *"In Māori studies, it is different in here. Some of them are good in tikanga and others aren't. And that can be quite difficult at times because you are trying to meld the Pākehā and the Māori."*

She went further, pointing out how important it is that the Māori department is more than a building, owing to the *mana* (status) of individuals who had a part in building the marae.

UA2: *"Others before him had worked to try and get these sorts of things, but it's all very well to have the buildings but unless the staff and students feel safe and feel confident that this really is a Māori place, then it's all a bit of a façade. I spent a lot of time as head of department trying to instil in my staff and students, this is the Māori part of the university and tikanga will apply here. And we will be Māori, both staff and students will be safe in this environment. We will not allow anyone to tell us how to run that marae."*

In UA2's view, it was important to provide a safe environment that operates in a Māori way for Māori staff and students in the institution. She outlined how the institution's hierarchy had on occasion attempted to dictate how the Māori studies department operated, by attempting to enforce institutional culture and replace a Māori tikanga, to bring it into line with the operational protocols of other areas of the organisation.

UA2: *"We have had some bad experiences, in that as head of department, it was about the exercise of our mana (power) and rangatiratanga (leadership), as mana whenua (people of the land) in this country. That was the thing I wanted to make sure, if there was nothing else, I achieved, it is that and I did."*

For UA2, a critical undertaking in her role as head of department was standing up for the Māori department that was part of the bigger picture surrounding the Treaty of Waitangi, Treaty rights, and the status of Māori as *mana whenua* (people of the land). Her approach was commensurate with mutually consistent maintenance of *tikanga Māori* in a mainstream institution, that could, at times, produce hostile reactions.

The attitudes toward Māori women in leadership roles differed between the types of institutions. An example of the difference in tertiary institutions was explained by WP10, who had worked in a mainstream tertiary institution, one step away from the top role in the organisation, and also at a *whare wānanga*, as a senior manager. She outlined the difference

in her transition to working in a Māori *whare wānanga* institution, in a senior management role. The way in which her professional reputation was built, in a mainstream context over the years, seemed to have no relevance in a *whare wānanga* setting. She pointed out that the perceptions of some Māori in *whare wānanga* displayed a lack of belief in the abilities of Māori women to attain such high-profile positions.

She was surprised that most people assumed that women were not able to attain high-level roles or did not possess the skills necessary to perform the functions of the role to a high degree. She related how others responded when she queried the lack of women in senior leadership roles, *“because there is not enough who are qualified,”* and *“because there is a brutality with leading in a Māori organisation where the interface is whānau, hapū and iwi.”* One Māori male in a senior position in a *whare wānanga*, for whom she had a deep respect, had said to her, *“I would never put my daughter, my wife, my mother, in that position.”*

WP10 said he considered her to *“be nuts”* to even consider a leadership role in a tertiary institution—clearly illustrating how institutional racism impacts on Māori women’s career advancement in leadership roles. According to the participant, this scenario was also typical of Māori male attitudes toward Māori women in *whare wānanga* (kaupapa Māori tertiary institutions). She explains:

WP10: *“Interesting thing is, in the mainstream environment even though there was some staff around me being appointed, most staff throughout the organisation had confidence in the process. That I was appointed for the right reasons. My starting point was here, and I just built from there. In a Māori environment at the whare wānanga, your starting point was way back here at zero. And you almost have to crawl on your knees to build a confidence and trust in your staff their qualifications and experience to take on a role.”*

Participants agreed that their leadership was, in many ways, different to that of Māori men, working from a place of *aroha* (compassion) and *manaakitanga* (care for the people) and with a *ngākau Māori* (Māori heart). Māori men were described by some participants as being guided by their heads or intellect, rather than their heart.

This issue is exacerbated by the differences between mainstream and Māori tertiary institution environments, to some degree based on the culture of the organisation.

Expectations in a mainstream environment were more likely to be based on an individual's personal achievements.

In her own research on Māori leadership, WP10 found that context is critical:

WP10: "Context is everything in Māori leadership. I don't have an issue sitting in the back, I don't have an issue making fried bread. I don't have an issue sweeping the floor. Context is everything. So, you will move in and out of leadership roles according to context. And in the context of a marae environment I don't bat an eyelid about sitting way in the back because in that context, it is not about me there are other things going on."

Positioning in different contexts is very important and is often approached differently by Māori and non-Māori in leadership positions. WP10 demonstrates how, despite her high-status leadership role, the context dictated her approach and role. Other participants held a similar view and adjusted their approach to meet the requirements of the context and situation in Māori settings.

There was a general belief across participants that Pākehā people did not really know how to deal with Māori, particularly Māori women. One participant spoke about her experience in a senior leadership role, where she was well aware that the ability of her Pākehā male senior to deal with issues was generally prioritised first in relation to Māori generally, then women, then Māori women.

UA3: "I think about my Dean here, he knows what to do with non-Māori, he doesn't know what to do with me sometimes because he doesn't know what makes me tick as a Māori woman. He knows as a woman and as an employee, but most certainly not as a Māori. I think that is a challenge for us, and similarly Māori men in senior roles in the tertiary sector."

Undermining behaviour included bullying, fabricating negative information, rumourmongering and threats of dismissal. One participant shared her experience where she was threatened with dismissal, after deciding to support another Māori staff member experiencing racist behaviour in the institution:

UP1: *"So, the last couple of times I have taken on these battles, I have received letters of threat from the Vice Chancellor about this, because they know it's me saying it to the rest of the Māori staff. It's the usual thing, if they can get rid of the leader then everyone else will drop off."*

This are a common theme of Māori women's experiences in professional relationships with other senior managers. Mira Szászy (profiled in section 3.4) was acknowledged as an exceptional leader in the field of education, who commanded respect, although she had a very unassuming manner. However, a Māori male in a senior leadership role in the tertiary education sector (who did not want to be named), in confidence confirmed that he had first-hand knowledge of the bullying behaviour that was directed toward Mira Szászy, by Māori men in similar roles, in the early years of her career.

Pākehā men were seen to be a major barrier for Māori women's leadership across a number of sectors, including tertiary education. In UP1's view, *"...they hold positions of power and exercised it on the basis of privilege."*

6.15,4 Life Work Balance

Participants acknowledged that a major impediment for many Māori women in senior leadership roles in the tertiary education sector was their failure to recognise the danger of continually increasing workloads over and above the normal workload. This was generally due to these women being generally high functioning achievers who took their work and obligations very seriously. UA3, for example, outlines some of the challenges that Māori women face:

UA3: *"I just think women have multiple roles. So that's a kind of tension because it's the cause of stress. The reason they have multiple roles is they take on multiple roles. I think that's the challenge, the senior Māori woman here are all really busy. They have got a very high work ethic. The successful ones, they are working, I could send a text at midnight and someone will reply. So, what that tells me is they are living and breathing their work the whole time. And women don't have a wife at home."*

UA2 reflects a similar position, describing Māori women as overworked:

UA2: *“Women leaders take on too much of the work and they will carry the people. If there is no one to do it, the work, the women do it. They have to be careful about that because they end up getting sick, push themselves too hard they are overworked. You need to balance devolving to others to help you, and a good leader must do that but also not devolving too much so that you lose contact with the people. Because if you devolve everything you tend to lose that one to one contact with the people. It is a major challenge to balance the high work ethic with personal well-being and many extremely knowledgeable and dynamic Māori women leaders have been lost too early.”*

She does, however, suggest that Māori women tend to have that natural nurturing gene that detects when someone is sick or in need of support. In her opinion, Māori women have a propensity towards concern, not only for the people, but also the individual, with an ability to *“manaaki te tangata”* (care for the people). So, for UA2 a leader needs to know the people well and be observant and aware of subtle indicators people may exhibit in times of stress that would assist in how to approach the situation.

According to most participants, Māori women leaders need to be more aware of their personal well-being, as they often become hugely overworked, to the point of illness. This situation was essential to avoid, in a balanced approach to leadership.

6.15.5 Accessing Cultural Spaces

Participants reported that non-Māori senior leaders in many tertiary institutions and organisations assume Māori, particularly Māori women in leadership roles, have automatic access to Māori tribal networks. Equally irritating was the assumption of some non-Māori CEOs, general managers, and senior executives that they were culturally competent because of their professional status.

PA4: *“In my new job, I have been going out to the region and in the mihi and people refer to me as a rangatira and I say nah, I am the regional manager at a government agency, that’s my job, that’s my position, that doesn’t make me a rangatira. Leave that for the other forum.”*

PA4 was also offended that a chief of her tribe was subjected to questioning about seemingly basic level Treaty knowledge, or facts about *hapū* and *iwi*, and asked to explain terminology

in a Treaty claim negotiation by very junior government officials, who had failed to do their research. It was seen as disrespectful. The Treaty claims negotiation process today is an environment that impacts on the mana of *rangatira*, such as Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Professor Mason Durie, that would not occur in normal circumstances, but they were gracious in their responses.

UA3 was adamant that it was not her job to support her CEO at high-level cultural events, that it was incumbent on him to secure cultural advisors for that role. What is evident in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand is the changing face of society, the demands of the Treaty claims environment, and the assumptions of mainstream leadership in the equality of leaders, based on their level of seniority. Most, if not all, leaders within tertiary education institutions assume that their level of authority equates with the authority within the established political leadership of *hapū* and *iwi*. This assumption is incorrect. It is only possible through the power of resources afforded by government and the desire of Māori leaders to progress the future of their people.

6.15.6 Navigating Competing Expectations

One issue that came up consistently for the participants was the difficulty of navigating the expectations of their *iwi*, alongside the expectations of their roles. In some respects, the challenges occurred when women tried to manage the crossover points. UA12 makes some very valid points about expectations:

UA12: "I think with Māori too, if you take these other roles on in a corporate setting or a tertiary setting or a health care setting for example, you are having to play some double roles both in terms of your straight leadership roles in your institutional setting and those roles associated with you being a Māori leader. And sometimes they are in conflict you know because the institutional objectives may not align with Māori objectives, and then I think there are people who have to take on roles which are actually having to convince Māori that the institutional objectives are their objectives."

Manging to work with the dual demands of institutional and Māori objectives was a similar situation for PA4. She shared that she was valued highly in the "soft areas," such as student support, but not selected to participate in administrative areas, such as EFTS and finances—overall, she felt that being a Māori woman in a leadership role had challenges.

PA4: *“When you are Māori, you are second class, Māori women third class. You know got a double whammy only thing was not walking around with a crutch don’t have a physical disability. You are not rated as a Māori woman and you have to work hard to prove yourself. Others may not have had that experience. Don’t really take seriously as Māori women but of course you are asked what kind of pastoral care you think Māori students need... They kind of push us into those definitions of student support, soft areas.”*

Assumptions about the capabilities of Māori women as leaders were obvious in the comments from PA4, and she argues that Māori women are considered third-class citizens. Finally, UA11 shared how the senior leadership role was, at times, personally compromising. The demands of the role were difficult, as she points out:

UA11: *“So, there was if you look at it in a lot of us who have roles and responsibilities like me who are stuck in the middle. We don’t live in a Māori world; well we’ve got one foot in it. But in our work life, in our leadership role we have to operate in an um probably a Pākehā world and we have to promote a Māori kaupapa in a Pākehā environment. In the constraints of a racist – often racist Pākehā environment.”*

Traversing the cultural dualities, they encounter in the workplace was an ongoing issue, and UA11 was clear that the compromises were, at times, difficult to manage. She recounted how one mentor suggested that when more protest groups voiced the rights of Māori, they provided the space views from the middle of the road. What UA11 suggests, as a way to deal with the complexities of compromise in her role, is to understand what she can do to effectively means compromise to make cultural duality far more acceptable.

Māori women in academic positions experienced challenges to their academic reputation in certain ways, such as less-qualified Māori men being recruited to high-level academic roles over more-qualified Māori women academics. Participants outlined how they had to work twice as hard and be ten times better at their jobs than everybody else, to ensure that they were beyond question. Māori women in professional roles shared similar experiences where Māori men were recruited into positions of leadership with lesser qualifications. Participants also outlined the assumptions made about Māori women’s capabilities to take on leadership roles in *whare wānanga* (kaupapa Māori institution) settings.

6.15.7 Undertaking Leadership Roles

Taking on leadership roles was noted as being particularly significant, where the participant was expected to take on a leadership role because they were chosen to do so, or where they just naturally assumed the role. A key driver for most of the Māori women interviewed was the necessity to identify a series of outcomes, to focus on 'why' they were undertaking a leadership role.

At least two participants shared that they seemed to “*end up*” in leadership roles, rather than actively choosing the role. UA11 pointed out that, although a Māori woman may be in a leadership role, it was not a straight-forward recruitment process, but rather an evolutionary process. UA12 and many other participants spoke about how Māori women tended to pick up the slack when there seemed to be no other choice. In her view, this was because of the responsibility to the family or common unit.

UA12: *“They are suddenly put into a position; it could be around family or could be a work position and they just have to take on the responsibility and have to do it and will do it. There’s is a duty and responsibility to think of the needs of all of us together.”*

The implications for Māori leaders in decision-making roles, from the perspectives of participants, were that the implementation of Māori-specific strategies being important to influencing Māori educational achievement in the tertiary education sector. This had a great deal to do with being able to see Māori as role models across every academic discipline, but also to foster initiatives that are relevant to Māori, with the help of Māori leaders in decision-making roles. This study concludes that the majority of Māori women’s in leadership roles in the tertiary sector apply a *kaupapa Māori* agenda to inform their work and inspire thinking that benefits Māori. There was only one woman who felt she had to make compromises and take the “middle ground” in order to get cultural traction.

6.16 Conclusion

Indigenous researchers highlight the challenges to development in Indigenous leadership scholarship. There are valuable inferences from various cultures that resonate with Māori leadership experiences, which opens possibilities for future collaborations in this field. This provides a clearer understanding of the conceptual frameworks Māori use when thinking

about leaders and leadership. There are a range of factors (including the tools and impact of colonisation, patriarchy, racism and the influence of history) that affect Māori conceptualisations of leadership. Such factors have, in turn, contributed to key changes in the historical development of Māori women's leadership. More recent studies (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018; Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Spiller et al., 2011a, 2011b) are more holistic in approach and highlight the significance of *tikanga Māori* values and concepts in the development of Māori leadership research (Palmer & Masters, 2010; Roche et al., 2018), and the potential for studies being more inclusive in the future. What is more, there is still an opportunity to examine how to approach the successful integration of Māori knowledge, culture, and values to balance the understandings of what constitutes 'effective' leadership. For example, Te Momo (2011) identified six key issues as significant aspects and ideas that contribute to analysing effective contemporary Māori leadership based on her critique of the Māori leaders who presented at the Manu Ao Academy Wānanga Series. In her view, *aroha* (compassion and love), *pakanga* (debates), *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty), *mana wahine* (female leadership), *tikanga kore* (adapting protocol to suit the situation) and *pono* (truth) / *tika* (correct) were compelling examples of high-profile Māori leaders' understandings of what constituted effectiveness in Te ao Māori.

The roles and status of Māori women in post-colonial New Zealand are well documented (Bradbury, 1995; Mikaere, 1994; Mahuika, 1974; Walker (1975) laments the negative impact that colonisation has imposed on all facets of Māori lifeways, leaving the *marae* (traditional meeting place) as the last bastion of *tūturu Māori* (authentically Māori) practice. Developing a model that brings this ancient practice into a modern idiom, with the researcher as the protagonist, is very exciting.

The literature review provides an overview of post-colonial education initiatives that is the historical backdrop to Māori women leaders in the tertiary sector. Leadership theories that align to Māori models/styles are canvassed as well. Contextual statistical information captures the socio-economic status of Māori that explains Māori achievement rates. This ostensibly deficit model approach does little to make a difference to Māori lives. Notably, the conclusion drawn from the literature is that all leadership, both male and female, informed by *kaupapa Māori*, put the collective (that is, the tribe/students) before the individual.

Existing literature on Western and women's leadership provides an overview of key leadership theories across Western, Eastern, and other perspectives, with a chronological overview. This is followed by a discussion focussed on cross-cultural, gender and Indigenous research. By making a distinction between various leadership theories and Māori leadership perspectives, the differences in interpretation of leader identity and leadership practice is examined to highlight its relevance to contemporary Māori leadership practice. This is followed by a discussion of contemporary developments in leadership research in New Zealand.

In addressing the question of what constitutes Māori leadership, the participants concurred that Māori culture and identity plays a significant part for Māori women in leadership roles. The research demonstrated that traditional Māori society has undergone a radical transformation in little under 200 years, with devastating effect. Western processes, rewritten Māori historical narratives, and an overlay of non-Māori values, attitudes, and understandings (Salmond, 1983; Simon & Smith, 2001) have all been major influences on the evolution of Māori leadership. The findings confirmed that participants possessed strong connections with their culture and consolidated individual identities which demonstrate that "being Māori" is a significant part of their cultural identity (Moeke-Pickering, 1996) and acted as an antidote to the effects of Western colonisation.

The research also alluded to the argument that values and models of behaviour are maintained in the context of *whānau*, through tribal histories and a wide range of educative tools (Calman, 2012; Hohepa, 2009; Kawharu, 2009). This was reflected in the participants' experiences of being raised in the context of *whānau*, and how the learning of leadership skills and knowledge generally has been carried out by "observing" and "doing leadership" in a range of different everyday settings, where collective expectations are maintained, accountability encouraged, and *kaumātua* (elderly) mentorship facilitated to enhance their learning (Hemara, 2000; Te Whāiti, 1997).

The research validated Māori cultural values as based on a universal Māori belief system that is critical to culturally informed leadership (Harmsworth, 1997; Roche et al., 2018) and as the tools with which at least some Māori people view, interpret, experience, and make sense of the world (Marsden, 1988). Harmsworth (1997) argues that a Māori world view is broadly defined as a series of states or dimensions based upon three fundamental concepts, including

whakapapa (genealogical descent), *mauri* (life principle) and *ritenga* (principles, protocols and procedures). The study also incorporated, and was inspired by, Mead's (2003) Māori ethical framework, that dictates the various forms of behaviour based on *mātauranga* Māori, as the body of knowledge from which *tikanga Māori* (protocols) are derived.

The study concluded that cultural values are gender neutral, per se, but, from the perspective of Māori women leaders, the way that the meanings are applied in practice are less pragmatic and more transformational in approach. The women identified 5 specific attributes that align with a more *wahine Māori* approach to practice.

Ūkaipō (place of origin and sustenance) is a cultural value that encourages Māori women to draw on their place of nurturing, the learning and experience from their cultural and familial background to assist them in their endeavours. The knowledge drawn from history and *whakapapa* is central to this cultural value.

Uhumanea (intuitive senses) is an inclusive cultural value that supports using the senses, feel, smell, taste but excluding sight, as a way of understanding that extends beyond the use of one sense such as to see or hear. Enacting the senses, gives a more comprehensive perspective of an issue or a situation for a Māori woman leader and thereby lends a more intuitive approach to leadership which relates to the next cultural value.

Te taha wahine (woman's intuition) is about a completely Māori women's approach or perspective and infers a knowledge that arises from a women's knowing.

Ngākau Māori (Māori heart) refers to having a Māori heart based around notions of love, generosity, and an authentic concern for the holistic well-being of the people.

Whakamārama (insight) is about enlightenment and insight into the issues at hand, which facilitates understanding, and provides light and meaning to identify an issue's significance.

These can be compared with universal attributes (see appendix 3) widely used across all sectors of Māori society.

The attributes illustrate that while universals can be applied generally it appears that there are specific ones that are commonly used by Māori woman leaders. What the attributes

clearly illustrate is that leadership centres on the people. Important to leadership is the leader's ability to focus on others and look outside themselves, as well as their ability to be critically self-aware and clear about the implications of ongoing self-analysis, based on the attributes for a woman in a leadership role. If there is a lack of this reflection on and evaluation of personal attributes, then the question arises of whether the leader is thinking about the people or about themselves. It is in this space that motivators for assuming leadership come into play.

Alongside attributes of Māori women leaders, the question of the motivation and/or inspiration to take up leadership roles was explained in this study. Gosling et al, (2012) point out that one of the primary goals of a leader in modern leadership literature is to inspire and motivate followers toward realisable goals. The assumption is that career progression, or the attainment of personal position, power, authority, and influence are key motivating factors (Gosling et al., 2012). In this research, a series of interconnected motivating factors were identified that related to the future of *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*. The principle motivator was a desire for the continuity and well-being of the collective, generally the *whānau* or the *hapū*, and the maintenance of the future aspirations and vision of the collective, reliant on prioritising *mokopuna* (future generations) through a delicate, intergenerational connectedness. Some of the participants outlined how their tenure in leadership positions was also motivated by a drive to make a difference for the benefit of Māori staff, students, and families. In many circumstances Māori in positions of influence can achieve changes that benefit Māori. What motivation looks like for Māori leadership varies from motivation in Western forms of leadership (Bass, 1985), relating more to obligations and reciprocal expectations between the leader and the collective.

Some of the most critical challenges for these women's leadership were confirmed as managing the effects of colonisation, and racist attitudes. In the tertiary education sector, recruitment processes and the implementation of various educational policies and initiatives have impacted negatively on Māori education (Durie, 1995; 2001b; 2003; Simon & Smith, 2001; Huygens, 2010; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2006). A key finding in the research was that participants were constantly traversing the perpetual tightrope. The two worlds would inevitably collide, leaving Māori leaders stuck trying to mitigate Western paradigms while using Māori frames of reference (Fitzgerald, 2003a, 2003b; Roche et al., 2018). This often led

to high degrees of burnout and incorrect assumptions about the quality and efficacy of Māori leaders' practice. On the one hand, they were considered experts in relation to Māori issues, but, according to participants, their capabilities were deemed questionable in the mainstream areas of finance, strategy, and other, similar areas. Associated with this challenge was the ongoing lack of training for non-Māori senior leadership in the basics of *te reo* (language) and *tikanga* (culture), as a basic premise of leadership. This issue was exacerbated by the recruitment of individuals from offshore for leadership positions, with little knowledge or control over the expectations of the individuals engaging in strategy relevant to Māori, across the tertiary education system.

Despite promising discussion in the area, Māori leadership theory and practice are not straightforward. Māori women's leadership is also informed by a range of external factors that are important to them on a personal level. The research showed how they were influenced by their self-defined cultural value base, which worked as a guide for their leadership. They also identified several cultural values they used to explain their leadership practice and, particularly, their behaviour—for example, a Māori leader who actively seeks to learn the *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whanaungatanga* (connections) of people within their organisation. Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) propose that cultural values of respect, integrity, and the care of others are universal principles that have wider implications for ethical leadership practice and scholarship in the future.

The women leaders in the study all came from strong cultural backgrounds, are well educated, and have attained senior level academic and professional positions in their respective organisations. The three tertiary institution types also indicated that organisational structure and systems influenced the leadership of Māori participants in subtle ways. For a broader perspective, the demographic statistics of the participants were compared to recent Census data (2006, 2013) and the 2013 Te Kūpenga Survey. Approximately three-quarters (75%) of participants were fluent speakers of *te reo*, albeit in varying degrees, from native speakers to competent speakers of the language. The high percentage of Māori women engaged with their tribal identity also illustrated the importance of Māori culture and identity.

The research provide credible evidence to support the truism that Māori culture and identity are integral to Māori women in leadership roles. This applies specifically to this study and could differ, had the research involved other sectors. It transpires that a combination of

historical and genealogical knowledge, learned over an individual's lifetime, contributed to their individual leadership approaches and practice.

The study proved the assumption that the application of cultural beliefs and values were a common feature in Māori women's leadership practice. A further finding confirmed that leadership and management entailed different foci and trajectories. Management, in the view of some participants, was more about resources, including money, time, and effort required to achieve goals, but did not extend to the management of people, apart from implementing human resource procedures. Leadership was distinguished by a focus on leading people and influencing them toward big-picture goals. This supports the hypothesis that a broader, cross-institutional sector study of Māori women in leadership could produce entirely different conclusions.

There was some criticism of Māori men in leadership roles, suggesting that gender disparities are culture neutral. However, the findings suggest that Māori identity, rather than gender specificity, may be more important for senior leadership, decision-making roles (in terms of advancing a *kaupapa Māori* agenda). It was very apparent from the study that participants believed that Māori in leadership positions, able to provide a voice for and advocate for Māori, demonstrated best practice leadership.

The research identified important drivers in leadership: they were very conscious of working for a collective. This was a feature of all of participants' approach to leadership; the well-being of the group; and being able to provide pathways toward positive futures for *rangatahi* (students). Critical challenges also emerged in the research, which potentially has universal application for Indigenous researchers. The fieldwork raised the following issues: having to manage racism; maintaining a holistic work-life balance in personal and professional lives; and working within two opposing worldviews.

The overall findings confirmed that Māori women in leadership roles have a clear connection with concepts and ideas drawn from protocols and practices of traditional Māori cultural leadership. However, these are influences rather than exact replicas of *tūpuna Māori* (Māori ancestor) leaders. The participants' personal understandings and related definitions of Māori leadership incorporate a complex combination of beliefs drawn from *kaupapa Māori* and *tikanga*, personal traits, learned behaviours, the context in which leadership is practiced, and

the purpose. Māori women view leadership in a holistic way, motivated by the needs and future aspirations of the collective. There are obvious constraints in today's environment which critically challenge the potential of Māori women's leadership, but there are also opportunities to learn from Māori women leaders that could create substantial gains for mainstream leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand, if not beyond.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The most significant outcome of the study, in relation to the research question, reinforced the concept that good Māori leadership is guided by Te Ao Māori perspectives, knowledge and experience that continuously informs practice. The findings confirmed that fieldwork participants were culturally confident, strongly identified as Māori, and were committed to making a difference in education.

This thesis began with a narrative outlining my own experiences of education as the catalyst for this study. In the process of reflecting on this, I saw possibilities for investigating how Māori cultural beliefs and values, applied to education, could be transformative for Māori. Because my field is management, the obvious focus was Māori women's leadership. I also drew on my own *whakapapa* (genealogy) for inspiration, exploring what the past could bring to the study. This introduced the cultural values and practices from the past that are a constant refrain throughout the thesis.

The literature review developed the cultural values introduced in Chapter 2; detailing leadership roles Māori women held in traditional times. The effects of Western cultural influences are a critical feature of Māori history and show how many of the traditional aspects of Māori women's leadership have been redefined. The fieldwork clearly supported this deduction. The role of colonisation in shaping Māori leadership and Māori women's experiences proved to be one of the main determinants in redefining these roles. I concluded from the literature that all *kaupapa Māori*-informed leadership is predicated on Māori cultural beliefs and practices, and that the challenges alluded to in the key sub-question relate primarily to colonial influences.

Chapter 4 picked up on the colonisation theme in the literature review to uncover some of the socio-political layers that affect Māori women's leadership practice. Although there is a plethora of mainstream leadership theories, very few are a natural fit with Indigenous Māori leadership theory. This has led to the development of *Kaupapa Māori* theory (Māori driven/informed) within which *Mana Wahine* (women's empowerment), as a leadership theoretical position, sits. In this study it provided a theoretical backdrop to the analysis of Māori women leaders in the tertiary sector.

The data from the fieldwork confirmed the notion that Māori cultural beliefs and values inform Māori women's leadership practice. It was evident that there are discernible differences between traditional and contemporary leadership practice. However, it transpires that Māori values drive leadership praxis. The findings from the in-depth interviews component also support the idea that Māori women in leadership roles have a clear connection with concepts and ideas drawn from (not replicating) traditional Māori cultural leadership protocols and practices. Their personal understandings and related definitions of Māori leadership incorporate a complex combination of beliefs drawn from *kaupapa Māori*, personal traits, learned behaviours, and the context in which leadership is defined and practiced. Māori women view leadership more holistically and are motivated by the needs and future aspirations of the collective. Participants also raised challenges in the tertiary sector. The key issues are racism, institutional racism, gender biases in employment and promotion, and maintaining a healthy work-life balance.

The entire study explored the impact of culture in shaping the way Māori women leaders in the tertiary sector defined their roles and their practices. The interviews with these women canvassed their views on leadership: Māori leadership, Māori leadership practice, as well as challenges and strategies for Māori women's leadership. The Karanga model methodologically helped to tease out the uniqueness of Māori women in leadership roles in the tertiary sector.

The study outcome, I would argue, is that it presents insights into Māori women's leadership approaches, what constitutes their leadership practice, and the challenges they encounter as part of their everyday work in the tertiary education sector. A further outcome was the foray into the challenges these leaders face in their respective institutions. The next step would naturally be to develop effective strategies to support Māori staff in the tertiary education sector to address the issues, such as institutional racism.

7.2 Contribution of New Research

A significant contribution to the Academy is Te Karanga Methodology. Te Karanga is a metaphor that is applied to the research process referring to the researcher (representing the role of the *kai karanga*) and the research participants in research encounters. The process

makes the researcher acutely aware of being completely respectful and protective of the participant and their knowledge. The use of this methodology reinforces and reminds Māori women of their cultural heritage and provides a guide that is embedded in the ethos of being Māori and being woman. The approach guides the research process and informs the researcher of the appropriateness of their actions, at each stage. Although an initial approach that uses practice specific to *wahine Māori*, it has the potential to extend into other research, limited only by the vision and application of the researcher.

The methodology was developed due to the lack of an approach that enabled a *wahine Māori* perspective on language, process, thinking, and development to be applied in research. This model differs from other Māori models in that it has been specifically designed for research with Māori women. Other Kaupapa Māori models, such as the Te Wheke model (Pere, 1991), Ako (Pere, 1982) and the Te Whare Tapa Whā model (Durie, 1999, are concepts designed specifically for application in Māori health and adapted for use in research. The pōwhiri process (McClintock et al., 2012) was used in mental health research, but is derived from a patriarchal practice of pōwhiri in Māori rituals of encounter. The Te Karanga methodology, by contrast, seeks to validate the role of Māori women.

7.3 Contribution to Māori Leadership Theory

Whether existing leadership research can adequately serve the needs of Indigenous populations is discussed at length in Chapter 3. Theory development and theory proliferation (Barney & Zhang, 2009; Tsui, 2007; Zhang et al., 2012) are two concepts that have implications for Indigenous leadership and Māori leadership, with particular regard to “conceptual confusion” and the development of a system of theory testing (Barney & Zhang, 2009; Tsang, 2009). Māori theory development, according to Mahuika (2008), can be construed as having the potential for “conceptual confusion,” due to multiple uses, extensive application, and the possibility that the meanings applied in new theories eventually water down the true understanding and traditional intent of foundational concepts. Mahuika (2008) believes that “concepts” and “elements” already in use provide a positive foundation for theory development in the future, across the span of academic fields, including Māori leadership research and development. What is critical to the development of Māori theory is the use of

cultural concepts and principles relevant to Māori issues of concern (Mahuika, 2007). Most of the studies related to Māori leadership discussed in Chapter 3 incorporate Māori cultural values and principles to interpret wider concepts and make the meaning of leadership explicit. The longstanding call to implement Māori-developed initiatives that are recognisably relevant to Māori is central to Māori theory development. Kaupapa Māori theory (Smith, 1992) is the best known and most widely used example of principles that remain critical to the future of Māori research. What this means for Māori perspectives of leadership is that, despite the proliferation of leadership theories, there is space for culturally relevant research, related to Indigenous leadership studies, that more logically address the needs of Māori.

An example of the failing of theory replication (Zaccaro & Horn, 2003) is evident in the outcome of the internationally acclaimed cross-cultural research, the New Zealand GLOBE Study (Ashkanasy et al., 2000), in that it did not detail leadership of the Māori sub-culture (Kennedy, 2007). Pfeifer's (2005) study of Māori and Pākehā perceptions of leadership highlighted the need for research conducted by Māori researchers, to ensure that work in the areas of Māori leadership reflects specific cultural differences and is not subsumed within the overall findings of a study. Consequently, this point aligns with the idea that Māori should be in control of their own realities (Pihama et al., 2002).

7.6 Further Research

The study highlights Māori women's perspectives of leadership and provides valuable insights into addressing challenges that influence Māori in the tertiary education sector. Māori women leaders can make a difference in the recruitment of Māori staff into leadership roles and also in retention, professional development, and mentoring. Additionally, there are implications for the level of comfort of Māori students in their participation in and completion of educational programmes.

The sample used in this study were Māori women with a *kaupapa Māori* agenda. It is reasonable to conclude that a larger sample of Māori women in leadership roles would include women who are not as strongly committed to Māori ways of thinking and doing. This opens another portal for potential research in this field.

The implications for Māori leaders in decision-making roles, from the perspectives of participants, was that the implementation of Māori-specific strategies was important to

influencing Māori educational achievement in the tertiary education sector. This had a great deal to do with being able to see Māori as role models across every academic discipline, but also to foster initiatives that are relevant to Māori, with the help of Māori leaders in decision-making roles. The difficulty lies in the belief that Māori educational achievement is based on the socioeconomic status of Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2009). Furthermore, they point out that researchers do not explore the potential of Māori culture to provide answers (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Strategies that have been extremely positive for Māori educational achievement, since their inception in the early 1980s, have been the Māori-centred *kōhanga reo* and later *kura kaupapa* initiatives (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). This study explores several strategies and ideas that would be useful in progressing the advancement of Māori in the tertiary education sector. For example, a focus on *te reo me ōna tikanga* (the Māori language and culture) and changes implemented in the education system were viewed by participants as positive options. Te Wananga o Raukawa incorporates both these components in the organisation and delivery of every academic programme (Winiata, 2001, p. 2).

Aligned with the idea of *te reo* and *tikanga* (language and culture) initiatives in support of improved educational achievement of Māori students, is the development of a similar strategy for senior leadership roles in the tertiary education sector, in the future. Pākehā and non-Māori in senior leadership roles were seen to have unrealistic expectations of Māori leaders in the tertiary sector. Facilitating access to iwi leaders was, at times, difficult, because the established relationships Māori women had with these leaders were taken for granted. The lack of understanding of the need to carefully cultivate the engagement was not clearly understood by non-Māori senior leaders, and the assumption was that engagement with Māori could occur with just a phone call. Another issue was the expectation of speaking at large Māori events and on the marae, where speaking rights were approved by the majority ahead of Māori women. For example, an instance was where the former Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark, stood to speak at Waitangi marae, and was challenged by Titewhai Harawira. These types of situations were identified by participants as challenging for their personal relationships within Māori communities. Incorporating an obligation for senior leadership positions to undertake *te reo* and *tikanga* training puts the onus on the individual

to be more aware of the Māori worldview, but also ensures that potential offshore incumbents are aligned to the general ethos of working in Aotearoa New Zealand.

There are several possibilities for further research regarding the current discussions around theory proliferation and a critical progression of the analysis of cultural values contained with existing research and literature. The development of Te Karanga, as a methodology that allows Māori women to investigate issues of specific concern to them, is an important contribution to the area of gender and leadership. The potential is significant for the Te Karanga methodology to be an interdisciplinary approach, to investigate topics of relevance to Māori women and also to other communities of women. For example, Blackmore (2006) suggests that gender and leadership in education needs to be addressed. The methodological approach designed for this research captures the perspectives and knowledge base of Māori women. There is also the potential to develop collaborations with other indigenous women explore other feminist methodological approaches to research.

The weaving of Māori women leaders' experiences with the existing leadership and Māori cultural literature has provided an incredible platform upon which to understand the complexity of Māori women leaders' perspectives of Māori leadership. Confirmation that culture and identity were key components of Māori women's leadership practice was crucial, as was the knowledge that there were a number of cultural values that contributed to a more in-depth understanding of the meanings and interpretations. The Māori woman leader's identity is underpinned by her personal cultural identity, enshrined within the familial structures of *whanau* (family), *hapū*, (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe) and associated *pūrākau* (narratives). Her cultural identity is thus informed by the principles of culture and leadership practice and attributes of a *wahine Māori* leader identity that are guided by motivators of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* continuity and well-being. The study demonstrated that despite evidence of several common elements, such as *whakapapa*, *whanaungatanga*, *mana*, *tapu* and *noa*, Māori women leaders include elements that illustrate a unique personal perspective in their philosophy of leadership.

Participants constantly reinforced the obligations and expectations on a Māori women leader: to put the people at the centre of their leadership practice; to stay focussed on caring for the people with *aroha* (love and compassion); to listen and see their needs; to *manaaki* (support) the people; to weave the people together; and to never leave them out of the process of

leadership. Having a leader attitude that promotes equality between Māori leaders and the people, by revising the leader-follower hierarchical relationship, was a common approach to understanding followership. An alternative view, that aligns more closely with the Māori relationship between a leader and the people, is that of Follett, 1949, as cited in Lapierre & Bremner, 2010). Her “power with” perspective, which promoted reciprocity in interactions between a leader and followers, or in this case the people, indicates there is potential to explore further connections in the future.

Ka karanga atu ka oho te wairua o ngā manuhiri

Ka tīmata te hikoi atu me te rere o ngā roimata me te heke o te hupe

Ko tēnei te āhua hikoi me te tangi haere

The call goes forth and awakens the spirit of the people

The pathway begins with the flow of tears

So it is the nature, the unfolding of the journey of discovery

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary

Translation of Māori words are supplied in the text. However, there are key Māori words that are appended as a glossary. Note that the meanings of Māori words are contextual and therefore change depending on the sentence, which explains why there are slightly different interpretations in the in-text translations.

Appendix 2: Māori Cultural Values that Define Leadership

This section is appended because the raw data gives a sense of the breadth of values and beliefs that participants identified, in relation to leadership. An analysis of these findings, which focuses on key values from the data, is evident in Chapter 6. However, the values thread throughout the entire thesis, as expected in response to exploring and addressing the complexities contained in the research question.

Appendix 3: Attributes of Māori Women Leaders

This section is appended because the raw data gives a sense of the breath of attributes (the overlap with Appendix 2 is expected), that participants identified in relation to female leadership. An analysis of these findings, which focuses on key attributes from the data, is evident in Chapter 6. However, these thread through the entire thesis, as expected in response to exploring and addressing the complexities contained in the research question.

Appendix 1 Glossary of Key Māori Words

Ariki	The paramount chief of a territory. An ariki is one in whom many ancestral lines converge, and from whom many ancestral lines diverge; by the first he becomes the superior descendant-of-many; by the second he becomes the superior ancestor-of-many: ancestor-in-chief; father-in-chief (Hongi, 1909).
Ariki Tapairu	The term used for a high born chieftainess. Tribal variations include kahurangi, māreikura.
Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud. Māori name for the South Island. Also currently used to refer to New Zealand. Te Ika-a-Māui is the name for the North Island.
Hapū	Sub-tribe; also means to be pregnant or conceived in the womb. A hapū consists of a collective of several whanau groups with a more extensive whakapapa and a common eponymous ancestor, in a similar way to that of whānau and links to specific territories.
Hui	To gather, congregate, assemble, meet.
Iwi	Political grouping. Refers to a collective of whānau-based hapū that come together for political purposes. Can be descended from an eponymous ancestor.
Karanga	The ancient cultural practice of calling or summoning manuhiri during a tangihanga or large gathering of hapū and/or iwi. Traditionally the first step in a pōwhiri process. Specific cultural practice of Māori women.
Kai karanga	A kai karanga is commonly a Māori woman who calls on behalf of the tangata whenua or hau kainga on the marae. The kai karanga tūturu (experienced traditional caller) was an expert at the highest level in the field. The kai whakautu is the woman who responds to the karanga from the marae and on behalf of the manuhiri or visitors. Kai karanga, for the purposes of the present researcher, also refers to a wahine Māori researcher.

Kai whakautu	Kai whakautu is the woman who does the karanga on behalf of manuhiri (visitors).
Kaumātua	The leaders, in the context of the whānau, were generally the kaumātua (elders), both male and female. In a traditional context, “kaumātua (elder male or female) took on the role of teachers and guardians” (Hemara, 2000).
Kaupapa Māori theory	Definitions of Kaupapa Māori vary from literal translations such as the ‘Māori way’ of doing things (L. T. Smith, 1999) to the more elaborate explanations such as L. T. Smith’s 1992 description as the philosophical practice underpinning ‘being and acting Māori’.
Kōrero	To tell, say, speak, read, talk, address.
Mana	Mana generally refers to the power and authority of a rangatira over land, resources and people. Other terms include prestige, power, status.
Manaakitanga	Manaakitanga refers to notions of hospitality, kindness, generosity and support.
Mana wahine	Mana wahine is loosely translated as women of authority or power. It is a term that also references “Māori feminist discourses and a theoretical and methodological approach that explicitly examines the intersection of being Māori and female” (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11).
Mana rangatira	The exercise of mana rangatira was gender neutral and is linked to the notion of the rangatira role of weaving the people together.
Manuhiri	Refers to visitors or guests. Manuhiri also refers to the participants in the present study.
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
Marae ātea	Refers to the whenua directly in front of a wharehau, also known as the place of Tūmataunga (atua of war).

Mātauranga Māori	Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) is defined as the complete body of knowledge that underpins every aspect of Māori culture, and is the foundation of all Māori knowledge that constantly informs the ways that Māori people experience and interact with the world around them.
Noa	To be free from restriction; necessary to maintain the efficient functioning of society.
Pākehā	New Zealander of European (usually settler) descent.
Rangatahi	Younger generation, youth.
Rangatira	Be of high rank, become of high rank, rich, well off, noble, esteemed, revered. Has several meanings including: leader, commander, military leader, person held in high esteem, awe-inspiring leader, sage, chief, priest, person of rank, leader, important chief, inspirational chief.
Rangatiratanga	The act of leading the people.
Tangata whenua	Local people, hosts, Indigenous people of the land—people born of the whenua.
Tapu	Sacredness, refers to a state of being set apart.
Te ao Māori	The Māori world or a Māori worldview.
Te reo Māori	Māori language.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi.
Tikanga Māori	Refers to protocols, procedures, or practice.
Tūpuna whāea / tūpuna wahine	Female ancestor, grandmother, female grandparent.
Wā	Time, season, period of time, interval, area, region, definite space.
Wahine Māori	A Māori woman.
Wairua	Spirit, soul—spirit of a person which exists beyond death.
Whakanoa	To free from restriction, to make safe.

Whakapapa	Refers to the genealogy of a person, whānau, hapū or iwi. The literal meaning of whakapapa is to layer one upon the other. To recite one's whakapapa is to distinguish the relationship of an individual in relation to others.
Whānau	Refers to the smallest familial unit but can also mean an extended family or group of families, including several generations within a hapū or iwi.
Whanaungatanga	Relationship or kinship, referring to a complex network of familial connections.

Appendix 2 Māori Cultural Values That Define Leadership

PP1	Mana (sovereignty, authority, power), tapu (sacredness), noa (free from restriction), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (connection, relationship), manaaki(tanga) (caring for people, others)
PA4	Wairuatanga (spirituality), kotahitanga (unity), manaaki (care), manaakitanga (caring for the people), kaupapa (purpose), titiro / whakarongo (to observe and think before speaking)
PP6	Integrity, respect, collaboration, whanaungatanga (connection, relationships), manaaki (care), manaakitanga (care for the people), whakawhanaungatanga (actively care for the people)
GP7	Wairuatanga (spirituality), tikanga (processes, protocols), respect, reciprocity, tika (honesty), mātauranga (knowledge), whakamārama (insight, enlightenment)
GP8	Wairuatanga (spirituality), ūkaipō (nurturing), ngākau Māori (Māori heart), tikanga (processes, protocols), respect, reciprocity, tika (honest, right, rules)
WP10	Aroha (love), respect, humility, courage, compassion
Academic Participants	
UA2	Whānau (family), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (relationships), rangatiratanga (uphold mana of the people) mana rangatira (weaving the people), manaaki rangatira (caring for the people), kaitiakitanga (stewardship of people and resources)
UA3	Whānau (family), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (connections, relationships), tuakana–teina (roles and responsibilities in whānau)
UA5	Whānau (family), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (connections, relationships), awhi (cherish), tautoko (support), tuakana–teina (roles and responsibilities in whānau), manaaki (to support, take care of, give hospitality to), manaakitanga (hospitality, kindness, generosity, support)
WA9	Whakapapa (genealogy), moemoeā (vision), meaning, purpose, action
UA11	None identified in relation to question two
UA12	Wairuatanga (spirituality), mana (authority, power, sovereignty), Integrity, humility, honesty, manaaki (to support, take care of, give hospitality to), aroha (love), generosity

Note: UA11 did not identify any Māori concepts or ideas in response to question two but did outline a number of concepts throughout her kōrero which are integrated through her responses.

Appendix 3 Attributes of Māori Women Leaders

<p>UP1</p> <p>Mana (authority & Power), tapu (sacredness), noa (normal, ordinary),</p> <p>Manaakitanga, (teaching and enabling people), whakarongo, (listening with all the senses)</p> <p>Kaikorero (accomplished speaker), tikanga (protocols & procedures)</p>
<p>UA2</p> <p>Whānau (family), whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (relationships), rangatiratanga (leadership, uphold mana of the people), mana rangatira (weaving the people), manaaki rangatira (caring for the people), kaitiakitanga (stewardship of people and resources) whakamana i ngā tangata katoa (confidence of the people), kua hē (ability to admit wrong)</p>
<p>UA3</p> <p>Whānau, Whakapapa, whanaungatanga</p> <p>Tuakana–teina (roles and responsibilities in whānau)</p> <p>Whakatīaho (transparency and a high trust environment)</p>
<p>PA4</p> <p>Wairuatanga (spirituality)</p> <p>Kotahitanga (unity), manaaki, manaakitanga, kaupapa (purpose), titiro/whakarongo (look and listen before you speak)</p> <p>Whakakoha (recognition and to uphold the mana of the people)</p>
<p>UA5</p> <p>Whānau, whakapapa, whanaungatanga</p> <p>Awhi, tautoko, tuakana – teina (roles and responsibilities in whānau), manaaki, manaakitanga (care of the people)</p> <p>Aroha (generosity and compassion love for the people)</p>

<p>PP6</p> <p>Integrity, respect, collaboration, whanaungatanga,</p> <p>Manaakitanga, (care of the people), whakawhanaungatanga (relationships – staying connected to the people)</p> <p>Rangatiratanga (recognition and to uphold the mana of the people)</p>
<p>GP7</p> <p>Wairuatanga, tikanga, mātauranga</p> <p>Respect, reciprocity, tika, whakamārama (insight)</p> <p>Whakatīaho (transparency and a high trust environment)</p>
<p>GP8</p> <p>Wairuatanga, ūkaipō (place of origin and nurturing)</p> <p>Tikanga, respect, reciprocity, tika (honesty)</p> <p>Ngākau Māori (Māori heart), ūkaipō (place of sustenance or nurturing)</p>
<p>WA9</p> <p>Whakapapa</p> <p>Moemoeā (meaning), purpose, action</p> <p>Whanaungatanga (love of the relationships)</p>
<p>WP10</p> <p>Being Māori (all that it means)</p> <p>Aroha (compassion), respect, humility, courage</p> <p>Mōhio (wisdom), whakamārama (enlightenment, insight into the issues)</p>
<p>UA11</p> <p>Te taha wahine (womens intuition), uhumanea (intuitive senses)</p>
<p>UA12</p> <p>Wairuatanga, mana</p>

Manaaki, aroha, generosity, humility, mana, integrity, honesty

Kōrero pono (authentic, honest and courageous)

Note 1: UA11 did not identify any concepts or ideas in response to question 2 but spoke about several different concepts throughout the interview.

Note 2: The attributes of a Māori Leader in column 4 do not align to the specific participants across each row in column 1.