Modelling Māori leadership: What makes for good leadership?

Selwyn Katene

Abstract: This paper concerns itself with various leadership theories that help explain what makes for good leadership, from a Māori perspective. Transformational leadership models are evident throughout the history of Māori in Aotearoa whether that leadership was of a charismatic, religious, military or socio-political nature. Traditional and contemporary Māori leadership has been characterised by leaders who shared a vision, a sense of mission and an agreed course of action, and who earned the respect, confidence and loyalty of their followers, as a group and individually, through their inspirational leadership.

Keywords: indigenous leadership; traditional and contemporary Māori leaders; transformational and transactional leadership theory

Introduction

Throughout history, leadership has attracted the attention of many writers and spurred much intellectual interest and debate. There is extensive literature on generic leadership, but the literature on Māori leadership is sparse. Academic research into leadership behaviours is difficult to find, in particular indigenous leadership research (Kennedy, 2000). Nonetheless, what literature there is available provides a useful analysis of Māori leadership.

Leadership has been described as the presentation by a person of some identifiable vision that people can aspire to; and their willingness to follow the leader along a socially responsible mutually beneficial pathway, toward that vision (Parry, 1996, p. 14). Eastern philosophy has long recognised the paradox of leading in such a manner that followers feel they have accomplished the task themselves. The following is from Lao-tzu, *Tao te ching* as quoted by Inkson and Kolb (1995).

A leader is best when people scarcely know he exists, not so good when people obey and acclaim him. Worse when they despise him. Fail to honour people and they fail to honour you. But of a good leader, who talks little, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled, the people will say, 'we did it ourselves.' (Inkson and Kolb, 1995, p. 323)

Leadership theory

Max Weber's (1947) theoretical model of leadership tells the story of charismatic leaders and heroes that transformed and changed the world until they were ousted or succeeded by bureaucratic or traditional authority. The three types are bureaucratic (transactional), traditional (feudal/prince) and charismatic/hero (transformer). The first type – bureaucratic – is about having the legal authority or a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those with authority under such rules to issue commands. The traditional type is based on the belief in the sanctity of traditional authority, and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them. The charismatic/hero type rests on devotion to the exceptional heroism or exemplary character of an individual person.

Trait leadership studies were based on the observed and inferred characteristics of prominent leaders as a means of describing and predicting effective leadership. These studies (Bennis,

1984; Conger and Kanungo, 1991; Stogdill, 1974) imply that in terms of leadership capability "some people have it, and some people do not". Trait studies argue that leaders share a number of common personality traits and characteristics, and that leadership emerges from these traits. Conger and Kanungo (1991) recognised the importance of environmental opportunities and assert that leadership skills, abilities and attitudes can be taught and developed, and that through training any individual can learn to more effectively use their natural talents and attributes.

House's (1971, pp. 321–328) *Situational path-goal* theoretical model of leadership emphasises the leader's role, which is to support followers in attaining the collective goals of outcomes and performance while at the same time increasing follower satisfaction. It focuses on leaders dismantling obstacles that may stand in the way of followers meeting their goals. The path-goal theory divides leadership into four main types:

Directive: provides structure, clear rules, guidelines and commands for others to follow;

Supportive: shows concern for those being led, holds regard for their rights, needs and desires;

Participative: seeks input from others in decision making; and

Achievement-oriented: sets high goals and objectives for followers and expects subordinates to perform at their highest level.

Transactional

Transactional leadership focuses on day-to-day routine transactions among people including how they communicate and the interplay of values and needs. It emphasises the exchange that takes place among leaders and followers. This exchange management process is based on the leader discussing with the followers what is required and specifying the conditions and rewards those followers will receive if they fulfil those requirements. It therefore involves a transaction between the leader and followers and consists of reward behaviour, monitoring and controlling (Parry, 1996, p. 11).

Reward and punishment are the fundamental motivators of human behaviour. Human social organisations function most effectively when a clear leadership hierarchy is defined. For example, in politics, competing parliamentary leaders of conflicting interests are bargaining pieces of legislation and announce new policies with certain benefits that would appeal to their constituents in exchange for their votes. In business, these type of leaders announce rewards or incentives in return for increased productivity. Leaders who exhibit these relationships are called transactional leaders.

Transformational

Transformational leadership is an extension of transactional leadership but leads to others being motivated by the leader to do more than they originally intended and often even more than they thought possible. Transformational leaders set more challenging expectations and typically achieve higher performances (Bass, 1998, p. 4). Transformational leadership is future oriented and change oriented while transactional management is oriented toward maintenance of the status quo (Parry, 1996, p. 31).

Parry (1996) outlined a type of transformational leadership that consists of role modelling (i.e., setting the benchmark of performance that others can look up to); inspirational motivation (i.e., engendering enthusiasm and teamwork); being visionary (i.e., clearly communicating expectations and future states and demonstrating commitment to shared goals); individualised consideration (i.e., considering people as individuals); and intellectual stimulation (i.e., thinking about problems in new ways by being creative and questioning old assumptions).

Kouzes and Posner (2002, p. 22) identified key skills related to effective leadership that could be developed through training, feedback, patience, and hard work. Their study indicated that successful leaders are those who effectively accomplish these five primary tasks:

Challenge the process: search for opportunities, and experiment; Inspire a shared vision: envision the future, enlist others; Enable others to act: strengthen others, foster collaboration; Model the way: set an example, plan small wins; and Encourage the heart: celebrate accomplishments, recognise contributions.

The basic premise of this model is that leaders recognise good ideas and are constantly looking for new and better ways of doing things.

Transformational leadership styles and key skills are often required in leading organisational change as it largely involves managing people and their expectations. In order to do this effectively the leader adheres to a set of follower-accepted mores or principles, from time to time needs charisma or that special 'magic touch' to mobilise and consolidate support for a common cause, and is strategic in terms of planning the way forward in an effort to help the group fulfil its intended purpose.

Transformational leaders also have to deal with the impact of corporate culture. According to Schein (1991, p. 2) organisational cultures are created by leaders and one of the most decisive functions of leadership may be the creation, the management, and, if and when that may be necessary, the destruction of culture. Furthermore, she suggests that culture and leadership are two sides of the same coin, and neither can really be understood by itself; and the only thing of real importance that leaders do is create and manage culture, and that their unique talent is their ability to work with culture.

Those transformational leaders seeking to sustain competitiveness must also be capable of developing and implementing integrated change agendas (Shaw and Walton, 1995, p. 273). To implement change effectively Darcy and Kleiner (1993) suggest leaders must positively orient themselves toward change in a manner that will ensure their effective leadership, including people management through active participation. This form of leadership requires skill at understanding and altering informal aspects of organisation life in conjunction with more formal changes. Also, leaders spend an increasing amount of time and energy shaping the vision and allowing change to emerge and develop within a common set of values (Shaw & Walton, 1995, pp. 274–275). Covey's (1990) 'principle-centred' approach underscores the importance of a strong value-based system.

Nadler and Tushman (1989, pp. 104–107) coined the label *magic leadership*. It refers to a special quality that enables the 'magic leader' to mobilise action within an organisation and sustain that action over time through personal actions combined with perceived personal characteristics. Three major components of behaviour characterise the 'magic leader', envisioning, energizing and enabling.

The strategic leader provides effective guidance and also mobilises, inspires and enrols others by seeking a commitment to support an action plan to make something happen (Nutt and Backoff, 1993). Good strategic leaders will nurture leadership within others. Nutt and Backoff (1993) provide a useful outline of four stages of *strategic leadership*: co-creating strategy with the stakeholders; framing the vision for public acceptance; blurring the leader-follower distinction; and pushing the action forward. As Burns (1978) points out, the ultimate test of strategic leadership is to realise a change of enduring value.

Traditional Māori leadership

According to Te Rangihiroa (1949, pp. 438–441)) the Māori view of the World (te Ao Māori), provides an explanation about the evolution of existence, beginning with the supreme god (Io), followed by the creation of the world, the creation of the gods, and then the creation of mankind. Te Ao Māori was based on whakapapa, and on the value and belief systems set at that time, which was then passed down from generation to generation in a genealogical sequence of descent from Rangi-awatea and Papa tua-nuku. Settlement in Aotearoa occurred around 1350AD involving groups of people migrating by waka from East Polynesia, establishing themselves in Aotearoa as tangata whenua, and as tribal groupings in discrete territories with their own histories and genealogy (Walker, 1978).

Traditional leadership was entrusted in the waka captains (and tohunga) during the migrations to Aotearoa. As time passed and the population grew and prospered in the new land, waka leadership was replaced by three other social groupings: iwi, hapū and whānau leadership. Descent from a common ancestor (and waka) was important, and remembered in whakapapa and throughout history (Mead, 1997).

Rangatira leadership

Traditional Māori communities recognised two main classes of leaders: ariki/rangatira and tohunga. Within both the ariki/rangatira and tohunga classes, hereditary and ascribed roles were important, and together they covered political, spiritual and professional dimensions (Durie, 1994, p. 17). Rangatira were the political leaders within traditional Māori society. Chieftainship was regarded as a birthright, and the measure of chieftainship was the sum total of chiefly genealogical ties, but also included other cultural criteria such as kinship relationships, alliances with other tribes, knowledge in specialist areas and possessing spiritual strengths, for example, mana and tapu and other personal qualities.

The general consensus of early writers on traditional Māori leadership (Best, 1924; Te Rangihiroa, 1949; Winiata, 1967) was that leadership at home and overseas was exercised primarily by males and that being the first born in the male line was the deciding factor in succession to ariki or rangatira level. Mahuika (1992, p. 42) acknowledged this traditional view but added that in the case of his own tribe (Ngati Porou), leadership by women was both inherited and achieved. In 1924 Elsdon Best, aware of tribal variations in respect of women leaders wrote, "it occasionally happened that a well-born woman attained a high position in a tribe, owing to special qualities of mind and heart" (Best, 1924, p. 353). The "continued perceptions of the maleness of leadership qualities which pervades the literature" (Henry, 1994, p. 86) has been noted as a matter of concern by other writers (Klein, 1981; Metge, 1967) aware of the extent to which traditional Māori leadership continues to be defined and reinforced by the male view of the world. In the traditional setting a rangatira could be male or female (Williams, 1957).

In Māori philosophy, ultimately all power and authority originated from the atua. Man was an agent of god or an instrument through which godly power was expressed. Supreme control, therefore, rested with the gods. Next in line to deity i.e. between deity and man, is the ariki class. The most senior member of Māori aristocracy (i.e. the first-born of the most senior whānau) was the Ariki. Arikitanga is the supreme power or status that can be achieved in the Māori world. An ariki is the paramount chief who has the respect and allegiance of his (or her) subjects as he or she leads and directs the people (Barlow, 1996). Tumu te Heuheu, Ariki and paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, plays a key role in New Zealand, in a similar vein to his predecessors, through their pan-tribal influence in bringing people together at national meetings to present a unified Māori perspective on important issues of strategic importance for all New Zealanders. Another Ariki, Dame Te Atairangikaahu of the Kingitanga movement belonged to a long and honourable lineage dedicated to serving all Māori.

On occasion a teina chief (younger brother or male cousin of a male) became the effective leader of a tribe as was the case with Ngati Toa's chief, Te Rauparaha, who assumed control of the small Kawhia-based tribe from his older brother, Nohorua, and led his people on their southern migration to Te Whanganui a Tara in the 1820s. Changing the leadership order was often achieved by usurping leadership from a rangatira who lacked the ability to lead: by migrating out of the tribal area and establishing a new group; by the equal allocation of certain areas within the tribe to more than one heir; by marriage (e.g., to a high-born woman); or by inheriting the mana of a teina ancestor who achieved leadership (Mahuika, 1992, p. 44).

Tohunga leadership

Tohunga were the ritual leaders or professional experts, and their knowledge and expertise a rarity. Their leadership was at times considered charismatic and mystical. Some considered tohunga to be endowed with a gift of divine grace. They, along with rangatira, held senior ranking in Māori society. Tohunga performed a range of sacred rituals related mainly to religion and spirituality, but also in respect of agriculture, warfare, weaving, decorative arts, fishing, environment and conservation. The performance of these activities was the prerogative of the tohunga who often worked in synergy with rangatira. Their knowledge, experience and skills were critical for the well being of their people.

Tohunga were closely tied to their communities and were party to the threats, the aspirations, the resources and the limitations. A reciprocal relationship existed between the tohunga and the people they served; this guaranteed that the expert was accorded a position of authority and trust, and at the same time was committed to meeting tribal expectations. Reverence depended on success, and success was measured by the well being and standing of the whānau and hapū (Durie, 1994, p. 18).

The whare wānanga was the school of learning for aspiring chiefs, including tohunga, where from an early age they were immersed in tribal ritual and tradition and underwent extensive, rigorous and exacting training. It was the preserve of those of high rank, a place where the history of the tribe, its culture, and whakapapa was taught. The training ground for the young chiefs and tohunga was the marae and whare runanga (Durie, 1994, p. 18).

Whānau leadership

Mead (1997, p. 196) describes yet another class of leader as the kaumatua or elder. Not necessarily a chief, the kaumatua status depended on whakapapa, age, wisdom and experience. The kaumatua was recognised by members of the extended whānau as their immediate leader and as such took on a leadership role in all hapū and iwi discussions on behalf of the whānau.

Traditional leadership was not one-dimensional. An important feature of traditional Māori leaders was the overlapping of the roles and responsibilities. For example, an ariki was also a waka leader, iwi leader, hapū leader and kaumatua of a whānau, as were tohunga.

Combination of transactional and Weberian leadership

Once settlement in Aotearoa had occurred and the traditional customs and traditions adapted from East Polynesia were established in the new land, the focus was on their entrenchment to ensure ongoing stability and certainty of outcome. Transactional leadership became the method by which traditional practices were upheld and honoured. Transactional leadership is largely based on exchanges between the leader and group members and therefore rewards and sanctions to control behaviour became accepted practice.

Rangatira and tohunga had vested interests in securing and maintaining the confidence and control of their support base, their iwi, hapū and whānau; characteristic of an exchange relationship between leaders and followers. Transactional leadership suited pre-19th century

rangatira and tohunga because it was in their interest to solidify their leadership position in Māori society by maintaining their chiefly/tohunga power intertwined with leadership, knowledge and trust (Zand, 1997). There are two aspects of transactional leadership that are important; first, it was common during this period, and second, its durability was questionable.

There were characteristics of Weber's (1947) model of transactional and transformational leadership that were present in the leadership displayed by rangatira and tohunga. Weber's bureaucratic, traditional and charismatic authority model was evident sometimes transitioning from one type to the other as circumstances permitted. For example, traditional authority was manifested in the following ways: legitimacy and power to control was handed down and could be exercised in quite arbitrary ways; position of rangatira was ascribed and held by virtue of traditional status often recruiting favourites or by patrimony, obligations and promotion were expressions of personal loyalty to and by the arbitrary grace of the rangatira, and chiefly commands were legitimised by tradition and custom.

By the turn of the century a new leadership approach was required in order to respond to the unique challenges confronting Māori. The new approach was subsequent to traditional Māori society undergoing major convulsions never before experienced since the migrations from East Polynesia several hundred years earlier.

Nineteenth century Māori leadership

Traditional Māori concepts of leadership required a radical transformation when a 'clash of cultures' occurred at the arrival of the European to Aotearoa from the late 18th century. Early contact between the European and Māori reaffirmed the role of traditional Māori leadership functions and structures in Māori society, but future prospects were not encouraging.

Transitioning to transformational leadership

Rather than the well-tried and proven transactional leadership approach honed by rangatira and tohunga up to the 19th century, a new leadership model was required to deal with the impact of the European and to meet the needs of Māori in the future. In this setting, transformational leadership models came to the fore. It was an extension of transactional leadership and as a result, transformational leaders were in demand.

Māori people looked to a leader that would lead them forward through the difficult times that lay ahead, someone who could present an identifiable vision or future state that they could aspire to, someone who could clearly map out a way forward and who had a plan which was mutually beneficial. The new transformational leadership approach was empowering for a people increasingly disillusioned, deprived, and discriminated against. The influence new leaders acquired won the respect and admiration of many followers.

Religio-military/charismatic leadership

Māori resilience and resistance to European expansion (Belich, 1986) resulted in the New Zealand Wars of 1845–1872 and the emergence of fighting chiefs such as Titokowaru (Belich, 1989) and Te Kooti Rikirangi. There was no shortage of followers. Both were highly skilled exponents of bush warfare and were successful military leaders. They had what Nadler and Tushman (1989) described as 'magic' leadership because they were capable of mobilising support through sheer personal mana or charisma, a divinely inspired gift. It was no coincidence that great Māori warriors had close ties with religious cults and other movements.

Te Kooti was a prophet of the Ringatu church; Titokowaru was a priest of Hauhauism. Waikato fighting chiefs were aligned to the Kingitanga movement. The rise of Te Ua Haumene's Pai Marire religion in the early 1860s, and Te Kooti's Ringatu religion in 1868 emphasised strong Māori resistance to Christianity in their respective communities from leaders with a transformational leadership approach.

Gardiner (1992, p. 8) noted that in war, warriors were led by chiefs who understood that example was often more important than counsel. Warfare was characterised by a co-operative approach rather than coercive approach as chiefs set out to persuade their followers rather than command them through a formal military command and control system. In this sense, Nutt and Backoff's (1993) strategic leadership theory is relevant as this type of military leader needs to be exemplary, astute and a clever tactician who has the respect of his followers and can articulate the plan simply and effectively. In this way the strategic leader provides effective guidance but also mobilises, inspires and enrols others to the cause. The strategy required had to be thorough, realistic and achievable and whatever the odds, the followers were obliged to give unswerving support.

Religio-political leadership

Given the sheer numbers of European military forces and their technological superiority, it soon became evident that military means had its limitations. The emergence of influential Māori religio-political leaders was a feature of this period. Tohu Kakahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai of Parihaka were two southern Taranaki prophets whose practice of passive resistance to further confiscation of Māori lands was a different non-military approach for disenchanted Māori.

Tohu and Te Whiti were fine examples of men with mana who were unafraid to champion Māori rights and to demonstrate a unique brand of leadership that pre-dated that of the legendary Mahatma Gandhi of India. The transformational leadership exhibited by Tohu and Te Whiti is closely aligned to Shaw and Walton's (1995) values-based model and Covey's (1990) principle-centred approach.

Twentieth century Māori leadership

By the 20th century there was disquiet, even resignation and despair as Māori became increasingly dispossessed of their land and other resources. European-introduced diseases were widespread amongst Māori. Traditional Māori socio-political structures were being further undermined and Māori expectations of Treaty of Waitangi benefits went unrealised.

Leadership, in Māori health, had been heavily dependent on input from New Zealand's first Māori doctors, Pomare and Te Rangihiroa, and later Wi Repa and Ellison, and their relationships with local Māori leadership at community level (Dow, 1999). These key individuals were part of a new emerging leadership. They worked tirelessly to improve the social conditions of Māori, including housing, sanitation and access to health services, medical and nursing care.

During this period, James Carroll, Apirana Ngata, and later, Wiremu Ratana and Te Puea Herangi provided exemplary leadership to their respective communities through hard work, innovative approaches, and having confidence in the potential of Māori social-cultural systems to deliver. These individuals, and others, were well supported by key organisations such as the Māori Councils and tribal communities throughout the country.

As European ways began to dominate, rangatira still reigned as strong leaders but the numbers and influence of ariki and paramount chiefs reduced. Rangatira power and authority was scrutinised as the socio-political system that had served Māori for centuries reeled under the impact of the rapidly increasing migrant European population and the consolidation of their Western-styled structures and practices.

The tohunga were also under threat as their powers were made to look outdated when confronted with European-introduced infectious diseases. The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 represented a significant change for tohunga leadership. The Act, in effect, outlawed the traditional Māori practice of tohungaism.

During the 20th century the experts were the tribal elders or kaumatua, particularly those speaking authoritatively on marae. Their collective 'voice' was seen as the rightful mandate for Māori notwithstanding the rapidly changing environment. However, an emerging leadership phenomenon was unfolding.

The emergence of tertiary-educated Māori brought a new dimension. These new Māori leaders were not necessarily of kaumatua status or from a chiefly heritage. These professionals became the latter-day tohunga because they could articulate the benefits of Māori values to Pākehā and conversely, they could translate to Māori the Pākehā ways. Their education was good preparation for leadership.

Political leadership

This period marked a change in strategy. The 'by Māori, of Māori, for Māori' responses of Te Kooti, Titokowaru, Te Ua Haumene, Tohu and Te Whiti, amongst others, changed with the influence of young educated Māori into Parliament. The new breed of political leaders had strong ties to their cultural roots, including access to the wisdom of tribal elders. "In the case of Ngata, it is still usual for them to seek the approval and consult with their tuakana before acting on their ideas" (Mahuika, 1992, p. 61). By acknowledging their traditional support base, they were beginning to show remarkable leadership and were well respected amongst Māori and Pākehā.

Educated Māori became the modern day equivalent of the tohunga and the tribal elders maintained the authority of rangatira. Together they provided much needed local and national leadership and together they bridged the gap between the traditional Māori society and the new contemporary European-dominated society. The young university-educated Māori leaders were resolute in holding on to the best traditional Māori values they had been taught, while at the same time embracing the best European knowledge and technology of the times.

Many were members of the Young Māori Party. Their philosophy was 'Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi', loosely translated as "a worn out net is discarded and a new one taken fishing". The use of new nets (new ideas) was not iconoclasm, but judiciously controlled Westernisation (Lange, 1999, p. 123). Māori society tended to look to those with higher education for guidance and advice in coping with the modern world and for leadership of traditional and contemporary Māori structures. These leaders motivated and inspired their people once recognised through their deeds and achievements. They were transformational leaders because they were focused on performance and a desire that their people fulfil their potential, and they had high ethical and moral standards.

Politico-religious leadership

By the 1920's Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana had begun his spiritual/faith-healing mission. Unlike other Māori leaders, Ratana was not of rangatira status and he did not have a tribal community base. He was not well educated in the Western sense, nor especially charismatic, but he enjoyed spectacular success initially as a faith healer, then religious leader, and finally political leader. He was a man of ordinary appearance, driven by an extraordinary mission and message. Ratana's success related to the social and economic climate in which Māori looked for leadership and that pointed the way towards material progress. He opposed many traditional Māori practices such as tribalism, tohungaism and rangatiratanga, the chiefly authority that Ngata, Te Puea and others respected. The Ratana movements' entry into politics was inevitable. By working closely with the Labour Party, Ratana was able to secure all four Māori seats by 1943 (King, 1992, pp. 298–300).

Ratana provides a classic case study for Kouzes and Posner's (2002, p. 22) transformational leadership model. Ratana "challenged the process". For example, he confronted the Crown's undermining of the Treaty of Waitangi, and he had little regard for traditional Māori practices. He "inspired a shared vision" as a religious leader and through the teachings of the Ratana Church. He "enabled others to act" through membership of his Church, membership of his political movement, and successful faith-healing practices. He "modelled the way" by setting an example and securing small wins leading to greater achievements (e.g., eventually securing all Māori seats in Parliament). And, finally, Ratana "encouraged the heart", his adherents are loyal followers who decades after his death still passionately celebrate Ratana's accomplishments every year and remain faithful members of his Church and its teachings.

Contemporary Māori leadership

Survival in the contemporary world requires a wide range of skills and expertise because the modern world is now a global village. The changing nature of leadership requires the contemporary leader to work across cultures and nationalities without compromising their own values.

Māori have the added challenge of negotiating the dynamically interacting influences of traditional Māori values and leadership principles and those of mainstream contemporary society. With the benefit of a lifetime negotiating a plural existence in New Zealand, Māori have built considerable capability and competitive advantage through leading and managing cultural diversity. The mark of leadership success for a Māori is providing leadership based on traditional principles while managing the interface (Mead, 2006, p. 14).

Being an effective leader in modern times is challenging. In response to the broad range of socio-economic, political and commercial imperatives that impact on Māori, there are now a range of leaders required to do the job, rather than a single all-powerful leader of traditional times. Nonetheless, many of the values held to be essential in traditional Māori society are still highly relevant in modern times. No one leader can now be expected to harness all the necessary knowledge and expert skills required, nor should they. Because of the complex nature of leading a tribe in modern times there is a need to share and divide up the key responsibilities of running tribal affairs. This modern adaptation commonly referred to as *dispersed leadership* is a useful way in which a tribe can manage its affairs as a collective by seeking to improve the social, economic, and political circumstances for all tribal members. Working as a team in a highly participatory manner is a more effective way to get desired results while simultaneously supporting the group figurehead.

In modern times leadership is no longer the domain of the male. The role of women in Māori society has undergone major changes in recent times. Many outstanding Māori women leaders have made significant contributions including the charismatic Whina Cooper who led the 1975 Māori land march. There is now far greater participation of Māori women in senior leadership positions. Henry (1994) suggests:

Traditional patterns of Māori women's leadership continue to be recognised and practised by Māori women who conform to the traditional leadership roles: that is; the rangatira, kuia and whaea. Traditional Māori women leaders are translating their perceptions about leadership into the contemporary organisational environment. (p. 200)

Tribal leadership is often vested in the people 'at home' whereas the reality is that most Māori live in urban areas, away from their tribal boundaries. This means that the 'best' tribal leadership is not always available, all the time. In that situation, and others, leadership

succession needs to be well-managed with an orderly process of identifying and grooming replacement leaders. Leadership development programmes, mentoring, and regular performance evaluation audits helps develop and maintain leadership capability 'at home', and elsewhere.

The integrity of the whānau, as an institution continues to be under threat. The basic unit in Māori society, the whānau, is weakening at a time when social unity and stability are most needed. Whānau leadership, not just traditional, tribal or community leadership, is in need of strengthening. The whānau is still recognised as the foundation of contemporary Māori society, just as it was traditionally. It has always been a principle source of strength, support, security and identity. With a strong leader at the helm, the whānau has always been a stable influence and a haven for whānau solidarity. Within the whānau, values such as honesty, love, forgiveness, respect, compassion, learning and work are taught. Extended whānau lend support when needed. Hapū and iwi have a vested interest to ensure that the whānau is strong, unified and supported. In general, if the whānau is strong so is the hapū and iwi. In modern times to support whānau members fulfilling their responsibilities as they should, the whānau unit needs constant nurturing and fortifying to remain an effective fundamental unit of Māori society. No success as a leader can compensate for failure to be a leader of one's own whānau (Katene, 2001).

A feature of contemporary Māori leadership in recent times is the growth of Māori corporatestyled leadership. Starting amongst politicians with New Zealand First MPs in the late 1990s, and continuing into the 21st century with leaders of tribes that had their claims recently settled. These Treaty-settled tribes adopted entrepreneurial corporate-styled organisational structures and systems in order to properly manage and grow their new-found wealth. Consistent with Schein's (1991) transformational model, the corporate iwi leaders create the new corporate culture in place of the previous iwi structural arrangements which had promoted them. Tribal leadership then undergoes creative changes as they internalise new leadership corporate culture and materialistic values. Those leaders with commercial and business experience and economics or accountancy qualifications become highly sought after as emerging tribal leaders to not just govern organisations but to also manage the organisation's key assets in a business fashion. Of less interest are those with strong social or cultural skills. Those with economic power in an organisation usually have the leadership because of their ability to influence decision-making.

What qualifies a person to be a leader?

According to Mead (2006) there are two sources of traditional information that were required and expected of chiefs. The first source is Te Rangikaheke of Ngati Rangiwewehi, Te Arawa. He wrote "Te tikanga o tenei mea te rangatiratanga o te tangata Māori" (The principles of chieftainship of Māori Society) submitted to Sir George Grey in 1850 (Grove, 1985).

Te Rangikaheke was concerned about the mana and mandate of a leader, the basis upon which a leader was recognised as a chief. He believed that a rangatira came from a chiefly union of parents, and that 'proper' birth credentials were an essential aspect of leadership. These rangatira inherited certain talents as outlined:

Te Rangikaheke's list 1850

- 1. He toa, bravery
- 2. Korero taua, war speeches
- 3. Mahi kai, food procurement
- 4. Tangohanga, feasts of celebration
- 5. Pupuri pahi, restraining the departure of visiting parties
- 6. Korero Runanga, council speeches

- 7. Korero manuhiri, welcome guests
- 8. Atawhai pahi, iti, rahi, looking after visitors small or large (Mead, 1997, p. 197).

The second source was an article entitled "Nga Pumanawa e Waru" written by Himiona Tikitu of Ngati Awa in 1897 (Best, 1898). Tikitu believed that rangatira came from 'the womb of the mother' and listed the following talents of such a leader.

Himiona Tikitu's list 1897

- 1. He kaha ki te mahi kai, industrious in obtaining or cultivating food
- 2. He kaha ki te whakahaere i nga raruraru, abled in settling disputes, able to manage and mediate
- 3. He toa, bravery, courage in war
- 4. He kaha ki te whakahaere i te riri, good leader in war, good strategist
- 5. He mohio ki te whakairo, an expert in the arts especially wood carving
- 6. He atawhai tangata, hospitability generous
- 7. He mohio ki te hanga whare rimu, waka ranei, clever at building houses, fortified sites or canoes
- 8. He mohio ki nga rohe whenua, good knowledge of the boundaries of tribal lands (Mead, 1997, p. 198).

Mead (2006) reprioritised and rephrased the talents or pumanawa from both Te Rangikaheke and Tikitu's lists, and modernised the language as follows:

Eight talents for today

- 1. Manage, mediate and settle disputes to uphold the unity of the group.
- 2. Ensure every member of the group is provided base needs and ensures their growth.
- 3. Bravery and courage to uphold the rights of hapū and the iwi.
- 4. Leading the community forward, improving its economic base and its mana.
- 5. Need for a wider vision and a more general education than is required for every day matters.
- 6. Value manaakitanga.
- 7. Lead and successfully complete big projects.
- 8. Know the traditions and culture of their people, and the wider community (p.10).

Being able to give effect to the eight revised pumanawa is predicated upon the leader having a mandate to lead, being accountable to the mandating body for their performance and working in an open and transparent manner. In order to gain a mandate to lead not only does a leader have whakapapa qualifications and the requisite talents but the leader has to be accepted and confirmed by the people, known by other tribes, be based in a rohe, not confined to any particular gender and has mana tangata, an authoritative presence (Mead, 1997).

Maharaia Winiata (1967) had proposed three criteria for consideration as a Māori leader, whether they were sponsored by Māori traditionalist society, European institutions, or Māori-European systems:

A person who acquires his leadership status by holding a superior position in one of three spheres (traditionalist society, European institutions, and Māori–European systems); has also the essential qualification of ethnic affiliation; and, has a close association with the Māori people (p. 23).

More recently, Gardiner (1994) suggested three specific criteria that qualify a person as a national Māori leader including that "they hold an elected tribal or pan-tribal leadership position; they lead on specific issues at a national level – such as Treaty claims; and, they have knowledge or links to Ministers and governments" (p. 61).

Gardiner (1994) then named five contemporary Māori who, in his opinion, exhibit those qualities of national Māori leadership. They include:

Dame Te Atairangikaahu who "demonstrated a tremendous capacity to bring calm and reason...is an inspirational leader, not only for Tainui but also for all Māori.... and she is enormously respected by all New Zealanders". (p. 5)

Sir Graham Latimer stood out because "he has an impeccable capacity for opportunism and he is a supreme optimist". (p. 5)

Leadership qualities that Tipene O'Regan possesses include "a peerless intellectual capacity to grasp the strategic complexities of Māori development... a tireless worker.... he is a persistent exponent of getting the best deal possible". (p. 5)

Robert Mahuta "has superb capacity to organise resources to achieve agreed objectives". (p. 5)

Matiu Rata, "an experienced politician of many years is highly respected for his tenacity, and is also a skilled negotiator". (p. 5)

It could also be argued that those representative leaders possessed the attributes of 'rangatira' as described by Bishop Manuhuia Bennett, as quoted by Winiata (2001).

Te kai a te rangatira, he korero – The food of a rangatira is talk Te tohu o te rangatira, he manaaki – The sign of a rangatira is generosity Te mahi a te rangatira, he whakatira i te iwi – The work of a rangatira is to unite people (p. 6)

Currently, many iwi are led by university graduates, most leaders are male (although several prominent women lead northern tribes), and all are well connected to Ministers and government. There is often, amongst Māori leaders, a particular area of expertise, skill or talent that distinguishes them from the rest. That point of differentiation could be related to success in education, politics, treaty negotiations, cultural pursuits and socio-economic endeavours.

Contemporary Māori leadership is notable for its diversity across the public and private sectors. Iwi leadership is but one facet. There has been and continues to be strong Māori leadership in politics. Arguably, one of the most charismatic and successful Māori leaders in recent times has been the Rt Hon Winston Peters leading the New Zealand First Party which he founded in 1993 and had members in the House of Representatives for over 15 years. Currently, the Māori Party and its five MPs are a partner of the coalition government with two cabinet ministers (Hon. Dr Pita Sharples and Hon. Tariana Turia) and there's a critical mass of Māori MPs in each of the other major party caucuses.

Māori leadership amongst academics is impressive and includes Professors Mason Durie, Pare Keiha, Linda Smith, Piri Sciascia and Hirini Matunga and also Sir Tipene O'Regan. The corporate sector is of increasing interest to Māori, especially iwi, with more Māori attracted to economics, accountancy, finance and entering into business. Māori are well represented in the judiciary (e.g., High Court judges, Sir Edward Taihakurei Durie and Justice Joe Williams) and noticeable in many large law firms. The same could be said for other major professional bodies but also in the community, the arts, sports and other spheres where Māori are increasingly making their mark in no small way.

Conclusion

Leadership requires the presentation of an achievable and desirable future state or outcome for which people are willing to follow their chosen leader. A good leader is viewed from the perspective of intentionally *doing the right thing at the right time for the right reason* and for the benefit of the people served. Both leader and follower are equally important. The emphasis of this paper is on what makes for good Māori leadership? It is clear that good followership creates good leadership. That is, without people who are willing to follow there would be no opportunity for anyone to exercise leadership.

From that firm foundation, a good leader paints a picture of some identifiable vision that people have aspirations for and then focusses on motivating, encouraging and supporting people to follow them and a mutually beneficial strategy toward achievement of the common vision. This is what a good leader has to do. Perhaps The primary characteristic of leadership that this paper has reinforced is the importance of transformation leadership and focusing on the vision, rather than the leader. While the leader is a valued member of any team it is the common vision that is most important. This is consistent with Mant's (1977) approach of moving from binary to ternary approaches as a way by which goals can be best achieved. The binary approach is the typical master-servant relationship: whereas the ternary approach focuses on the goal and the master and servant being both servants. This connectivity allows both to have a common language and vision and in so doing results in humility and real power-sharing.

The ongoing leadership evolution will be continually influenced and shaped by Māori themselves. Lessons have been learnt from the effects of male-dominated colonisation which contributed to the marginalisation of complimentary female leadership. Leadership from men and women of all ages and affiliations, remain the most potent factor in Māori society and an effective catalyst for constructive change. Those who lead have obligations as well as rights, irrespective of lineage or qualifications. They have to prove themselves in service and be open, transparent and accountable to those for whom they serve and with the mandate to lead.

As past leaders and their achievements are acknowledged, today's leaders are constantly reminded of people's high expectations for them to continue the work and advance the cause further. It also places a heavy burden on the shoulders of today's leaders to look after the interests of not only present but upcoming generations and to ensure that their futures are well assured. In this way, contemporary Māori leadership is about iwi, hapū, whānau, Māori socio-economic advancement and political influence. And, where there are more responsible leaders with specialist expertise in more situations practicing traditional values essential for good leadership.

Present Māori vitality owes much to earlier generations, and traditional times. The Māori leadership system is still relevant. Today's leadership will predictably come from Māori building on the gains from those gone before. That leadership will be ongoing and ever changing. New personalities will emerge. They will have their own unique styles of leadership to meet the challenges of the day and take advantage of the opportunities of tomorrow.

Mate atu he tetekura ara mai he tetekura, When the leaders die, other leaders emerge.

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Author Notes

Dr Selwyn Katene (Ngati Toa, Ngati Tama, Ngaruahine, Ngati Tuwharetoa) is the Director of the MANU AO Academy, a national inter-university Māori academy for academic and professional advancement, hosted by Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.

E-mail: <u>s.katene@massey.ac.nz</u>