

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū

The Swirling Winds of Māori Leadership

Kuao Matangi Wawatai



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HE PUNA WAI E UTUHIA,
HE WAI KEI ĀKU KAMO

TE PUA KŌRAU E RUIA, E TIPU I TE WARU (Ngā Mōteatea 134)(Ngata & Ngata, 1993)

E whai take ana ki te mihi atu ki ngā hau taiāwhiowhio o te wā kāenga, o te riu o Waiapu me ngā tini marae hoki e ahu mai nei i ngā taumata kōrero o te rohe.

Ko ēnei mahi e whaiwhai haere nei i runga i te ngākau pōnānā, nā te kaha nūnumi o ngā taumata kōrero me ngā rerenga kōrero e pā ana ki te āhuatanga o te ngāo o te rangatira, kaihautū rānei. Ko te kaupapa o tēnei kōrero he wānanga i ngā tikanga kaihautū kua tukuna atu ki te aroaro o te mata whenua. Kei roto i ngā kōrero kaihautū te kanohi o te mita o te kaupapa hei waka kawē whakaaro, kawē hinengaro, hei waka kōrero, hei kupu whakamahana, hei tutuki wawata. Inā, te kōrero kei roto i o tātou kapunga te ora mō ēnei tūmomo kōrero e pā ana ki te rangatira, kia eke te rangatiratanga ki te rahi o nga ahurewa huri noa.

Ahakoia ka rangōnahia te reo e whakahuatia ana i nga pito o te rangatira i runga i ngā marae ia rā, ia rā, ko te tikanga o tēnei tuhituhinga hei pupuri i te whakaaro huhua ā te Māori, mai i nehe rā, tae noa mai ki inaiānei. He rerekē ana ngā ahuaranga rangatira ki ētahi noa atu o ngā tūmomo whakatakoto kupu.

Āku mihi whakamutunga ki ōku tīpuna a te Riwai Huihui me tōna hoa piripono ko Mihi Keita Wawatai, ahakoia kua nuku atu rāua ki te wāhi o te kaihangā, kei te noho ora tonu o rāua tūmanako kia hikina te taumata o ngā tikanga ki tētahi atu ahurewa. Nā rāua hoki i aki mai i a au mai i muri, mai i tāku putanga mai ki tēnei ao mai i Raukokore, ki roto i te Whānau Apanui.

Me whakahoki roimata ki roto rā e. (A. Mahuika, 1998)

Waiho mā te wā e rūnanga rangahautia te hua o ēnei mahi ki ngā uri whakatipu o ngā hapū me te iwi.

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Ko tōku whānau ko ōku hapū tōku oranga. Ko rātou tāku whirinaketanga. Ko rātou te hunga aumāngea i poipoi i whāngai i ahau kia tau ai te ngākau whakaaro nui ki a āu. I ahau mai ahau i kōnei, tōna tikanga me hoki ano.

He Kupu Tātaki

E kore e mutu ngā mihi ki te hunga na rātou i āwhina mai i a au tae noa ki ngā kaiwhāngai kua oti nei te tuku whakaaro mai ki a au.

He mihi ki a koe te Amurangi, Lyn Carter, te mihi hūmarie ki tō kaha, to māia ki te whakarite i ngā mahi, rangahau rānei, ahakoa te poto o te wā i waihotia e au hei whakautu i ngā urupounamu o āku mahi. Waimarie au i te mōhio i noho pūmau te rahi o ngā mātauranga i roto tonu i te whatumanawa o tēnā, o tēnā o te whānau me ōku hoa kaihautū, e waihotia inaiānei hei iringa kōrero mo te uri whakatipu.

E mihi ana te ngākau i te āhua i waihotia ngā kōrero, ngā iringa whakaaro e ōku tīpuna, e Rīwai Huihui rāua ko te Mihi Keita. I noho hoki au he whāngai ki a rāua. Na rāua hoki i poipoi i ngā tūmanako kua hopukinahia i roto i tēnei tuhingaroa.

Ki a koutou e ōku mātua, e ōku kōkā, mātua kēkē, na koutou i hāpai, i arahi i a au i roto i ngā whakawhitiwhitinga kōrero mo ngā mahi kua hua mai i roto i tēnei rangahau.

Ka mihi ki te tini noa atu o ngā tāngata i āta tiro tiro te takoto o te kupu me te ia o te kōrero.

Otira, ki a koutou katoa anō o te whānau, huri noa ki āku tamariki a Aubrey-James rāua ko Rangitukunoa, nā korua anō rā i hāpai i ngā wā o te taumaha.

I reserve my deepest gratitude to Kat Walsh for her diligence and expertise in editing and proofreading, through to the final formatting. What began with a casual conversation about some of the issues with proofreading and formatting grew into a vital source of guidance and support for the kaupapa. Maringa nui ki a koe Kat me tō whānau i māro ai tāku tūara.

I am also indebted to the University for the support through the University of Otago Māori Master's Research Scholarship.

Ko te tūmanako ko ēnei ngā hua kua puta mai i te hunga e pakanga ana kia ora tonu te ira tangata me te kaihautū taketake, kia eke anō hoki a tātou tumanako i ngā taumata o te oranganui o ngāi tatou ngā uri o te manu pīwairaka.

Kāti, kia tau ake i kōnei, kāore hoki i kō atu, kāore hoki i kō mai i ēnei kupu whakamihi.

Ei pai aha hā. I pai aha hā.

He Tāhu Kōrero

Ahakoā pēhea te huarere o te ao, kei roto i tēnā whakatipuranga i tēnā whakatipuranga te wai āta hei haehae i te pōuriuri ki te whai ao.

Maha noa ake ngā pōreareatanga o te ao hurihuri e tuki nei i te taketaketanga o kui ma, o koro ma, o ngā whēinga.

Ko te hua o tēnei tuhinga whakapae he mea ruku ki roto i te whatumanawa o te hunga waimarie ki te hauhake i ngā māra mātauranga o te waka kawē i te wairua, i te waka kawē whakaaro, i ngā tikanga me te mauri o te tangata whai whakaaro ki te pupuri i te ira atua o tā te Māori.

He aha rā te take o te reo mehemea kāore ōna herenga ki te kawa o te whakaaro tangata.

E tangihia tonutia ana te hunga kua riro ki tua o te ārai, ōku mātua tipuna e whanga mai ana i te po. He kura tēnei i tangihia, he maimai āroha ki a rātou katoa. Otira, e kore hoki te aroha e taea e te kupu mo ngā mātua, mo ngā whāea, mo ngā kuia, mo ngā koroua, na rātou ngā kōrero i tuku kia hopu hei iringa kōrero mo tēnei tuhinga roa. He nui tonu rātou ngā pūkenga o te riu o Waiapu, ngā tautōhito, ngā maunga kōrero. Kei te wāhanga e whai ake nei ngā whakamārama mo ēnei tipuna kua ngaro nei i te tirohanga kanohi. Heoi, hei aroha tēnei mo ōku tipuna, mo rāua hoki e noho mai rā i te pupuke o Pukerimu. Kei te pūtake o Pukerimu ko te awa Waiapu e rere ana. Kei tua atu, ko Kākāriki, Waiomatatini, a, kei te ngutuawa ko Kōpuakanae.

Ara noa ake ngā kōrero kua whakahuahuatia e kī ana mo tēnei takiwā, ko te Ngāti Pōrou taketake tuturu tonu. E ai ki ngā kōrero o ngā pakeke, ko Ngāti Pōrou e anga ana ki ngā hapū e pātata ana ki te awa o Waiapu mai i te awa rīriki o te Paoa o Ruku ki te ngutuawa ki Kōpuakanae, ki ngā torōuka o Tikapa. Ki te uru ko Tikitiki Kahukura, kei muri atu ko te pupuke o Pukemāire, te wāhi rongonui mo ngā Hauhau.

Kei roto i tēnei rīu ngā rārangi whakaaro kua waihotia hei ōhaki kia oho ake te iwi i roto i te moe whakamōmori, kei hoki ohonga mai o te hapū. Kua tohutohua e rātou mā te poipoi i ngā tāonga, tikanga, puta noa. Ēngari ko tētahi o ngā tāonga nunui ko te reo no te mea kei reira te wairua o te Māori e whakahuatu ana. Arā ia he poutokomanawa no te whare Māori e taea ai te tiaki, i te mauri o te hapū, iwi. Ki te kore e tiaki, e wheuka rānei i tēnei tāonga, ka ngāhoru, putu kau ana ki te ware o te maumaharatanga. Mai i ērā whakaaro i hua mai tēnei rangahau. Ahakoā reo parāoa mai, ka whai mai te kairanga i roto i tō tāua reo rangatira.

Ki te kī mai koe ki ahau he aha te mea nui kei roto i tēnei ao, māku e kī atu, ko te tangata, me te mita o tōna reo. Na ki ahau nei, e pūmau ana te kōrero kei te mea mai nei, ko te

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whai, me te ako i te kupu te timatanga o te whakakoi, me te whakapakari i te mātauranga, hinengaro rānei o te tangata. He pukenga kaihautū. Kei roto i te kupu te huarahi hei ārahi, hei ātawhai, hei whakakoi, hei whakahikohiko, hei whakapakari, hei whakatinana, hei whakatāngongoro i te ngao, hei whakaohoho, hei whakamana, kia mauri tau ai, te pupuri kia kore ai e tātaramoa. He pukenga kaihautū

He karangaranga tēnei ki a tātou anō ngā whānau puta noa, kia whakatāpiri mai te mahana me te āroha, kia hohou ki roto i ngā paripari ihi, wewehi, wawana rānei, hei oranga tikanga, oranga ngākau hoki. Ko koutou te hunga whakaaro nui, i pāhore nei o koutou tūara kia eke ngā āhuatanga ki roto i tēnā wāhi, ki tēnā wāhi, kia māmā anō hoki, ki te hunga whāngai atu i te reo me ngā tikanga., whakapataritari anō hoki i te whakaaro, i te hinengaro o rātou ma kua whakatau nei i te reo whakahei o te wā.

Ko te whakapaparanga no rātou taketake ake nei te reo, me ōna rerenga ki hea noa iho nei, tae atu hoki ki ngā tikanga, ki ngā karakia me ērā āhuatanga reo katoa. Ko te tameme o te rēanga hōu me kore noa rātou e waimarie ki ngā taumata o te reo, o te tikanga i nohōia ai e o rātou kaumātua, tīpuna, te ahunga kua riro nei ko te tai ahiahi ki a rātou.



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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a literary critical exploration of Māori leadership from before the impact of colonialism and follows with critical analysis and discussion of Māori leadership during and post-colonial era.

The methodology of this thesis draws, in part, on the use of autoethnographic practices and these reference points are fused through the body of the writing. The research also attempts to connect the characteristics of the pīwairaka (fantail) as a framework or metaphor for kaihautu or tangata whenua Māori leadership in both the pre and post-colonial eras. Various narratives of the pīwairaka from waiata, mōteatea, storytelling, pūrākau and tāhūhū kōrero will be drawn on to affirm the metaphor.

Chapter Two considers the literature that tracks the transformation of leadership from leadership based strongly on whakapapa imperatives to leadership models that are ongoing and ever-changing direction, like the pīwairaka.

Chapter Three will examine the filters of western critical theorists in the postcolonialism period. Religious, political, environmental and ideological factors will be examined as part of the colonialism impacts, including the postcolonial adoptions based on mimicry and cultural hybridisation. This chapter will also highlight whether there is an emerging bourgeois within Māori leadership resulting from mimicry, and what is sacrificed in the act of being what might be characterised as indigenous leaders. The need to absorb the national and global impacts on social, economic and environmental imperatives have required leadership to assume a constant change of direction without losing balance, not dissimilar to the pīwairaka.

The thesis will, in Chapter Four, conclude with a critical discussion on the current status of Māori leadership and proposes some ideas for sustained tangata whenua leadership into the future. Again, the notion and metaphor of pīwairaka are central to the discussion.



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PROLOGUE

The original intention to produce post-graduate writing was to do so in Te Reo as it seemed a meaningful thing to do given my upbringing within that language. Further consideration led me to turn my attention to a discipline in which I have been deeply involved at the local, community, regional and national levels. This research would enable me to reflect on my own experiences and upbringing as a Māori facilitator in Te Reo, community affairs, local government, secondary school education, senior tertiary education leadership and public health management. Despite this wide experience, there still seemed to be an important element that was missing and I found that a critical analysis of Māori leadership would add to my understanding and enable me to search out what characteristics of traditional leadership have survived against the onslaught of modernity in Aotearoa. This writing will hopefully provide some understanding of the leadership qualities that are unique and define contemporary Māori identity.

It is anticipated that there will be opportunities to present this material in the Māori language and other formats to allow greater access to the key content of the research.

In choosing to frame my writing in this way I now feel that this approach will give me connectivity that can sustain my engagement with this project and allow to write in a more coherent and meaningful way.



Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū: The Swirling Winds of Māori Leadership RESEARCH METHOD

This thesis will explore Māori leadership in two parts: first presenting a critical analysis of traditional Māori leadership through to the impacts/effects of colonisation; and secondly examining how leadership manifests within the contemporary setting. This research will be achieved by perusing the earliest accounts of Polynesian leadership modes and continuing to an examination of the literature of what has been understood to be “kaihautu or rangatira” in contemporary Aotearoa.

The literature analysis (autoethnographic methodology) will be interlaced with leadership experiences. I have chosen to write this thesis using the personal narrative approach rather than the contemporary academic practice where people are encouraged to write in the third person. Within the Māori worldview, more validity is applied to the thought or positional statement when full ownership is attributed to its source of origin. There is nothing to be gained from distancing the thought of the author from the author him or herself, by writing in the third person. The opposite can be said to be the case within te Ao Māori (the Māori world), whereby more credibility is associated with the thinking if the person presenting the thought or position can confidently own and, therefore, be accountable for the thought or position presented.

This will include the influences engendered by my grandparents when becoming a tamaiti whāngai at birth and being informed at an early age of the kōrero tūāpapa and kōrero tuku iho – the rohe of upbringing. It will also include a commentary on the leadership context of my rohe of upbringing and the leadership incidents or events that shaped identity modelling within Ngāti Pōrou. As well, I will present critical commentary from my experiences: as a civic leader (Deputy Mayor) of Manukau City Council, the largest local authority at the time; as Director of Community Education in Otara, Manukau; as a secondary school principal at Tangaroa College, East Tamaki; nine years as Director of Education and Māori Development (Bay of Plenty Polytechnic, Tauranga); and other significant leadership responsibilities. This section seeks to identify any emerging modes of leadership to sustain future generations through the facility of leadership rangatiratanga. The architecture of this thesis will be shaped around the kaupapa of a

pīwairaka model of leadership based on the attributes and stories attributed to the fantail.

The second part of the research proposes to examine the epistemological, ontological, phenomenological, existential, ideological, mimicry, hybridity and leadership theories to provide greater analysis of the impact of colonialism on Māori leadership. These findings will also add to the framework being explored regarding the pīwairaka model. This section seeks to identify the relations and processes of power that have contributed to a continuing assault on tangata whenua cultural continuity and wellbeing. Of significance are Foucault's study of governmentalisation and normalisation and Gramsci's notion of hegemony impacts on traditional and contemporary organic leaders.

The thesis explores the notion of whether those in leadership positions can justifiably claim allegiance to Gramsci's concept of organic intellectual (leadership) and what is sacrificed in the characteristics of being tangata whenua leaders as opposed to organic leaders, if there is indeed a demarcation.

The words "colonisation" and "colonialism" should be viewed as interchangeable in this writing, unless a specific meaning is affixed to them. Most of the political theorists referred to in this thesis use at least one of the following terms: ideology, philosophy, world view and culture philosophy, which are mostly used in the same context, although in some situations the use is specific to their writings. Due to the particular use of these terms in the literature of each of the political theorists, these terminologies are viewed as interchangeable within this thesis, unless they are used about particular writing where an exact meaning is affixed to them.

Throughout this thesis, the term 'Māori' is used to describe the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand and topics related to Māori history, Māori culture and Māori ideology.



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CHAPTER 1

Leadership Influences

In my leadership roles within the various communities, numerous opportunities presented themselves to interact with other leaders at various levels. I have seen leadership from multiple perspectives – mai muri, whiti noa ki mua herea whītiki taua ki waenganui. I have noted the common elements within these leadership situations, the need for leaders to reflect and require character, tenacity, compassion, intelligence, courage, and imagination.

I was brought up at Tāwata which is close to Tikitiki on the East Coast of the North Island, in the heartland of Ngāti Pōrou. Tikitiki overlooks the Waiapu River and looks across at Waiomatatini, where sits the Pōrourangi Marae and the homestead of one of the most outstanding leaders of Ngāti Pōrou, Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata. I am of various hapū of the Waiapu valley but relate mostly to Hinerupe ki Waiapu, Ngāti Horowai, Ngāti Hunaara and Ngāti Rakaihoea. I associate strongly with Te Rāhui Marae with Rongomaianiwaniwa as the whareniui and Tawhiwhirangi the wharekai.

I am the firstborn (matāmua) of nine siblings and became a whāngai (to my paternal grandparents at birth. Cleve Barlow refers to whāngai as a general custom of old amongst Māori for the grandparents to take care of the firstborn of their grandchildren, and the practice continues today (Barlow & Wineti, 1991). My parents and grandparents were fluent speakers of Te Reo Māori (the Māori language – henceforth referred to as Te Reo) and I became aware of the divide that both my grandparents and parents had about Te Reo. My parents either wittingly or unwittingly had a sense that the future would be more assured through the acquisition of the English medium in preference to Te Reo. My grandparents on the other hand, in my view, had an inclination neither way and simply led their lives and involved me, as such, with what was a natural modicum of

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being. For them, Te Reo was strong with English more as an auxiliary medium of communication.

My grandparents also had 9 children and the youngest (pōtiki) was 10 years old at the time of their acquiring me. Their youngest became a mentor aunt for the first seven years of my life as all their other children had left home to seek employment in other towns of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

I was born in the same year that Sir Apirana Ngata (1874 -1950) passed away and left a legacy for his people to sustain. The resonance of the Ngata message at his time of passing immediately transferred to the upcoming generations. There was a sense of expectation. Both my grandparents went to boarding schools in the Hawkes Bay (Te Aute College in the case of my paternal grandfather and Hukarere School in the case of my grandmother, during the period of World War I) and both matriculated on completion. My grandfather eventually became a horseman responsible for transporting wool and cream from various stations and farm holdings in the Waiapu valley to vessels berthed at Port Awanui.

One of the economic objectives of Ngata was to encourage Ngāti Pōrou to cultivate their lands, as well as fostering the use of Ngāti Pōrou songs, poetry, haka and customs. My grandparents by this time had converted one of their 100-acre land block holdings to a small dairy farm unit.

Apart from learning the rudiments of farming, I became immersed in the significance of land as a tāonga and as an instrument of whakapapa coherence. I would be privy to lengthy conversations between my grandfather and kin either on roadsides, at hui and on telephone conversations about the land. These telephone conversations quite often formed a point of heated contention as the telephone systems during that period were what they call “party lines” where about five households would share telephone lines. My grandfather would sometimes be on the telephone for hours talking land, almost invariably all spoken in Te Reo. Another vivid recollection was that my grandparents were avid Totalisator Agency Board (TAB) bettors and putting a punt on a horse or two on a Saturday meeting through telephone betting was a regular preoccupation. All bets were placed through the telephone and once connected through to the Ruatoria agency, codes were submitted to access accounts and all of this was done in Te Reo – every part of the transaction was in Te Reo. I was privy to all this Te Reo exposure, it was not a matter of me learning Te Reo but rather being inoculated with it. Moemoeā or dreams were an important part of the placement of bets: if there were no dreams during the week then there were no bets. These dreams were analysed and either matched with horse names, numbers, jockeys or meeting venues. One such dream of my grandmother’s related to a child going to school, all immaculately dressed, but finding during the day his trousers

were beginning to slip down. The issue was that the child had forgotten to wear a belt for his trousers. The dream interpretation pointed to a horse in the race called “Tātua” meaning belt, and so a bet was placed accordingly. The outcome resulted in the successful placement of the bet.

From one perspective, my grandparents were hard and uncompromising on their mokopuna, and in another sense, they possessed mana through whakapapa and by their deeds. Their mana had a sense of measure which has been manifest long after their passing and this has been through their sense of provision to the ensuing whakapapa line.

The daily walk of 30 minutes from the cowshed to home as a six-year-old through to about fifteen years old represented a significant transfer of knowledge, experience and insight from a tipuna to a mokopuna. Subliminally the power of Te Reo was beginning to embed itself at a conceptual level through exposure to adult use of Te Reo. This created a sense of my reo being shaped from the cradle (so to speak). Whenua (land) was at the core of this shaping and personal grooming. While I dreaded accompanying my grandfather on various hui and numerous Māori Land Court hearings to negotiate and consolidate land interests amongst whānau, and thereby optimise land utilisation for whānau sustainability, the benefits were not appreciated until some time afterwards. I was fortunate to be an undergraduate student at the University of Auckland and two of my essays contributed to the writing of Anne Salmond’s book *Hui* (Salmond, 1975). These memorable accounts demonstrated the attributes of our tipuna as leaders. Our tipuna often guides us to deeply respect what they have left behind. They communicate with us through dreams, through the tensions that have come down through the generations, through wairua. Our constant kaiārahi in our life journeys of spiritual discovery, our sense of wonder with the animation of the world, often arrive through the presence of our tīpuna and carry the knowledge that we need for continuity and integration. Traditional knowledge weaves its way into contemporary conflicts for our present and future endeavours. Marsden comments that indigenous leadership flows out of the belief in sacred kinship with all of creation and a deep sense of belonging in an interrelated woven universe (Marsden, 2003).

Leadership Through Oral Traditions

Our tipuna often brings these teachings to us through stories. Stories provide many of the guiding lights to show us our way on earth, to lead to good lives. These stories are embodied in kōrero tuku iho, oral traditions, in arts, in traditional practices of warfare and situations of encounter. Stories, especially in oral tradition, build powerful bridges

that connect our histories, our legends, our senses, our practices, our values, and, fundamentally, our sustainability as people. Stories presented in the oral tradition provided an opportunity for immediacy, a direct and immediate relationship with listeners. The storyteller can make immediate adjustments to the elements of the story based on relational needs and contexts.

From an early age, storytelling was a way that my grandparents passed on knowledge and Te Reo to me. Vansina describes storytelling or oral traditions as...

Vansina (Vansina, 1985)

Oral traditions make an appearance only when they are told. For fleeting moments they can be heard, but most of the time they dwell only in the minds of people. The utterances transitory, but the memories are not. No one in oral societies doubts that memories can be faithful repositories which contain the subtotal of past human experience and explain the how and why of present-day conditions.

In the context of leadership, one such example learned from earlier generations of acquiring mana was when Tamahae killed Hinetāpora, a woman of tremendous mana in Ngāti Pōrou. Tamahae was ridiculed for killing a woman, but he explained that by killing Hinetāpora he was killing a hundred that would have carried her mana. By carrying out this act he was dispersing her power. This example shows an important characteristic of Ngāti Pōrou, that is, that both men and woman are capable of having a leadership role. In the days of Pōroumata, Ngāti Pōrou had a proverb: “Ngāti Pōrou he tangata rite”. “In Ngāti Pōrou, all are equal”. This idea of equality has been embraced within the roles of both genders, and the equality of the genders has descended throughout Ngāti Pōrou history.

Another example of this was when Ruataupare left her husband Tūwhakairiora, and her people left with her – none of them stayed behind. They all trusted that Ruataupare would provide for them.

I was told these and many examples of leadership during my walks and overheard conversations between my grandparents and Pine Taiapa, a well-known carver and storyteller of Ngāti Pōrou kōrero. Many conversations related to the leadership necessary for ensuring the connection of the people to resources. One such example was a reaction of Matutaera (Tuta) Nihoniho (1850-1914). Tuta was chief of Te Aowera hapū of Ngāti Pōrou, and a noted chief of Ngāti Pōrou generally. His lands at Waipiro Bay, which he claimed to be Te Aowera, were given to Te Whānau-a-Te Iritekura, a neighbouring hapū. As a result of the loss of this land, he felt a tremendous loss of mana and he left the Ngāti Pōrou never to return. Many considered it was a

tremendous waste to see Tuta leave, he had many impeccable leadership qualities. However, his loss of mana in this instance was serious enough to warrant him leaving his home and his beloved people. Like the pīwairaka, even leaders will flit to another branch for sanctity and security.

Underpinning the story of Ngāti Pōrou is the sense of commitment to whakapapa. Its people and its whenua represent its greatest resource. Post World War II, Ngāti Pōrou experienced difficulties; one of those difficulties came from the movement of Ngāti Pōrou to urban centres. Ngāti Pōrou were left coping with the impacts of this. The loss was felt most during times when the marae was needed to be resourced to meet the obligations of hosting and keeping the mana intact. This responsibility fell on the shoulders of the people back home – few were left to carry the load.

Boundaries were important to Ngāti Pōrou as they were a symbol of identity. They were also a means of preserving the resources found within those boundaries. This can be seen, for instance, in the history of “Nga Kuri Paka A Uetuhiao” the great warrior sons of Uetuhiao: Kuku, Korohau and Rongotangotake. They went into battle with Te Whānau-a-Apanui at Maniaroa, near Hicks Bay hill, because of an incident that occurred on an earlier occasion. Kuku, Korohau and Rongotangotake received news that poachers were taking food from the western forests of Hikurangi. The brothers came across Taniwha and his people of Ngāti Ira carrying calabashes and packs full of birds. These birds were to be taken to Hinekaitanga who lived near the Motu River. The brothers stopped Taniwha and his people, cut the straps from their shoulders and confiscated the birds. Humiliated, Taniwha left and returned to the land near the Motu River.

On hearing of what the warrior sons of Uetuhiao had done, Te Whānau-a-Apanui were enraged and prepared themselves for battle. This battle occurred at Maniaroa. The brothers were overcome by the Apanui attack and each fell. Taniwha, coming upon the bodies of Kuku, Korohau and Rongotangotake, and taking hold of their hands uttered:

“Ee! O ringaringa kotikoti kawe nei! Ka eke hoki i nga pikitanga o Korauwhakamae ka motu nga kawe!”

“Ee! The very hands that cut my straps. When I ascended Korauwhakamae these hands cut my straps from me!”

With that Taniwha cut off their hands and returned to his home near Motu river with the hands.

There is a strong link between mana tangata, mana whenua and mana moana. Often a person’s mana depended on the amount of lands that person had and/or the area over which the person’s mana moana reigned. Built into this equation were the resources

involved, including the amount of food this area had. Therefore, that person's mana would depend upon her/his ability to provide for his/her people and guests. A leader always had plenty of food for the people. An example of this can be seen in the history of Hunaara and Rahuiokehu. Hunaara was from Horoera and Rahuiokehu from Ahikouka. Rahuiokehu's rohe was not very well known for food. One time Hunaara visited Rahuiokehu and chose a time when he knew the food would be scarce. He did this to shame Rahuiokehu and as a way of boasting about the food in his area of Horoera. Although the food was scarce, Rahuiokehu did his best to entertain Hunaara, feed him, and to provide for him. When Hunaara left he said to Rahuiokehu, "Haere mai ki Tokarāangi, kei reira te kai e putu ana" – "Come to Tokarāangi where the food is plentiful" (Tokarāangi is a reef off Horoera). Rahuiokehu agreed to go but waited until a time when there was terrible weather and he knew Hunaara's people would not be able to retrieve food. When Rahuiokehu arrived, Hunaara felt ashamed that he was not able to provide for his guests the way he had boasted about. Thus from that instance, the saying has come:

"Ka hua koia te kai, i tua o Tokarāangi?" "Does food really exist at Tokarāangi?"

In this remark, Rahuiokehu is shaming Hunaara in much the same way he shamed Rahuiokehu.

Such histories as that of Rahuiokehu and Hunaara show the importance of the whenua and the ocean resources and the importance of land and water resources to the recognition of Ngāti Pōrou mana. These resources encourage Ngāti Pōrou to be the land-loving people that they are.

An example of the desire of Ngāti Pōrou to hold on to their lands can be seen in the occupation of the lands at Harataunga (Kennedy Bay) (Tūroa, 2000). These lands were a gift by Paora Te Putu, a rangatira of Ngāti Tamatera/Ngāti Maru, to Rakahurumai, a rangatira of the Te Aitanga-a-Mate hapū of Ngāti Pōrou. Since the time of this gift, these lands have been held by Ngāti Pōrou, who live there. When this land went through the Native Land Court, Raniera Kawhia, a rangatira of Ngāti Pōrou and the first Ngāti Pōrou clergyman, was asked if this land would one day be given back to the local iwi there. He replied:

"Tukua rangatira mai, mauria rangatira e au."

"The land was gifted by a chief and as a chief, I must pay it the highest respect and hold on to it."

Still to this day, Ngāti Pōrou has held on to this land, and to their credit, they are still the largest Māori landowners in the Harataunga area, compared with the tribes of that area.

Ko tāku Ngāti Pōroutanga tenei, ko tāku whenua.

The land is what makes me Ngāti Pōrou. The land provides Ngāti Pōrou with her identity, as the following pēpeha illustrates:

Ko Hikurangi te maunga

Hikurangi is the mountain

Ko Waiapu te awa

Waiapu is the river

Ko Ngāti Pōrou te iwi

Ngāti Pōrou is the tribe

The landscape is used to reveal one's identity from where tribal mana is drawn. Each tribe has a similar saying that links the people with the land – it is not unique to Ngāti Pōrou – and this is a custom shared with many indigenous peoples around the world. What is unique to Ngāti Pōrou are the specific features of the proverb. Thus, in this respect, Hikurangi and Waiapu are the physical manifestations of the mana of Ngāti Pōrou.

Traditional Leadership Disruption

Ngāti Pōrou reacted positively to early colonisation. However, with this colonisation came new systems and ways of doing things, and this would prove to be challenging to Ngāti Pōrou as their customs and traditions were contrasted against those of these new settlers.

Although Ngāti Pōrou freely supported the Crown, the Crown imposed policies upon Ngāti Pōrou that dissatisfied her. This dissatisfaction can be seen in the Ngāti Pōrou haka Te Kiringutu. A revised version was written by Tuta Nihoniho which follows: (Armstrong, 1966)

Ponga rā! Ponga rā!

The shadows fall! The shadows fall!

Ka tataki mai nga whare o nga ture!

The house which makes the laws are chattering

Ka whiria te Māori! Ka whiria!

Plaiting the Māori like a rope

Engau nei ōna reiti, e nagu nei ōna tāke!

Its rates and its taxes are biting!

A ha ha! Te taea te ueue! I aue hei!

Its teeth cannot be withdrawn - hei!

Patua i te whenua!

The land will be destroyed!

Whakataua inga ture!

The laws will be spread eagled over it!

Na nga mema ra te kohuru!

The members have betrayed us

Na te kawana te koheriheri!

The government conspired in the evil

Ka rau ngā ture

The laws of the land are confused

Ka raparapa ki te pua torori! I aue!

Even the tobacco leaf is singled out

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

<i>Kāore hoki te mate o te whenua e</i>	<i>This loss of our lands</i>
<i>Te makere atu ki raro ra!</i>	<i>We shall never forget</i>
<i>O te kiringutu mau mai ai</i>	<i>And hold fast to it</i>
<i>Hei tipare taua mo te hoariri!</i>	<i>As a warrior's headlands against the enemy</i>
<i>Ahaha! I tahuna mai au</i>	<i>Ahaha! I was scorched in the fire</i>
<i>Ki te whakahere toto koa</i>	<i>In the sacrifice of blood, stripped</i>
<i>E kī te ngākau o te whenua nei</i>	<i>To the heart of the land</i>
<i>E kī te koura! I aue taukiri e!</i>	<i>Bribed with gold! Alas! Ahaha</i>
<i>Ko tuhikitia, ko tuhapainga</i>	<i>Shoving up</i>
<i>I raro i te whero o te Māori! Hukiti!</i>	<i>Under the backside of the Māori. He's caught!</i>
<i>Ahaha!</i>	<i>Ahaha!</i>
<i>Na te ngutu o te Māori, pōhara kai kutu</i>	<i>Was it your mission to remove the tattoo from the Māori lips,</i>
<i>Na te weriweri ko i homai ki konei</i>	<i>Stop him eating lice, take away his disgusting habits?</i>
<i>E kore i ara, i haramai tonu koe ki te kai- whenua!</i>	<i>No! You come here to eat our lands!</i>
<i>Pokokohua! Kaura mōkai! Hei!</i>	<i>May your heads be boiled! Placed on sticks! Ahaha!</i>
<i>Ahaha!</i>	<i>Ahaha!</i>
<i>Kei puta atu hoki</i>	<i>How can the prow of our canoe</i>
<i>Te ihu o te wakai nga torouka o Niu Tīreni</i>	<i>Pass the headlands of New Zealand</i>
<i>Ka paia pukutia e nga uaua o te ture o te kawana!</i>	<i>When your restrictive , perplexing laws stop us</i>
<i>Te taea te ueue! I Aue! Hi!</i>	<i>And we cannot bypass them! Aue! Hi!</i>

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

This haka records the feelings of Ngāti Pōrou regarding the Crown imposing its policies and legislation on the tribe. The haka shows how Ngāti Pōrou regarded these laws as restricting her development, and as a way of making Ngāti Pōrou landless. The Crown's policies and the legislation was oppressive to a people who had provided it with much support.

Yet, there remained a paradox between Ngāti Pōrou and the Crown. The church was one of the main institutions that fostered the relationship between the Crown and Ngāti Pōrou. Through the church and the advent of Christianity, many of the Ngāti Pōrou leaders saw a threat to the Crown as being a threat to Christianity. As a result, they prepared to fight against any threat to the Crown (Soutar, 2008).

The Hauhau uprising sought to polarise Ngāti Pōrou. On the one hand, many had become disillusioned with the Crown and its laws and policies and pledged their support to this new movement. On the other hand, other Ngāti Pōrou leaders who saw the church as a symbol of virtue saw the Hauhau movement as an invasion and prepared themselves to do battle. At this time leaders such as Ropata Wahawaha, a distinguished Ngāti Pōrou leader, soldier and politician, swore allegiance to the Crown and led his men to fight against the Hauhau. As a result of this polarisation, families fought against each other. There are examples of brothers fighting on opposing sides. All Ngāti Pōrou families were affected by this war in some way.

Whilst the Ropata Wahawaha was victorious in this war, it was a hollow victory. There was a huge rift and a division within Ngāti Pōrou. This division led Ropata Wahawaha to build Pōrouangi meeting house at Waiomatatini. The purpose of this meeting house was to reunite the tribe. The ancestors depicted in this house represented all the major hapū of Ngāti Pōrou.

Throughout history, Ngāti Pōrou has continued to support the Crown in its time of need. From the war against the Hauhau, to the fight against Te Kooti, to both World War I and World War II, Ngāti Pōrou has featured greatly.

Ngāti Pōrou has, on her merit, gone to great steps to preserve her history, waiata, haka and customs. She has preserved this tāonga even though the Crown put in place policies that prevented the use of our Te Reo and customs. I know for example when my Grandfather was at Te Aute College students were black marked¹ for speaking Te Reo. Saturdays were the only days they could speak Te Reo. So on Saturdays, from dawn until the time they went to sleep, the school was like a flock of sparrows in a hedge competing to be heard, with the boys speaking Te Reo as much as they could before the day ended. When Sunday came, if the boys were heard speaking Te Reo they were black marked again. It is so sad that such

¹ Term used to describe the assignment of punishment by a prefect or teacher for a student misdemeanour. One black mark could mean having to undertake gardening for an hour. This practice persisted during my own days at boarding school.

policies were in place. We are only just beginning to understand now just how great an impact these policies had on Ngāti Pōrou. From this point, a new form of leadership emerged, as exemplified by the celebrated Ngāti Porou leader, Apirana Ngata. It was fortunate for Ngāti Pōrou that she had leaders like Apirana Ngata who stressed the importance of Ngāti Pōrou waiata, haka, tikanga and Te Reo.

Ngata played an important role in the development of both the people and resources of Ngāti Pōrou and ensuring sustainable mechanisms were in place. The circumstance surrounding his birth was something of a miracle and as he grew the people recognised in him greatness that would one day benefit our people (Walker, 2001).

When one talks of chiefs and leaders, the leaders of the calibre of Te Heuheu of Tūwharetoa, Apirana was such a man. Although he has passed on, we still talk of his marvellous deeds. We look at all aspects of Ngāti Pōrou: education; health; economic development; land development; the law; the church; waiata; haka; tikanga; and reo; and we see that Apirana was at the forefront of these. He was a prophet in the sense that he had the foresight to see where Ngāti Pōrou needed to develop to ensure her existence, and advanced that path. When we look at Apirana's work we see that were it not for such great leaders, Ngāti Pōrou would have suffered more as a result of Crown policies.

Ngata saw the impact of colonisation and recognised the need to adapt to the new environment and at the same time manage the traditional conditions to ensure the identity of Māori would not be eroded. The notion of assuming a range of leadership positions either simultaneously or sequentially demonstrates the epitome of the pīwairaka.

Over hundreds of years, the practice of leadership in tangata whenua communities has taken on different forms not dissimilar to the flight patterns of the pīwairaka based on changing historical tides, autonomy, imperialism, colonisation, resistance and renaissance. As tangata whenua, we live with changing winds and moving landscapes. For many generations before colonisation, leadership in tangata whenua communities was based on the character of the whenua and the leadership of the people in their traditional rohe. Today, tangata whenua strive for solidarity and the right to govern themselves once again. This solidarity, the state of being in which we govern our lives in our own chosen places, is becoming a reality. These chosen places are quite often dependent on local, national and global circumstances, and the ability to be constantly shifting position is a necessity for the ongoing sustainability of a people. Such positioning is not dissimilar to the fleet-footed movement inherent in the flight of the pīwairaka.

Tangata whenua knowledge or mātauranga taketake often finds its source in the challenges of complexity. The implementation of complex change is no small task. Typically, tangata whenua leadership is free from dominating western leadership theories. They are grounded in the experience and represent specific contexts,

particular iwi, diverse lands, inherent values and beliefs, a variety of protocols, a plethora of language dialects, and the tremendous variety of circumstances.

A sense of place brings coherence to tangata whenua and suggests an aesthetic engagement with the land, an intimate spiritual commitment to relationships with all living things (Kenny & Fraser, 2012). As we create more virtual spaces, this intimate relationship with the land becomes even more important because we have to work harder

to convert. Even Apirana Ngata, in his tenure as Minister of Māori Affairs, recognised whenua as tāonga tuku iho as well as an opportunity to explore economic prosperity (Walker, 2001).

To maintain this sense of coherence, we can accept the whenua as our first embodied concept of leadership. We respond to the guidance of the processes expressed in our papakainga, ūkaipo. Many say we listen and respond to our mother. We mirror and reflect the patterns, textures, colours, sounds, and processes of the whenua as embodied beings. I recall the example of Whaia McClutchie, a matriarch of Ngāti Pōrou, being challenged to sit down when undertaking an oratory within the confines of another iwi catchment. Her response was swift and dramatic, “without me you would not be here, in fact, you came from down here” referring to her reproductive organs (Stirling & Salmond, 1994). This is an idea, a feeling, and a concept bedded in tangata whenua leadership theories and practices.

The road to leadership is paved with land, ancestors, tipuna, and story, concepts that are rarely mentioned in the mainstream leadership literature. They are concepts embodied in being tangata whenua.

Contemporary leadership demands that tangata whenua leaders make bridges between many worlds. The dilemmas involved in this bridge-building are often referred to as living between two worlds. Each context is different. In addition to walking between two worlds, we must walk among many worlds. Again, this highlights the sense and activity of the natural flight of the pīwairaka. The global context of virtual projects offers even more complexity. I have experienced these dilemmas and how they reflect the specific circumstances, thoughts, and feelings of tangata whenua, who experience dualities that are incompatible in terms of values, beliefs, lifestyle choices, governance systems, child-rearing practices, educational pedagogies, and much more. Tangata whenua activists and cultural workers in education, government, health, and a host of other contexts often find themselves caught between what they often call Western values and tangata whenua values. In these dialogues and debates, one cannot help but observe that colonisation still exists in the layers just beneath the surface of things.

One must resist the romance and seduction of a kind of fool’s gold in which only surface issues are discussed and resolved (Kenny & Fraser, 2012). Well-intended beginnings

cannot overcome the ongoing lack of mutuality and shared responsibility between the worlds. Examples are rampant in policies and procedures. Take, for instance, the push and pull between solidarity on the one hand and the fiduciary responsibilities on the other. Tangata whenua strives for physical transitions into self-government while governmental agencies continue to dominate negotiations.

In the context of the preamble, the backdrop of an embedded traditional model of knowing from my grandparents anchored me within a range of life developmental experiences. This included having to acquire the language of the dominant players in society – namely English – and then repositioning myself in an urban setting from my adolescence through to maturing adulthood. Therein lies the added challenge of negotiating the dynamically interacting influences of traditional Maori values and leadership principles and those of mainstream contemporary society. With the benefit of a lifetime negotiating a plural existence in New Zealand, Māori has built a considerable capability and competitive advantage through leading and managing cultural diversity. The mark of leadership success for Māori is providing leadership based on traditional principles while managing the interface (Mead, 2006).

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 is 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 is still highly relevant in these 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 iwi in modern times, there is a need to share and divide up the duties of running iwi affairs. This modern adaptation commonly referred to as dispersed leadership (Gordon, 2010) 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 and participating collectively is a more effective way to get desired results while simultaneously supporting the group rangatira. Again, the ability to move from one mode to another has become an essential part of contemporary indigenous leadership, not too dissimilar to the movements and behaviours of the pīwairaka.

A feature of contemporary mighty leadership in recent times and certainly a part that the writer has actively participated in involves the growth of Māori corporate styled leadership. This has started amongst politicians 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 to properly manage and grow their newfound wealth. Consistent with (Schein, 1991) the transformational model, 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 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 and organisation usually have leadership because of their ability to influence decision-making (Katene, 2013).

Being a Fantail in a Neo-Liberal Environment- Poi E

'They want you to perform at the Royal Command Performance in Scotland.' I said 'We haven't got any money to do that!' And so I went and mortgaged my house.

– Dalvanus Prime

The twirling poi is often used as a symbol of a young woman's affections. They are volatile, but with some energetic training, they protect her from danger.

After 10 years overseas, away from Aotearoa, Dalvanus Prime returned to Taranaki in 1979 – a turning point era for Māori conscientisation and activism. Events such as the 1975 Land March, the 1975 Waitangi Tribunal establishment, and Bastion Point (1977-1978) were a watershed in the history of Māori political consciousness, and powerful examples of pīwairaka leadership. Prime had also been advised by a mentor, Ngoingoi Pewhairangi, to "find a Māori sound that's going to emulate your culture". His mother's dying words to him were spoken in Te Reo Māori, a language he did not understand. These were catalysts for the development of Prime's low-key but persistent activism.

No other example of New Zealand popular culture so ably, or deliberately, exemplifies 1984's cross-fertilisation of transnational urban street dance practices, and local New Zealand – and specifically Māori – culture as the music video for the Pātea Māori Club's hit song Poi E (1983). The video was the result of a collaboration between Māori language advocate Ngoi Pewhairangi and music producer Dalvanus Prime, whom she approached for advice. Poi E was calculatedly designed to convince the swelling numbers of young people growing up in cities that Māori language and culture was fun, hip, and relevant. Ngoi Pewhairangi crafted the lyrics that the Pātea Māori Club perform in the rollicking chorus. A remarkable feature of Poi E was that Prime led the singing over a bouncy and eminently danceable complement of Linn drums and synthesiser, marrying the Māori lyrics and content to what was then the hip-hop influenced trend in US popular music.

The music video created for the song further underscores its deliberate hybridity. It opens with the sound of native birds and the full-frame image of Taranaki maunga, as the prominent physical feature of the Pātea Māori Club's rural provincial environment, the mountain functions as an "establishing shot" with both geographical and spiritual

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

resonance (Henderson, 2014).

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

In Kahi's film (Kahi, 2015) Prime identified the strategic objective to produce a song in Te Reo Māori that would "make our language accepted by the younger generation". He worked inventively and tirelessly to enact his manifesto, eventually developing a kapa haka poi item into the Poi E cross-cultural mash-up of traditional and contemporary. Prime's musical talents were matched by focused visionary drive, energy, and strategic, relational and public relations/marketing genius. He leveraged professional and whānau networks to make connections to realise the vision (e.g. meeting Ngoi Pewhairangi, converting his community to the mission, getting Pātea businesses to sponsor the recording). He harnessed popular culture (including breakdancing and Space Invader video game references) to connect a new generation to their language and culture, and to generate publicity (e.g. meeting with Neil Kinnock, touting the song at skating rinks, aerobics classes, dance clubs, Te Karere and Ready to Roll). Despite institutionalised racism that meant no funding or airplay for Te Reo Māori songs, and despite opposition and disinterest, he was a mover and shaker who made things happen and overcame challenges through force of personality, character, resilience, self-belief and resourcefulness. When all else failed, he mortgaged his house.

Prime could surely never have foreseen the extent to which Poi E has contributed to Aotearoa's cultural renaissance. But, just as the lyrics liken the poi to the fantail that bobs and weaves to navigate a precarious path to survival (metaphorically referencing Māori youth caught in urban drift and urging them to use the strength of identity and culture), Prime himself could be seen as the pīwairaka, shaking and swaying, influencing and converting, navigating a pathway to the survival of Te Reo, and fanning our tail out to the world.

Ngoi Pewhairangi (Ka'ai, 2008) also said she likened the poi, which is like the fantail that flies through the ngāhere, to Māori youth trying to find their way in the concrete jungle of the Pākeha. Just like the fantail which flits between trees and leaves, Māori youth must flit between skyscrapers, both concrete and cultural, and still search for identity.

I further submit that this imagery and metaphor epitomises the emerging leadership attributes within Māori.

<i>E rere ra e taku poi porotiti</i>	<i>Swing out rhythmically, my feelings</i>
<i>Tītahataha ra, whakararuraru e</i>	<i>Lean out beside me, so deceptively.</i>
<i>Porotakataka rā, poro hurihuri mai</i>	<i>Swing round and down, spin towards me</i>
<i>Rite tonu ki te tiwaiwaka e</i>	<i>Just like a fantail.</i>
<i>Ka parepare ra, pīoioi a</i>	<i>Swing to the side: swing to and fro</i>
<i>Whakahekeheke, e kia korikori e</i>	<i>Zoom down, wriggle,</i>

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<i>Piki whakarunga ra, ma muinga mai a</i>	<i>Climb up above, swarm around me</i>
<i>Taku poi porotiti, taku poi e!</i>	<i>My whirling emotions, my poi, Yeah!</i>
<i>Poi E, whakatata mai</i>	<i>Oh my feelings, draw near,</i>
<i>Poi E, kua he rerekē</i>	<i>Oh my poi, don't go astray</i>
<i>Poi E, kia piri mai ki au</i>	<i>Oh my affections, stick to me</i>
<i>Poi E, e awhi mai ra</i>	<i>Oh my instincts, take care of me</i>
<i>Poi E, tāpekatiā mai.</i>	<i>Oh my emotions, be entwined around me.</i>
<i>Poi E, ō tāua aroha -</i>	<i>Oh poi, our love...</i>
<i>Poi E - paiheretia ra.</i>	<i>Oh poi ...binds.</i>
<i>POI... TAKU POI, E!</i>	<i>POI.... My POI, YEAH!</i>



Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū: The Swirling Winds of Māori Leadership

CHAPTER 2

Leadership as Enforcer of Identity

Leadership within the traditional context has the potential to enhance identity amongst many other things and within today's dynamic environment, identity is imperative. Our present society is characterised by the blending of two cultures. In this process, the transitions in styles of leadership have been documented as part of Aotearoa/New Zealand's heritage. Each generation must develop leaders whose ideals benefit all Māori as well as the whole of Aotearoa, because current and future leaders exist in a world that has dramatically changed from traditional times.

Māori leaders within society today have adopted or acquired leadership status by either adhering to a traditional perspective – a European perspective – or more contemporary Māori-European perspective (Winiata, 1967). A person who proves superiority in any of these perspectives whilst also having a close affiliation and attachment with Māoritanga emerges as a person worthy of leadership within the Māori communities.

In Māori culture, leadership or chieftainship was determined by combinations of recognised leaders and collective inputs (Marsden, 2003). However to understand Māori leadership within New Zealand's society today requires an understanding of the principles associated with traditional interpretations of leadership, more commonly linked to attributes of chieftainship. The great migration of the major canoes from Hawaiki underpinned the political and social structures that shaped various leadership structures within Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Each waka had large numbers of people on board from which emerged the first leaders or Rangatira. Rangatira were leaders who belonged to a larger cluster of people generally spanning between 3 and 4 generations, and once they arrived in New Zealand they eventually settled in the same area (Anaru, 2018; Buck, 1949). Over time the numbers in the extended family grew, as did the territory they claimed. However numerous they

grew, they still associated themselves with a common ancestor, deriving from members and crew of the original waka.

Whānau, hapū and iwi are units of the social organisation connected and maintained via constant interactions between each other through kinship. These elements are traceable back to the original migratory waka, as well as to leaders who emerged whilst making the journey. They also held an affiliation with the order of creation, gods and mythology. These emerging leaders occupied roles and responsibilities, acquiring the status of chiefs. Thus a chief was considered the highest possible ranking whose ancestry and genealogy (whakapapa) directly stemmed from leaders of the waka (Anaru, 2018; Buck, 1949; Mead, 2016; Walker, 1995).

These leaders were not originally considered chiefs in Hawaiki but performed great achievements throughout the waka migration, earning great mana and rank. A term that encapsulates leadership both from a traditionalist and contemporary perspective is rangatira, because in traditional society the rank of Rangatira was determined by birthright, whereas in contemporary society rangatira is more commonly achieved through effort.

Leadership within traditional Māori communities was generally the domain of men; specifically the right of the elder's firstborn male son to inherit the entire estate, chiefly title, and mana – predominantly inherited from his father. However, these characteristics were inclusive of both his parents (Buck, 1949). Traditional leadership was primarily based upon ancestry, determined by birthed descent lines or whakapapa (Henry, 1994; Walker, 1990; Winiata, 1967).

Where there was a chiefly line the position of seniority earned the firstborn male title of ariki (Buck, 1949; Metge, 1976). Ariki had direct responsibilities for the destiny of the entire tribe, concerning himself with the administration of the tribe, working as an arbitrator, persuader, adviser and supervisor (Diamond, 2003; Winiata, 1967). Proficiency within these areas enabled the iwi to live harmoniously but also earn mana for both ariki and iwi.

A misconception commonly held is that leadership is the prerogative of the firstborn males (ariki) but it also applied to his younger brothers, as well as female members of a chiefly whānau. Traditional protocols suggest that if a daughter was the firstborn she passed the right of ariki on to the firstborn male, relinquishing her right to be chief. Females did, however, attend to leadership tasks, similar to rangatira, but with roles and responsibilities generally influencing decisions from behind-the-scenes (Metge, 1976).

Females in leadership positions, however, did not enjoy the same luxuries or the same rights as male ariki. Mahuika (1972) indicated that especially in the Ngāti Pōrou region (East Coast of the North Island) many females assumed chieftainship and leadership of whānau, hapū, iwi, as well as teina, or younger males/brothers because the mātamua

(firstborn) forfeited his right to lead. Leadership did not exclude women as they occupied complementary roles valued equally to male roles (Henry, 1994). As already highlighted, whānau is the core of Māori values and it was whānau that provided women with strength and status. Leadership was necessary and a requirement of the task of raising children. Women also had a significant role to play in transferring oral history, contributing to the survival of culture and contributing ultimately to the identity of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Therefore the operation and structure of traditional leadership were comprised of affiliation with waka, iwi, hapū, and whānau. The social and political organisation of these groups depended upon descent lines stemming from a common ancestor recorded in one's whakapapa. Each group identified with a particular region within which they were located and thus generated history, tradition and customs relevant to one's whakapapa and ultimately one's identity (Buck, 1949; Winiata, 1967). Therefore the leaders of these established iwi, hapū and whānau became known as ariki, rangatira, kaumātua and tohunga, forming four distinct categories of chieftainship and leadership.

Levels of Leadership

Māori worked together wherever possible preferring to act side-by-side, whānau by whānau, in everyday tasks. Larger and more diverse labour forces worked under the guidance or direction of several classes of leaders. The collective attitude regarding everyday work activities created a leadership regime that was predominantly orchestrated by hereditary chiefs (ariki/rangatira), assisted by highly trained priests (tohunga) and the heads of whānau (kaumātua), e.g. we had a paramount chief (ariki), the most senior by descent or order of birth, where hapū gained the rangatira.

Traditional Māori communities fell into two main classes, those with chiefly rank and those without. Chiefly rank refers to rangatira, chieftainship class, and tutua refers to all others without chiefly lineage. Walker makes mention of a third-class referred to as taurekareka or slaves. From a contemporary western perspective, this classing system can be paralleled with aristocracy and commoners. Although Māori lived collectively, adopting social systems that demanded communal living, shared labour, and shared responsibilities, it was not a democratic society, and there was still a need for leaders.

Winds of Change:

For Māori communities to be sustained requires leadership to be an integral part of the human element of the environment that is also healthy and that sustains life in times ahead. Identity relates to the cultural resources (including leadership) that have been available to communities in the past and should be available for the future. This does not mean that each generation must accurately reproduce the same cultural conditions of the past. The often-quoted statement by Sir Apirana Ngata, “...e tipu e rea mo ngā rā o tōu ao...”, captures distinctly the need to retain the treasured legacy of the past as an assertion of personal identity while incorporating innovations of the present (Hirini Moko Mead & Grove, 2004). Social groupings with shared identity are not static through time. To survive, they must respond to circumstances being faced with an underlying commitment to ensuring collective well-being. Cultural heritage transmitted between generations in traditional Maori society establish patterns of life inclusive of protocols, beliefs, values and knowledge that were distinctly associated with iwi, hapū, and whānau under their customary authority. Without major shifts of location, political relationships with external groups, or other forms of disruption, people could expect to maintain a similar standard of living and make improvements to current conditions. However, in times of change, social norms needed to be reassessed within the changed conditions.

Colonisation directly changed the formation of mana and identity with the alienation of land and the enforcement of systems by which it was controlled, for example with the individualisation of land title and absentee ownership. Land alienation and the consequences of war resulted in social, cultural and geographic dislocation, forcing communities to determine what elements of identity remained relevant and what had become redundant. Identity was reconceived to accommodate the otherness of Pakeha, setting this and the presence of Māori nationhood in the form of the 1835 declaration of Independence (MH Durie, 1998). Consequently, the impact of colonisation transforms the terrestrial and the human landscape, reconfiguring social structure and the way it is perceived. Identity and leadership were not lost to Māori groupings but are reoriented to the new conditions and reflected within the collective experience.

While whakapapa continues to be a dominant criterion of community connection. This whakapapa centred principle has been heavily criticised by Elizabeth Rata (Rata, 2005) as promoting the belief that:

... Only those 'of the blood' can fully understand and participate in this Māori 'way of knowing'. Despite the racist premise of ethnic 'ways of knowing', kaupapa Māori knowledge has acquired considerable influence in teacher education circles, especially since its promotion in Linda Smith's (Smith, 2013) Decolonising Methodologies.... (Rata & Openshaw, 2006, p. 33).

Aside from the fact that these criticisms have generated extensive rebuttals, Rata's views are grounded within her wider critique of, as she refers to it, 'neo-tribal capitalist elite'. (Rata, 2000) contends that Māori development, and reframed notions of tradition based on Māori lineage, have been captured by self-serving leaders and academics applying capitalist and new right models of development. Eketone (2008) responds to the criticism of racism by highlighting the historical power imbalance and the sustained cultural domination of social, political and economic variables of development that have underpinned the oppression of Māori communities. Kaupapa Māori, within critical theory, therefore, acts to respond to the hegemony of the west with emancipatory strategies and goals for community empowerment. The fact that communities feel it necessary to express a shared cultural and historical experience, and to use genealogical markers to self identify as Māori, is a vital component of emancipation.

Foucault in his original and controversial book, *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1995) asks a simple question: where do books come from, especially those that seem definitive in one way or another? One obvious answer comes to mind: books are the works of individual geniuses, and they reflect progress in the author's discipline or their larger intellectual climate. Foucault resists the obvious, however, in his search for the answer to his simple question. He suggests to the contrary, that books – as well as authors, disciplines, and periods – are products of the way people agree to use language, and all reflect the possibilities and limits of verbal systems (Foucault, 1995).

Foucault's challenge to traditional notions of authorship and authority is not new. The earlier 20th Century had seen marked resistance to the belief that authors were heroes or "great men" who changed the world.

Foucault was attracted to structuralism and its verbal "games". He attended the lectures of philosopher Louis Althusser, who had systematised Karl Marx's thought. However, Foucault then began to think that structuralism was simply another "ism" and, hence, that it did not mark a genuine step forward in human thought. If anything, structuralism helped to show that all steps forward in the human sciences were largely illusory.

In this "Order of Things," as Michel Foucault has called it, the mind was split from matter, subject from object, culture from nature, people from the environment, and eventually, the disciplines from each other.

In Europe for example, this kind of hierarchical thinking begins in the idea of the Great Chain of Being (Wilber, 1993). Here, the cosmos was ranked, with God at the top followed by archangels and angels, a divine monarch and the ranks of the aristocracy and commoners. Men were placed over women and children, and civilised people over barbarians and savages.

In this timeless, tiered world, it seemed only right and proper that ruling elites should

profit from ordinary people, and that ‘civilised people’ should rule over ‘barbarians’ and ‘savages’ (Wilber, 1993). Since people were placed over plants and animals, and the earth itself, it seemed natural that people should exploit these other forms of life, even to the point of destruction. Somehow, it was supposed such exploitation was for the common good, a ‘trickle-down’ theory on a cosmic scale.

During the seventeenth century, this idea took a new twist when the French philosopher Renee Descartes had a new vision of the nature of things, at once powerful and intoxicating. In his dream, the Cogito, the ‘thinking self’ or Subject became the eye of the world, which in turn was transformed into an Object for human inspection (Watson, 2007).

The characteristic motif of the Order of Things was the grid, based on oppositions that divided the world into bounded objects of various kinds, nation-states, blocks of land, units of time and space measured by instrumental calculation; Linnaean genera and species of plants and animals, with their binomial descriptions (Wilber, 1993).

Even people were defined as bounded objects, with the idea of the autonomous, cost-benefit calculating individual. It is not difficult to see how this kind of model might lead to ideas of technocratic control, as Foucault has eloquently argued.

During the Enlightenment, many thinkers, including Tom Paine in *The Rights of Man* (Hitchens, 2008) and William Blake (Blake, 1991) in his visionary poems (“Jerusalem”, for example) assailed these hierarchical models as self-serving myths, propagated by uncaring elites who presided over the destruction of the natural world, and the poverty, incarceration and suffering of the clear majority of their fellows.

Instead of a static, tiered universe, thinkers including Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Priestley and many of those involved in the Scottish Enlightenment (Benjamin Franklin in America; the Humboldt brothers in Germany; and Buffon, Diderot and Rousseau in France) described the cosmos in terms of dynamic networks of relations, generated by complementary dualisms (rather than binary oppositions) between different elements and forces, each necessary for survival.

In this ‘Order of Relationships’, as we might call it, the characteristic motif is the web or the net, and indeed, the World Wide Web is an iconic example of this kind of order. Here, exchanges in the middle ground between complementary pairs are the stuff of life, driving an ever-changing cosmos, working towards equilibrium or balance.

These ‘vitalist’ thinkers were the precursors to evolutionary biology, the earth sciences, medicine, much cosmology and ecology, and indeed, the science of self-organising systems. In social theory, their ideas led to the emancipation of slaves and women, the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence and the US

constitution, followed by the French Revolution and the fall of the Bastille – historical events that coincided with the early European exploration and settlement of New Zealand.

Thus, when the first Europeans arrived in this country, they brought with them a cargo of colliding cosmological ideas. On the one hand, the Order of Things was powerful. As settlers spread across the land, surveyors divided it into gridded settlements and bounded blocks, cutting across the complex, overlapping networks of relations between Māori kin groups and local resources. As ‘civilised’ people, the settlers took for granted their right to control the land and their superiority over Māori as ‘barbarians’ or ‘savages’.

At the same time, however, that other Enlightenment tradition, the Order of Relations, was also present, helping to shape our history. In Britain, for instance, the Society for the Protection of Aborigines in Britain fought for the fair treatment of Māori, which led to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and protests when its agreements were dishonoured. Many early missionaries and officials, for instance, the first Chief Justice, Sir William Martin were inspired by these ideas, if in a paternalistic mode (Busby, 1860).

For themselves, most of the early settlers were on a quest for freedom, eager to strike off the fetters of social hierarchy. I think, for instance, of the Scots who fled the Highland clearances, or the young settler in New Plymouth who wrote jubilantly to his brother, ‘I never will be an English slave more!’ (McClellan, 1990). How ironic, then, that over the past thirty years we have been busily recreating a stratified society in this land.

In their dislike of the aristocratic monopoly of land and waterways at home, the settlers fought for the establishment of the Queen’s Chain and made successive attempts to break up large estates. Part of their legacy is the idea of the ‘fair go,’ a powerful motif in our society, along with a marked dislike of arrogance and pretension.

At the same time, though, this idea of the ‘fair go’ was also shaped by Māori ideas, where conduct described as whakahīhī, that is, raising oneself above others is equally disfavoured. Māori ideas of the cosmos resonate closely with the vitalist tradition from Europe. Here, too, the world is understood as dynamic networks of complementary relations between different life forms in this case, as described by whakapapa.

In the old Māori cosmological chants, the world begins with a burst of energy, which generates thought, memory and desire. Next comes the Kore, Nothing, the seedbed of the cosmos, and then the Po, long aeons of darkness, and the celestial phenomena, sun, stars, moon, and planets, and the earth and sky.

From the union of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, earth and sky, the ancestors of the winds,

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Kuao Matangi Wawatai

the sea and waterways, and plants and animals are generated. All the world is linked by whakapapa, with people, plants, animals, winds, sea and earth joined together in multi-dimensional webs of relations. These are animated by the hauora, the energy that drives the cosmos.

In this Order of Relationships, there are no Cartesian splits between nature and culture, or subject and object. There is no idea of the autonomous, cost-benefit calculating individual. Rather, the mark of a rangatira is generosity, the ability to provide food and hospitality, and successful leadership in oratory and battle. Ordinary people insist on their mana, and early European visitors often remarked upon the 'democratic spirit' of Māori people.

Here, life is about negotiating relationships, seeking those points of balance where all is ora, prosperous and well, a process that applies to plants and animals and other life forms, as well as people. This is very like the vision of reality espoused during the Enlightenment by Joseph Priestley and Erasmus Darwin in Britain, Buffon in France, and the Humboldt brothers in Germany, for example (Schofield, 1997).

Perhaps not surprisingly, given these competing, entangling ideas of reality, the colonial history of our country is philosophically far from simple. Just when one thinks that the Order of Relationships is dominant – at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi, for instance, the Order of Things comes into play: denying Māori the right to participate in the new governance arrangements, for example, or attempting to sell the so-called 'wastelands,' or instigating the Land Wars. In this case, the notion of pīwairaka is taking place in the non-Māori setting.

At the same time, however, some Europeans like William Martin, the first Chief Justice of New Zealand reasserted relational thinking, arguing that the Land Wars are fundamentally unjust and a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi; while some Māori kin groups assert it by fighting for the Crown.

And in the wake of the Land Wars, when Māori lands are confiscated and the Native Land Court is established, there is that curious phase of our national history when New Zealand calls itself 'Māoriland,' and many early settlers, including men like Elsdon Best, Percy Smith and my great grandfather James McDonald make a serious study of Māori language, art and ancestral practices, working with men like Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck on their projects of cultural revival.

The era of 'Māoriland' is followed by two World Wars, when Māori soldiers fight for 'the price of citizenship,' as Apirana Ngata put it, winning the respect of their comrades in battles such as Gallipoli and the Somme, Tunisia and Monte Cassino (Awatere, 2003). This is followed by an era when assimilation is all the rage, and Māori children are required to learn English, and more Māori land is seized (Biggs, 1961).

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

During the 1970s, a ferment of debate and protest swirls around the Western world as rising generations seek to free themselves from old hierarchies. Feminism, anti-racism, anti-war sentiment fuel anger among the young, and much social experimentation ensues.

In New Zealand at that time, the Māori Renaissance gets underway, along with the feminist movement. This is still a relatively prosperous, egalitarian society, with a strong welfare state delivering health and education to a high standard across the social spectrum. At the time, most of us take these things for granted (Webster, 1998).

Looked at in this way, the history of our country looks far from black and white. Rather, it has many complex, contradictory strands. As a way of understanding our past as New Zealanders, the Order of Things - with its sharp-edged oppositions between nature and culture, 'civilized men' and 'savages,' Māori and Pakeha – is not helpful.

Instead, it confounds our understanding. Think, for example, of the current fad for separating our past into Māori history and the rest, as though somehow Māori and the settlers inhabited different lands.

Equally, this kind of 'black and white' logic does not assist in thinking about the present, and the future of our country. In its binary oppositions, A is defined as not equal to B, with a sharp dividing line between them, what you might call 'bi-polar' thinking (B. Hokowhitu et al., 2010).

A and B are split apart, they are abstracted, purified of any qualities that they might have in common, and set in opposition to each other. This is an inherently divisive way of grasping the world. Take the terms Māori and Pakeha, men and women, left and right, developers and environmentalists, and you will soon see what I mean. Take these labels, add the term 'bloody' and you will have accounted for quite a lot of talk-back and in-group chatter in New Zealand.

Also, the binary oppositions between such terms are almost invariably weighted, with in-built power imbalances. Because these are presupposed, they are often difficult to detect, let alone to challenge. Taken-for-granted inequalities between Māori and Pakeha, rich and poor, men and women drive fissures into our small, otherwise intimate society, threatening its ora – its well-being, health and prosperity.

Genuine differences do exist between Māori and Pakeha, men and women, left and right – but so do networks of interlocking relationships, shared values and mutual dependencies. Rather than excluding the middle ground, the challenge is to get these operating in ways that are mutually positive and creative, not hostile and destructive.

When Rogernomics was launched in the mid-1980s, this apparent lurch to the right was likely just another reflex of the Order of Things, with its Cartesian habits of mind. The baby boomers had already begun to shape the world in terms of sharp-edged binary oppositions – women vs. men in feminism; Māori vs. Pakeha in bi-culturalism; Self vs. Other in the pursuit of personal freedom, for example.

As selves were split from others and nature from culture, the idea of the autonomous individual pursuing his rights and interests without constraint was reframed as a virtue. Because New Zealand has few checks and balances, it was possible for a relatively small number of people to drive this idea beyond its reasonable limits.

As a result, over the past thirty years, much of our collective life has been re-shaped in the image of the market, with citizens defined as autonomous, cost-benefit calculating customers, required to buy and sell even the most basic of their needs – education, health, personal safety and security in old age, for example.

As a template for running for a small, intimate society, this logic is remarkably ruthless. It is also non-adaptive, cutting across our key advantages as a species. As Homo sapiens, we are social animals, able to think and communicate through language, forge strategies and combine our efforts to achieve them. Our offspring have a long, vulnerable period while they acquire these capacities, during which they must be protected.

Any society that ignores these basic facts puts itself in danger. In New Zealand, this is obvious from the indicators of social distress that have rocketed since the 1980s – child abuse, youth suicide, increasing gaps between rich and poor, sharp educational and health disparities. Very high rates of incarceration, especially of young Māori, provide a satirical counterpoint to the rhetoric of personal freedom.

Couple this with the illusion, born from the Cartesian split between nature and culture, that people can exploit other life forms and the earth without risk to their survival, and you have a recipe that seems very unlikely to create a prosperous, happy society in our beautiful land.

Beyond the Binary

Over the past few decades, many New Zealanders have adopted key ideas that drive towards social fragmentation rather than prosperity and cohesion, the underlying driver for traditional Māori leadership (collective outputs that ensured the survival and growth of the network of relations).

Moving forward is likely to involve new styles of leadership and decision-making. At

present the world is changing in ways that challenge the old sharp-edged silos – nation-states, government departments, the disciplines, ethnic groups – even the genders.

While the grid remains a powerful form of order, networks of relationships are going viral. People, ideas, goods, influences and investments are whizzing around the globe with ever-increasing frequency and speed. Work is changing, with crowd-sourcing, outsourcing and other new forms of production. IT and the World Wide Web are transforming our ideas of the cosmos, also in relational directions (Golbeck, 2007).

In our small, intimate society, the tyranny of distance may, at last, be cancelled. If we are smart and agile, the legacies of our tipuna may help us to make the most of new global exchanges and prosper. While other, older societies remain trapped in non-adaptive rigidities, we can organize ourselves flexibly and quickly, and in ways that give us joy, as well as contributing to greater equality and prosperity.

To achieve this, it is possible to draw on Māori and Pacific (and Asian) philosophies as well as the best of contemporary science. Although some see these as mutually incompatible, I disagree, profoundly. Here, I take inspiration from the recent science of complex networks, and self-organising systems, for example.

Although I am no expert in these fields, those who are have proposed a resonance between the complementary dualisms of Asian (and by implication, Māori and Pacific) ideas about the world, and the patterns they generate, the complementary, generative pairs involved in many aspects of contemporary science.

In recent work, *The Complementary Nature*, for example, the authors (both neuroscientists) (Kelso, Engstrom, & Engstrom, 2006) cite an array of such patterns – the wave/ particle duality of light, Einstein's reconciliation of space-time and energy-matter, the base pairings in DNA and the bi-stability of neurons, for example.

At the same time, they insist that science must show 'both how the parts of a system operate in context and how they co-ordinate to produce collective emergent effects'. Even at this basic theoretical level, they argue for an approach based on complementarity – both/and, rather than binary opposition – either/or (Kelso et al., 2006).

We need to move beyond the binary in our collective lives.

In civic affairs, for example, it is not difficult to see how the binary logic of the Order of Things, with its tiered models, drives towards authoritarian styles of leadership. The idea of a bifurcated political order – Left-Right, Labour-National, for example – is so common in the West that we forget that this is a cultural artefact and not the way that democracy must be.

Some politicians understand this better than others. In some places, inclusive, relational styles of governance are emerging that work across the ramparts. The Land and Water Forum, for example, is an exciting experiment with collaborative styles of decision-making, used to tackle vexed questions of water use in New Zealand (Muru-Lanning, 2012).

Instead of fighting each other in the courts, key players including the dairy industry, Federated Farmers, forestry, environmental NGOs, iwi groups and regional government have decided to negotiate face to face. Rather than resorting to 'end runs' to the law or Government, they engage with the facts of the matter, and from the best evidence at hand, work towards optimal regimes for water use based on shared values as well as divergent interests. This includes baselines for water flows, quantitative indicators of water health and collaborative ways of working these through at more local levels (Muru-Lanning, 2012).

As a model of smart, flexible, evidence-based decision-making for a small country, this is incredibly effective. One can see how in this process, different values and ways of understanding the environment might converge. It would be great to see such an approach applied to other contentious areas in our national life – superannuation, maybe, and land-use regimes, for example. The outcomes are likely to be infinitely superior to those achieved by the old, bi-polar arm wrestling. Such a flexible, nimble approach, based on fostering collaboration across various networks of relations, would be a major step towards a new kind of democracy in New Zealand.

In education, one can still see the old hierarchical rigidities at play. The decile system, for instance, although a useful way of allocating funding, arranges schools into tiered arrays that serve as a proxy for educational quality. The job of running the education system is often understood as a form of gladiatorial combat, with politicians pitted against teachers and schools against each other. In the sort of policy-making that emerges, the interests of students are often set aside (Duncan, 1996).

As a result, over recent years, achievement gaps between students from Māori, Pacific and low-income backgrounds and others have widened. For these children and their families, and for the wider society, this is a disaster. Since these young people represent an increasing proportion of the future workforce, the failure of the school system to adequately prepare them for new kinds of knowledge-rich workplaces New Zealand at high risk of economic and social failure (Bishop, 2003).

To change this, rather than an endless trail of short term, 'big bang' experiments, systemic remedies are required.

As a result, some pioneering schools have developed academic counselling based on

such long-term tracking, aimed at ensuring that every child can achieve their potential.

In the Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, 2003) programme, too, similar insights are at work – that students learn best when teachers understand and appreciate their backgrounds and build creatively on their existing knowledge and learning styles.

To achieve systemic change, however, collaborative decision-making among parents, teachers, students and those with an evidence-based understanding of the challenges is required.

In this context, old, arrogant, unilateral habits of decision-making are bound to backfire – whether over class sizes or charter schools. Collaborative processes for forging strategies and policies are much more likely to succeed.

In a philosophy based on whakapapa, for example, there is no need to regard oneself as purely Māori, or Pakeha, or Pasifika, or Asian. Rather, an individual is made up of all the relationships in which they participate, with their different taha or 'sides' able to turn from one network to another, exploring the creative possibilities. One can see how readily such a person can adapt to the diverse, rapidly changing world in which we dwell. A Pakeha child, for instance, who learns Māori will find themselves equipped with a new way of thinking, and one moreover that resonates with Pacific and Asian ways of being, and many ideas in contemporary science.

In architecture and town planning, for example, the Order of Things divides up communities and buildings into sequestered silos. Instead of zones (or dwellings) that operate like boxes, with work in one place, domestic life in another, recreation somewhere else, and old people isolated from young couples and children, relational thinking suggests that it would be better to join them together. As Sir Ian Athfield (Athfield, 2011) has demonstrated in his buildings, this makes life more vital, varied and interesting for us all.

For the environment, too, the old idea from the Great Chain of Being that the world is there for people to exploit without limit has put the planet at risk, with few sensible remedies emerging. Here again, unilateral, hierarchical decision-making and bi-polar thinking are non-adaptive. In relational thinking, on the other hand, humans are understood as part of the ecosystems in which they dwell, and like other life forms, entitled to prosper.

Political Influences

The need for a pīwairaka form of leadership became more necessary to endure the radical transformations when the 'clash of cultures' occurred at the arrival of the European to Aotearoa/New Zealand from the late 18th century. Early contact between Europe-

an and Māori reaffirmed the role of traditional Māori leadership functions and structures in Māori society, but prospects were not encouraging.

Māori people looked to a leader who would lead them forward through the difficult times that lay ahead, someone who could present an identifiable vision for a future state that they could aspire to, someone who could map out a way forward and who had a mutually beneficial plan.

Māori resilience and resistance to the European expansion (Bellich, 1986) resulted in the New Zealand wars of 1845-1872 and the emergence of fighting chiefs such as Titokowaru (Bellich, 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 (Nadler, 1989) described as 'magic' leadership because they were capable of mobilising support through sheer personal mana and charisma, a divinely inspired gift.

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 were unrealised.

Leadership, in Māori health, had been heavily dependent on input from New Zealand's first Māori doctors: Pomare and Te Rangihiroa and later Wirepa and Ellison, and their relationships with local Māori at the community level (Dow, 1999). These key individuals were part of new emerging leadership.

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 a 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 (Katene, 2013).



Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū: The Swirling Winds of Māori Leadership

CHAPTER 3

This chapter examines the epistemological, ontological, phenomenological, existential, ideological, mimicry, hybridity and leadership theories to provide greater analysis of the impact of colonialism on Māori leadership. These findings will also add to the framework being explored regarding the pīwairaka model. This section seeks to identify the relations and processes for contemporary Māori leadership to have fantail-type flexibility and to understand the different influences on the society that Māori now live within to be effective. Of significance are Foucault's study of governmental and normalisation and Gramsci's notion of how hegemony impacts on traditional and contemporary organic Māori leadership.

1. Plato (429-347 B.C)

One of the most important concepts Plato developed was his theory of Forms. Plato states that reality exists on two specific levels:

- a. The visible world that is made up of sights and sounds;
- b. The intelligible world (the world of Forms) that gives the visible world its being.

For example, when a person sees a beautiful painting, that person can identify beauty because he has an abstract concept of what beauty is. Therefore, beautiful things are seen as beautiful because they are part of the Form of beauty. While things in the visible world can change and lose their beauty, the Form of beauty is eternal, never changes, and cannot be seen.

In one of his most well-known texts, *The Republic*, Plato sets out to demonstrate how human perception exists without anyone being aware of the existence of Forms, and our

true knowledge is only gained through philosophy. According to Plato, any knowledge gained by the senses is not knowledge at all, but simply opinion (Lee, 1987).

The allegory of the cave reads as a conversation between Socrates and Plato's brother. In the dialogue, Socrates asks Plato's brother to imagine a world where an illusion is perceived as reality. To further his point he creates the following example:

There exists a cave where, inside, a group of prisoners has been locked up since birth. These prisoners cannot move. Their necks and legs are chained so that they can't shift or turn around and they can only see what is in front of them: a stone wall. Behind and above the prisoners is a fire, and between the fire and the prisoners is a low wall where people walk, carrying objects on their heads. The light of the fire casts shadows of the objects onto the wall in front of the prisoners. The shadows are all the prisoners can see; the only sounds they hear are the echoes from the cave (Lee, 1987).

Now, because these prisoners have never been exposed to the actual objects and all their lives they have only witnessed the shadows, they mistake the shadows for reality. The echoes of the cave, to them, are noises created by the shadows. If a shadow of a book were to appear, for example, these prisoners would claim that they have seen a book. They are not saying this is a shadow of the book, because the reality doesn't know shadows. Eventually, one of the prisoners will understand the nature of this world and will be able to guess what shadow would come next, which would lead to praise and recognition from the other prisoners (Lee, 1987).

Now, let's suppose one of the prisoners is set free. If a person were to show the prisoner an actual book, the prisoner would not be able to recognise it. To the prisoner, a book is a shadow that was cast on the wall. The illusion of a book seems more real than the book itself.

Socrates continues, pondering what would happen if the freed prisoner were to turn toward the fire. The prisoner would surely turn away from so much light and turn back to the dark shadows, which he holds to be more real. Now, what if this was taken one step further, and the prisoner was forced to go outside? The prisoner would be angry, distressed, and unable to see the reality before him because he would be so blinded by the light.

After a little while, however, the prisoner would adjust and understand that the reality he experienced in the cave was incorrect. He would look toward the sun and understand that this entity was what created seasons, years, and everything visible in this world (and was even the cause of what he and his fellow prisoners had been seeing in the cave, to a certain extent). The prisoner would not look back at those days in the cave with fond memories, for he would now understand that his former perception was not

reality. The freed prisoner then decides to return to the cave and set the others free. When the prisoner returns, he struggles to adjust to the darkness of the cave. The other prisoners find this behaviour shocking (for the darkness of the cave is still their only reality), and instead of offering praise, they find him to be stupid and will not believe what the freed prisoner has to say. The prisoners threaten to kill the freed prisoner if he sets them free (Lee, 1987).

So what does it mean? Plato compares the prisoners chained inside the cave to people who are unaware of his theory of forms. People mistake the appearance of what is in front of them as reality and live in ignorance (and quite happily, for ignorance is all these people know). However, as parts of the truth start to emerge, it can be frightening and can make people want to turn back. If one does not turn away from the truth and continue to seek it, he will have a better understanding of the world around him (and will never be able to return to that state of ignorance). The freed prisoner represents the philosopher, seeking a greater truth outside of the perceived reality.

According to Plato, when people use language, they are not naming physical objects that can be seen; rather, they are naming something that can't be seen. These names correlate to the things that can only be grasped in the mind. The prisoner believed that the shadow of a book was a book until he was finally able to turn around and see the truth. Now, replace the idea of a book with something more substantial, like the notion of justice. Plato's theory of forms is what allows people to finally turn around to discover the truth. In essence, the knowledge gained through the senses and perception is not knowledge at all, but opinion. It is only through philosophical reasoning that one can pursue knowledge (Cragg, 2012).

Plato's allegory of the cave holds some rather disturbing reflections when applied to the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand. From the arrival of Captain Cook, to the missionaries and then the settlers, Māori was deliberately kept in the dark (cave) as to the real intentions of the colonisers. Māori knew nothing of the colonisers' world or their political or economic motivations. Without a proper study of the European world and indeed of world economics of the time, Māori was left chasing the shadows on the cave wall projected by the hand of the coloniser. According to Plato's theory, people (Māori) would believe that this was all there was to reality and strive for knowledge of only the shadow world (Lee, 1987). This was true for some Māori who had become enchanted by the shadow world and the blissful reality it seemed to promise; a world controlled by the coloniser to support their economic agenda, but enormous danger waited in the shadows (Walker, 1996).

Plato writes that people could only become free of the shadows world if someone ventured out of the cave into the light. Māori history, since the arrival of Europeans,

is scattered with incidents of what could be referred to as partial enlightenment. These incidents of partial enlightenment are created through hard lessons learnt, such as land loss, language loss, cultural loss and loss of autonomy. Since Māori could only partially see the light through the shadows, their reactions were not always the most effective of choices. Hone Heke chopped down the British flag pole in protest; Tainui and other iwi fought the Land Wars in protest; Te Kooti fought the colonisers in protest; the Taranaki chiefs, Te Whiti and Tohu peacefully resisted in protest (Walker, 1996, 2001). It could be argued that these examples of resistance occurred because Māori had become enlightened, to some degree. Plato's shadow theory is also synonymous with the wave of Māori prophets as leaders.

Plato writes that those who came out of the cave would at first be overcome by the brightness of the sun, and would at first see only shadows and reflections but eventually would see the sun, therefore becoming enlightened. It is interesting to surmise, using Plato's cave allegory, how many Māori would have signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi if they were enlightened to the true intentions of colonisation. It is also interesting to contemplate who achieved full enlightenment of the colonisers' true intentions and when or if, indeed, anyone did at all.

It can only be assumed that major events, like colonisation in the history of a people, equates to enlightenment in some form or another. Using this assumption let us consider those individuals who formed the first Māori political party, known as the Young Māori Party in the early part of the 20th Century; people such as Apirana Ngata, Te Rangi Hiroa, Maui Pomare, James Carroll, and Paraire Tomoana (Hill, 2004). Ngata and the rest of the members of the Young Māori Party were educated in universities, which take their origins from Europe, and were enlightened to the inner workings of the colonial political arena (Hill, 2004). Ngata expressed fears of Māori losing their culture and language and pleaded for Māori to take steps to stop this from happening (Ranginui Walker, 2001). Ngata's famous whakataukī is an indication of his level of enlightenment for the time.

It is evident, through this whakataukī, that Ngata understood the economic realities for Māori who had to contend with colonialism, but he also understood the impact colonialism was having on Māori society and culture.

Plato was a political philosopher who believed that political problems like the corruption of morals, factionalism and other issues could be solved by a body of knowledge (Lee, 1987). In comparison to this ideology, Māori has tikanga and kawa as the body of knowledge that has served their people for centuries.

E tipu e rea mo ngā rā o tōu ao

Grow and branch forth for the days of your generation

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

<i>Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau o te Pākeha</i>	<i>Your hands to the tools of the Pākeha</i>
<i>Hei oranga mo tōu tinana</i>	<i>For your physical well being.</i>
<i>Ko to ngākau ki ngā tāonga a o tīpuna Māori</i>	<i>Your heart to the treasures of your tīpuna</i>
<i>Hei tikitiki mo to māhuna</i>	<i>As an adornment for your head.</i>
<i>Ko to wairua ki te Atua nānā nei ngā mea katoa.</i>	<i>Your spirit to God the author of all things.</i>

2. Machiavelli (1469 – 1527)

Niccolo Machiavelli's theories emerged out of his writings in *The Prince* where he portrayed the belief that people are motivated by envy, fear, novelty and the desire for power, wealth, security and their ultimate loading of restrictions (Boyle, 2004). Machiavelli's "The Prince" provides that outline for absolute leadership for not only the Renaissance ruler but for politicians and those who lead armies (Machiavelli, 2007). This is perhaps why his theories remain relevant even in contemporary times. In particular, Machiavelli's theories are applied to modern business, modern politics and modern warfare (Machiavelli, 2007). Although some of Machiavelli's theories may seem somewhat extreme, and he is often portrayed as evil personified, it must be remembered that he writes distinctly on how a ruler must act to gain power and maintain that power for an extended time (Goodwin, 2003). Machiavelli did not write *The Prince* to highlight the virtues of morality or to find the measure of one's humanity. Machiavelli's views of leadership and alliances demonstrate how much of an influence not only his contemporaries had on his theories, but also how much he learnt from the history of his predecessors (Machiavelli, 2007). He studied victories and losses inflicted on many rulers and kings throughout the Italian and European history to find positive lessons and identified errors made by those leaders (Machiavelli, 2007).

Perhaps one of Machiavelli's most often quoted sayings is "whether it is better to be loved than feared, or rather feared than loved" (Goodwin, 2003). This saying exemplifies the extent of his research, which not only delves into strategies for long-term leadership but into the frailties of the human condition (love and hate) (Goodwin, 2003). Although Machiavelli's view of the masses can be seen as cynical and contemptuous, with a good cause at times, the pragmatic approach in his instructions regarding how a Prince should behave to maintain power and control perhaps exacerbates this view. Machiavelli was highly critical of foreign rulers, such as King Ferdinand of Spain, who was needlessly brutal to his subjects (Goodwin, 2003). Such conduct may lead to power, writes Machiavelli, but not glory (Goodwin, 2003). Machiavelli argues that loyalty, trust,

and obedience cannot be fostered if rulers mistreat their subjects over a long period, it is only justifiable to use extreme measures when there are clear benefits insight (Goodwin, 2003). Machiavelli's idea that "the end justifies the means" may be a rather shocking view of how a Prince/ruler must conduct his affairs to be an enduring leader, but in reality, it's a scenario that was and still is played out in business, politics and warfare every day (Goodwin, 2003). By making such a statement, Machiavelli had not fallen upon a new idea or notion; this was something that the people had suspected of their leaders in terms of being less than honest at times, or having ulterior motives; the fact that he wrote it down as clear practical advice was perhaps the most shocking act. (Goodwin, 2003) state;

To appreciate the Prince and its true value, therefore, the modern reader, imbued with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, must make allowance for the less civilised methods of an earlier age; he must, moreover, have some idea of the general conditions prevailing in Italy at the time when the book was written, and of the particular object that Machiavelli had in view in writing it; otherwise, the violence of method and immorality of conduct recommended by Machiavelli may well appear inexplicable (p.13).

Although Machiavelli may not have intended his ideas to raise complex ethical questions, his ideas have remained the subject of debate since its publication in 1532. While his ideas were offered as practical advice to new rulers, they have since been used to rationalise ruthless political and business ventures (Machiavelli, 2007). It could be said that Machiavelli was a traditional thinker, yet he had flexibility as a writer and thinker that raises strong emotions in those that read his work. Machiavelli writes in *The Prince* the then-revolutionary and prophetic idea, that theological and moral imperatives have no place in the political arena (Machiavelli, 2007). Machiavelli asserts that "human beings were naturally wicked and required the strong government to keep them from harming each other and reducing society to ruin" (Çakırtaş, 2017). One of the first key topics discussed in *The Prince* delineates the rest of the issues mentioned, mainly the various kinds of government and how they are established. Machiavelli explains that there are 2 types of government, hereditary and newly acquired states (Goodwin, 2003). A hereditary state is one that has been passed down and, as he describes, a much easier position to be governed than a newly acquired state, as the citizens have become accustomed to the laws and systems (Goodwin, 2003).

A ruler that has just obtained a new state will find it more difficult to govern, writes Machiavelli, as he does not know the people as well. Also, the citizens will have high expectations from a new ruler (Goodwin, 2003). When these expectations are not met, the people readily revolt against him/her. Machiavelli discusses how to prevent this from

happening within old and new kingdoms when setting up a new rule (Goodwin, 2003). Machiavelli describes how setting up a new rule is most dangerous, as individuals who benefited from the old system will harshly object while those who stand to gain after will only offer limited support (Goodwin, 2003). Machiavelli also writes about invading other countries with native troops, mercenaries and militia. He mentions that a ruler should avoid using the troops of another country at all costs since they will not be fighting for their own country's pride, and will not be prepared to die for the ruler's country (Goodwin, 2003). If the supporting troops from another country were to be defeated, the ruler would be defenceless and even if he were to win, the ruler would still owe part of the victory to the other country from which he borrowed the troops (Goodwin, 2003). As mentioned earlier, Machiavelli emphasises the point of gaining reputation, and how important it is to not be despised or hated, and in the final chapters of *The Prince* he reflects on historical events relating to previous rulers and their failures (Goodwin, 2003).

In contemporary politics, business and even social circles in many countries, Machiavelli stands for the principle that winning is all that matters, regardless of how it is achieved. A Machiavellian, according to the 'Oxford Advanced Learner's Online Dictionary' is described as somebody who is unethical, cunning and unscrupulous. According to this definition of a Machiavellian person, Machiavelli himself may not be the stereotypical Machiavellian, but his book *The Prince* has gained popular support among those that seek power and wealth at any cost.

Concerning Aotearoa/New Zealand, the quest by the early settlers to establish an egalitarian society was squashed by their desire for power and wealth. This outcome was inevitable considering the principles of colonialism were based mainly on the theories of Machiavelli. Machiavelli states that:

The Prince who establishes himself in the province whose laws and language differ from those of his people, ought also to make himself the head and protector of his feeble neighbours, and endeavour to weaken the stronger, and must see that by no accident shall any other stranger as powerful as self-finding entrance there. For it will always happen that some such person will be called in by those of the province who are discontented either through ambition or fear; as we see of old the Romans brought into Greece by the Aetolians, and every other country they entered, invited their bites and inhabitants. And the usual course of things is that so soon as the formidable stranger enters a province, all the weaker powers side with him, moved there to buy the ill will there be towards him who has hitherto kept them in subjection (Bowdon, 2010).

The colonising process had already been tested on many indigenous peoples worldwide before it arrived at the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and its effectiveness (pertaining to the gains for the coloniser and language loss, land loss, cultural loss and loss of sovereignty for the indigenous peoples) had been proven (Walker, 1996). As colonialism eventually made its way to the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the laws and language of the coloniser became dominant over Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori. The coloniser set out to weaken the larger iwi, who posed a major threat to their aspirations, such as the Waikato tribes or Ngā Puhi in the north (Walker, 1996). Machiavelli argues that the use of extreme measures is only justified when they are clear benefits insight (Goodwin, 2003). Colonialism is based on the principle of domination of one people by another for the acquisition of land and all resources. In other words, the benefit for the coloniser motivated by their greed for resources is the justification for the use of extreme measures against the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The consequences of these extreme measures discussed earlier are not quantified by the coloniser who espouses the notion that the end justifies the means (Goodwin, 2003). The effects of these extreme measures are enduring for the ongoing development and sustainability of Māoridom and have its roots in the colonial beginnings, driven by fear and ignorance. Located at the nucleus of this fear and ignorance exists an incubation chamber of Machiavellian ideology.

3. Hegel (1770 – 1831)

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, a German philosopher born in 1770, is known as one of the founding figures of German idealism (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel was heavily influenced by Plato's theory that only thoughts are real, and also German philosopher Emanuel Kant's theory of transcendental idealism and the political thoughts of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an 18th-century philosopher (Pinkard, 2001; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel formulated an elaborate system of the historical development of ethics, government, and religion through the dialectical unfolding of the absolute (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel is one of the most well-known historicist philosophers and his thoughts portend "continental philosophy", which was a collection of 20th-century European philosophical movements that attempted to continue the legacy of Hegel and other philosophers whose works included phenomenology, existentialism, hermeneutics, structuralism, constructionism and post-modernism (Pinkard, 2001; Sharma, 2006; Woodfin, 2004). Hegel lived through several major sociopolitical upheavals: the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars and the aftermath of those wars in which Europe began its restructuring according to early nationalist principles (Pinkard, 2001).

Hegel followed all these events with great interest and in great detail, from his days as a

seminary student in the late 1780s through his various appointments in high school philosophy departments and onto his days as the foremost intellectual of his time (Pinkard, 2001). The Philosophy of History, like his first major work, The Phenomenology of Spirit, strives to show how these major historical upheavals, with their apparent chaos and widespread human suffering, fit together in a national progression toward true human freedom (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel provides answers to the process of how ideas unfold through his theory of the dialectic. Woodfin (2004) writes that Hegel apportioned 3 laws to this theory. These are as follows;

The Law of the Transformation of Quantity into Quality.

Things tend to change gradually – quantitatively – for the most part, but will sometimes make a sudden leap into a different state. This is a qualitative change that can only happen after a period of quantitative change.

The Law of the Unity of Opposites.

Many and perhaps all things in the world exist in opposition. Day and night, hot and cold, good and bad, near and far. But they do not exist separately to each other. They form unions outside of which neither can exist. Day has no meaning without night, good without bad. The identity of each depends on the identity of the other.

The law of the negation of the negation.

Any thesis contains within itself problems and difficulties (contradictions) which will bring about its downfall. This downfall is achieved by the antithesis which reveals the contradictions. Thus it negates the thesis. But the antithesis itself contains its contradictions which are exposed by the synthesis. Thus the negation is itself negated (pp.24-26)

Hegel argues that every theory (thesis) or idea, apart from the absolute, has a weakness (antithesis), some aspect which would either be incomplete or false leaving the idea or theory open to contradiction, or what Hegel refers to as negation (Woodfin, 2004). The opposition of these ideas would only be eliminated when a third explanation is introduced; this Hegel refers to as the synthesis (Woodfin, 2004).

Hegel argues that over time the synthesis itself will inevitably be found to have deficiencies whereby the whole process will begin again until the absolute is established (Woodfin, 2004).

Hegel's philosophy of history is very much a product of its time, particularly for the over-

arching context of “reason” in which he interprets history (Pinkard, 2001). The *Philosophy of History* is not a work that Hegel lived to see published. The massive text we have today is a reconstruction of a series of lectures Hegel gave at the University of Berlin in the 1820s (Pinkard, 2001). His students, colleagues and friends were stunned at his sudden death in a cholera epidemic in 1831 and feeling that he still had much to contribute, set about organising and publishing his lectures (Pinkard, 2001). This resulted in the posthumous publication not only of *The Philosophy of History*, but also the *Philosophy of Art*, *Philosophy of Religion*, and the *History of Philosophy* (Pinkard, 2001). Hegel’s basic argument is, instead of thinking that human existence is somehow reduced down to pure physicality, or material form such as the human body, we can begin to see how human existence moves progressively towards a pure spirit or essentially absolute mind. History moves in a teleological (the perception of purposeful development toward an end) way, a purely progressive fashion, becoming increasingly more developed and progressively more aware (Sharma, 2006). Hegel argues that humans are gradually, over millennia, moving towards transcendence of their animal nature and into pure reason (Woodfin, 2004). We, the human race, are still moving towards this absolute state of mind, argues Hegel, although it will take an inconceivable exertion of will, desire and intelligence; but human history or transient animal instincts can become unbounded from the acerbic desires that keep us tied to the wretchedness and pettiness of this world (Woodfin, 2004).

Hegel’s best-known and most difficult concept would have to be “spirit”. The basic notion is that all of human history is guided by a rational process of self-recognition. A process where human participants are guided to an ever-increasing level of self-awareness and freedom by a national force that transcends them. Hegel emphasises that we need not think of spirit as God (Bhaskar, 2008). The only interest of the spirit or force is to realise its principle of true freedom (Bhaskar, 2008). It does this by unfolding as human history, where the consciousness of freedom is the driving force (Bhaskar, 2008). A primary feature of the operational spirit of history is that its nature is self-reflective (Bhaskar, 2008). Human history progresses as humans become increasingly self-aware and correspondingly become aware of their freedom (Bhaskar, 2008). Hegel captures something fundamental in history when he traces the development of freedom, but he perhaps overlooks the connection of freedom to the biological core of human beings. At this core, humans are immersed in self-interest, despite those who purport that humans have a great capacity to operate for the good of the whole. In this view of the world, self-interest confronts self-interest. Tension and conflict are resolved through cooperation until new cycles of self-interest emerge that again must be dealt with, changing power dynamics, new laws, et cetera, and this dialectical cycle endlessly repeats itself.

Perhaps perpetual conflict rather than enduring harmony is the essence of human history. If we apply Hegel’s dialectic to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s history then it could

look something like this. Te Reo and tikanga Māori develop within Aotearoa/New Zealand for about a thousand years and this development we will call the Māori cultural thesis. We then have the arrival of the colonisers who bring with them their language, values and beliefs. Hegel's dialectic process thus begins: Māori beliefs, values and practices are critiqued by the colonisers. For example, their appropriate dress (or lack of), the glorification of fanciful deities, barbaric cultural practices, misguided cultural ideology, redundant cultural language, underutilisation of land and its resources (Campbell & Sherington, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2004; McCan, 2001; Walker, 1996, 2001). This we call the European cultural antithesis. The negation of the multicultural thesis by the European cultural antithesis has been ongoing since the 18th century, so theoretically (according to the dialectical model of Hegel) what we see today as the Māori culture is a synthesis born of the European cultural antithesis relative to the Māori cultural thesis; a hybrid of both Māori and European culture which, it could be argued, creates a platform of commonality for both cultures to interact (Hokowhitu, 2009). However, Hegel's dialectical model in this instance does not take into account the amount of influence the ruling class can have on the synthesis outcome, thereby creating an imbalance within the dialectical model in their favour

4. Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895)

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published the Communist Manifesto in 1848, a piece of literature that is unsurpassed in its depiction of modern capitalism and the transforming power of industrialisation (Woodfin, 2004). Many have criticised this book for its utopian alternative to capitalism and espoused that capitalism did not fall as predicted by Marx and Engels, which proves the unrealistic ideals of communism are unachievable (Woodfin, 2004). Marx and Engels write that the industrial process destabilised all hierarchies and also destabilised all sacred and secular inherited beliefs and practices. It turned everything everywhere into an item for sale; its catchphrase was and still is 'profit' (Woodfin, 2004). The Communist Manifesto splits the world into two spheres, the bourgeoisie (the owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (the workers) (Engels, 2008). The bourgeoisie all but destroyed feudal society, but at the same time, it created perhaps its greatest adversary, the proletariat (Engels, 2008). Marx develops a theory of value where the value of goods and services are based firmly on the amount of labour that is put into them (Woodfin, 2004). Furthermore, Marx suggests that the surplus which goes to the capitalist as profit is, in reality, the property of the proletariat. Marx and Engels introduce the notion of history as a class struggle (Woodfin, 2004). Within this notion, the conditions and development of various strata of society are discussed, including freeman and slave, lord and servant, oppressor and oppressed (Woodfin, 2004). This notion demonstrates how the development of each social stratum

in history gave rise to the inexorable historical process which would ultimately culminate in the rise of one working-class (Woodfin, 2004).

Karl Marx was to have a profound influence on many of the great minds of his time and beyond. These include Ludwig Feuerbach, Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Antonio Gramsci, Fredric Nietzsche and many others who espouse the potential of Marxist ideology (Woodfin, 2004). Although Karl Marx has written many theories on many different issues, one particular theory of interest is his theory of 'alienation', a theory that is central to his concept of human nature (Churchich, 1990). According to Marx, humanity is realised through meaningful work that involves interacting with nature and people in the process of making or changing things (Hodson, 2008). However, through the alienating nature of capitalist types of work, humanity is robbed of its potential growth and development (Hodson, 2008). Also, Marx states that workers are treated by capitalists like an "inanimate factor of production" p8 (Hodson, 2008). That is to say, capitalists own the means of production, the technology, capital investments and raw material; and the basic aim of capitalists is to exploit the poor and oppressed. This exploitation manifests itself through cheap labour, and then the oppressed are discarded when they are no longer needed. In the German Ideology Marx (1970) states, "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, that is, the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force" (p64). In other words, if the individual ideas of the working class do not fit within the ideas of the ruling intellectual force, these ideas are never realised, therefore the potential growth and development of the working class position are limited.

Marx's theory of alienation can be applied to the struggle of Māori to retain their own tikanga Māori, when we view Māori as the working-class and the Crown as the ruling class. Although Marx's idea of revolution by the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie (capitalists) did not eventuate, Māori protesting in all its forms concerning the continuing loss of Māori language, land and culture can be likened to Marx's idea of revolution. Contemporary challenges for self-determination have taken many forms, as they did in the earlier years. Through achievement and health, child welfare, employment and education Māori women have featured prominently, particularly through the Māori Women's Welfare League (Ka'ai, 2004; Linnekin, 1990). The literary medium has also been used for gain – predominantly newsletters – as well as the field of drama (Ka'ai, 2004). The 1970s saw Māori using the political arena by protesting and forming their political parties, the emergence of language advocacy groups, the related Te Kōhanga Reo movement and the cultural renaissance concerning traditional Māori art forms was also a part of this era (Ka'ai, 2004).

Māori are not only continuing to protest but are joining the struggles of indigenous people worldwide to achieve self-determination (Ka'ai, 2004). Māori have fought on many levels for equality and indigenous rights by "... Lobbying, making submissions, presenting

partitions, mounting deputations, to occupying the land under dispute, establishing various movements, organising marches, protests, boycotts, pickets, symbolic acts and demonstrations and establishing political parties” (Ka’ai, 2004) p.181.

As previously mentioned, Marx developed a theory of value for capitalistic ventures undertaken by the bourgeoisie. Within this theory, the value of goods and services are based firmly on the amount of labour that is put into them (Woodfin, 2004).

Furthermore, the surplus, which is the profit, goes to the bourgeoisie but belongs to the proletariat (Woodfin, 2004). If we take the lack of government support for the revitalisation and enhancement of Te Reo Māori as an example, then quantify this by using Marx-ist value theory, we can see how little value the government places on Te Reo Māori and other such initiatives. The government sees no surplus for them and that the profits are given to Māori, to support their leadership to ensure the survival of such indigenous initiatives, and therefore government support is tepid. Māori on the other hand view such things as tikanga Māori and Te Reo Māori as a profit and benefit for all Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ ideas and theories are at the very least considered by some as controversial and by others as threatening and dangerous to their worldviews. Be that as it may, there are still many people from all walks of life who continue to research and write about Marx and Engels’ ideology and theories, whether in agreement or negation.

5. Max Webber (1964 – 1920)

Max Webber was one of the founders of modern sociology and he championed a scientific and value-free approach to scholarship. He also highlighted the importance of social action of meaning and consciousness. Webber’s interests range from social stratification, law, power and organisation to religion. His most influential works include *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1902), *The Sociology of Religion* (1920) and *Economy and Society* (1922). Max Webber made a classic contribution to understanding the sociological phenomenon of legitimacy. Webber was concerned with categorising particular systems of domination and identifying in each case the basis on which legitimacy was established. He did this by constructing three ideal types, or conceptual models, which he hoped would help to make sense of the highly complex nature of the political rule. These ideal types amount to three kinds of authority:

- traditional authority

- charismatic authority
- legal-rational authority.

Each of these is characterised by a particular source of political legitimacy and thus different reasons that people may have for establishing a regime. In the process, Weber sought to understand the transformation of society itself, contrasting the systems of domination found in relatively simple traditional societies with those typically found in industrial and highly bureaucratic ones.

Webber's first type of political legitimacy is based on long-established customs and traditions. In effect, traditional authority is regarded as legitimate because it has always existed; it has been sanctioned by history because earlier generations accepted it. Typically, it operates according to a body of concrete rules: that is, fixed and unquestioned customs. They do not need to be justified because they reflect the way things have always been. The most obvious examples of traditional authority are found amongst tribes or small groups in the form of patriarchy (the domination of a father within the family or the master over his servants) and gerontocracy (the rule of the aged, normally reflected in the authority of village elders). Traditional authority is closely linked to hereditary systems of power and privilege. Although it is of marginal significance in advanced industrial societies, the survival of monarchy (albeit in a constitutional form) in the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Spain, for example, helps to shape the political culture by keeping alive values such as deference, respect and duty (Barbalet, 2008).

Webber's second form of legitimate domination is charismatic authority. This form of authority is based on the power of an individual's personality: that is, on his or her charisma. Owing nothing to a person's status, social position or office, charismatic authority operates entirely through the capacity of a leader to make a direct and personal appeal to followers as a kind of hero or saint. Although leaders such as de Gaulle, Kennedy and Obama undoubtedly extended the authority through their personal qualities and capacity to inspire loyalty, this did not amount to charismatic legitimacy because the authority was essentially based on the formal powers of the offices they held. Napoleon, Mussolini, Hitler, Fidel Castro and Colonel Gaddafi are more appropriate examples. According to Webber charismatic authority is not simply a gift or natural propensity; systems of personal rule are invariably underpinned by cults of personality, the undoubted purpose of which is to manufacture charisma. Nevertheless, when legitimacy is constructed largely or entirely through the power of a leader's personality, there are usually two consequences. The first is that, as the charismatic authority is not based on formal rules or procedures, it often has no limits. The leader is a Messiah, who is infallible and unquestionable; the masses become followers or

disciples, who are required only to submit and obey. Second, so closely is authority linked to a specific individual, that it is difficult for a system of personal rule to outlive its founding figure. This certainly applied in the regimes of Napoleon, Mussolini and Hitler (Barbalet, 2008).

Webber's third type of political legitimacy, legal-rational authority, links authority to a clearly and legally defined set of rules. In Webber's view, legal-rational authority is a typical form of authority operating in most modern states. The power of a President, Prime Minister or government official is determined in the final analysis by formal, constitutional rules, which constrain or limit what an officeholder can do. The advantage of this form of authority over both traditional and charismatic authority is that, as it is attached to an office rather than a person, it is far less likely to be abused or to give rise to injustice. Legal—rational authority, therefore, maintains limited government and, besides, promotes efficiency through a rational division of labour. However, Webber also recognises a darker side to this type of political legitimacy. The price of greater efficiency would, he fears, be a more depersonalised and inhuman social environment typified by the relentless spread of bureaucratic forms of organisation (Barbalet, 2008).

Jarod Gilbert writing in *Patched: The History of Gangs in New Zealand* (Gilbert, 2013) claims that the New Zealand gang scene has a uniquely high degree of structural form. The relevance of including a commentary on the leadership structure within gangs is the fact that the general membership of such groupings has a high proportion of Māori participants. Researchers overseas have also found that highly structured gangs tend to be more involved in, and successful at, organised criminal activity. From the very beginnings of patched gangs in New Zealand, their widespread adoption of structures and rules, as in the case of Jim Carrico of the Hells Angels, proves central to their ongoing viability. The organisational structure means such groups are not so prone to disintegrate when key members depart the scene. Democratic processes instil a greater degree of legitimate authority, and leadership becomes a position and not a person. In Weberian terms, it is a shift from charismatic to task leadership. When roles become vacant, executive positions are filled by elections and the authority vested in those roles transferred to the new officeholder. According to Gilbert, gang participation in the 1960s was largely a fleeting phase in the life of most members. But these organisational developments enabled the gangs themselves to endure over time even as members came and went. Club rules, fees and fines further supported this longevity. Along with a formal leadership structure, these elements had the effect of creating the gang as an abstract, independent entity.

Gilbert further adds that these groups became something more than just the sum of their members, unlike the loosely organised gangs of the past.

My community work within the South Auckland district put me into immediate contact with the emerging Storm Trooper gang in Otara as well as the Black Power gang, which was establishing itself within the group employment schemes supported at the time by Prime Minister Muldoon.

Although Webber's classification of types of legitimacy is still seen as relevant, it also has its limitations. One of these is that, in focusing on the legitimacy of a political regime or system of rule, it tells us little about the circumstances in which political authority is challenged as a result of unpopular policies or a discredited leader or government. More significantly, as Beetham (1991) pointed out, to see legitimacy, as Webber did, as nothing more than a belief in legitimacy is to ignore how it is brought about. This may leave the determent of legitimacy largely in the hands of the powerful, who may be able to manufacture gratefulness through public relations campaigns and the like.

One of the earliest writers on Māori leadership (Winiata, 1956) comments for example:

The basis of leadership then was primogeniture, the male sex, and the acquired qualities of skill, ability and progress. But for the very reason that Māori society was so heavily impregnated with religious ideas, practices and ceremonies, the magical factor in leadership was important. The nearest concept that summarises the sacred aspect of traditional leadership is Max Webber's charisma.

These charismatic qualities belonged as much to the social structure constructed in accord with tikanga Māori, as to the personality which found a niche within the system (Winiata, 1956). As such, in Māori thought, the charisma has been expressed by the term mana, and its correlative tapu. Mana and tapu were qualities inherent in the senior line. To the Māori of traditional times, such a charismatic basis of status constituted an essential aspect of leadership, which could be added to and subtracted from during the life of the leader through success or failure in war and administration. The tapu of a chief enabled him to carry out certain functions of a ritual nature, and his mana gave validity and power to all these utterances, the contracts he made, and the roles he performed (Winiata, 1956).

6. Gramsci (1891 – 1937)

Gramsci is one of the most influential theorists of Marxist social theory. His work as a Marxist is aimed largely at class struggles. While there have been critics that have commented on the obscure meanings within their interpretation of his ideas and theory, nonetheless Gramsci's theories have significance for the struggle of Māori within mainstream society and systems (Walker, 1984).

Gramsci's concepts and theories of hegemony are valuable in giving insight into the way leadership values and practices are transferred and assimilated by another culture by way of economic and other global influences. Although his use of the term hegemony has been critiqued as inconsistently cited (Simon, 1990), he provides insight into the role of hegemony as supporting the dominant class values and the status quo. Also important in Gramsci's analysis is the role of intellectuals in the development of hegemonic practice and counter-hegemonic practice. The following section discusses Gramsci's concept of hegemony and contextualises it within the framework of Māori leadership in the contemporary Pakeha dominated New Zealand society.

Antonio Gramsci's theory of Hegemony describes a colonising tool that is invasive and attacks the fundamental nature of indigenous ideology.

Gramsci was not the first person to use the term hegemony. Coben (Coben, 2013) notes that Gramsci's interest in historical linguistics was influenced by Lo Piparo's thesis on hegemony (ibid, pp. 13-14). This explains Gramsci's argument that speakers of one language influence another language when they make contact, changing both languages.

Gramsci develops a strategy for revolution for countries that hold their power through the state. This is done through institutions of civil society and is called 'war of position'. In contrast, if it is a direct assault on the state this is called 'war of movement' or 'war of manoeuvre'. The hegemony of the dominant group is in all parts of society – the law, education, morals, culture and military – and it is in these areas that revolution is waged. The state however always successfully maintains hegemony in the interests of the dominant class (ibid, p.15), because they are the ones who hold the 'power'.

Giroux (Giroux, Lankshear, McLaren, & Peters, 2013) provides two meanings to Gramsci's term hegemony, the first being a pedagogic and political process within a civil society where the dominant class promotes a hegemonic interval that unites groups together.

The second is the attempt of the dominant class to use state resources like the media and the education system to put across their political, moral, and intellectual leadership to promote their worldview as universal over subordinate groups and limit any oppositional discourse (ibid, p.23).

Hegemony acts in many ways to control the dominant interests over oppressed and minority groups. Smith (1997) describes how within society hegemony is used to maintain moral and intellectual dominance over subordinate groups. According to Smith, hegemony both protects and obscures the status quo relationship between dominant and subordinate groups. Dissatisfied members of minority groups or conscientious organic intellectuals sometimes challenge the status quo. This challenge or resistance to hegemony often occurs through the development of counter-

hegemonic strategies (ibid, p.158).

Hegemony has assisted Māori in taking on the values, beliefs and worldviews of Pakeha, the dominant group, as their own through lifestyle impacts and education.

As Smith elaborates, Māori has been controlled and dominated through a variety of ways, not always by direct force and coercion but also through Aotearoa/New Zealand's population majority and egalitarian structures of democracy, which use hegemonic discourse to uphold Pakeha dominance through the view of majority rules (G. H. Smith, 1997). One of the most effective hegemonic processes is the 'positive' mode that reinforces Pakeha dominance by upholding and supporting their actions, while employing a 'negative' mode to undermine and oppose Māori opposition, such as understanding the validity of Te Reo and culture. This reinforces the ideology that Pakeha values and culture are the norms and Māori values and culture is inferior. This ideology's underpinning aim is to first colonise and later assimilate Māori into the ranks of Pakeha. Pakeha and many Māori in a form of hegemony share the ideologies that support these structures (Smith, 1997)

Gramsci's definition of two categories of intellectuals; the organic and the traditional are explored through Hoare et al (Hoare & Nowell-Smith, 2005). Organic intellectuals perform an educational and organisational function on behalf of the class, giving autonomy for people in the economic, social, and political arena. Smith expands on this, by explaining that the work of intellectuals relates to how the working class, or minority group, work to make space for their class or group. These types of intellectuals are found in all classes (Smith, 1997). According to Smith, their function is to support the interests of minorities and oppressed groups towards transformation and emancipation by replacing unsatisfactory conditions with better conditions. Walker, however, points out that some organic intellectuals are from proletarian and minority groups and through education are assimilated with the oppressors' values and take on subaltern functions by supporting social and political hegemonic practices (Walker, 1996)

Gramsci argues that the notion of achieving absolute power is a fallacy, but that maintaining power is a continuing process even during times when the ruling class is unable to maintain wider societal consent and the boundary between the demands of the dominant and the needs of the subjugated become the field of battle (Jones, 2006).

Māori youth have in particular been impacted by both the science and politics of hegemony. For example, Māori youth and youth, in general, have typically considered popular culture to be their domain, their area of original ideas. This is the perfect place for ruling class hegemony to attack Māori culture. A whole generation of Māori exists who believe they brought about these changes and continue to support these changes

with youthful exuberance. Unfortunately, this is the same generation who are consistently told by the politicians, educationalists and mass media, which are controlled by the ruling class hegemony, that they will amount to nothing, and that their future will ultimately include some form of abuse and incarceration. For youth, popular culture is their way of fighting the system – fighting back – but in reality, they are the most vulnerable, which also means that the future of a so-called Māori way remains vulnerable. These popular culture ideas are unable to include an authentic Māori context or an authentic Māori ideology because they are filtered through a ruling class hegemonic ideology which fundamentally opposes Māori ideology. A popular Māori culture merely implies an indigenous perspective, but in reality, is fashioned and promoted by the ruling class to conform to their idea of the ideal life. Ultimately, through ruling class hegemony, this ideal life is supported and promoted by the subjugated as ‘common sense’.

7. Friere (1921 – 1997)

Paulo Friere was an educator who worked extensively in Latin America and former Portuguese colonies in Africa (Paulo Freire & Macedo, 2005). As an educator, he saw that he could initiate change by challenging and even defeating the exploitation and suffering that oppressive society has created, by motivating the oppressed and finding new ways of approaching education (Paulo Freire & Macedo, 2005). For Friere, a person who could not read was no less intelligent than a person who could read, they were just a person who had not yet learned to read (Friere, 1970). Friere (1970) wrote the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* for those who believed that exploitation of the poor and oppressed in all societies should be eliminated. Furthermore, he states that education is the greatest medium for change in all societies. Friere (1970) states;

This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape under their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. The only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (p.21).

Freire explains that the liberation of the oppressed and oppressor can only be initiated by the oppressed as they are not shackled by the addictive influence of power. This liberation must include a change at the highest strata of politics, education and social culture to create a type of sustainable liberation (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970) argues that oppression dehumanises both the oppressed and the oppressors and proposes pedagogy based on trust for the oppressed. He builds a reflection that would ultimately lead to positive action by the oppressed. Freire (1970) dismisses the “banking model”

of education, where the student is seen as a passive vessel and knowledge is placed therein. Instead, he advocates problem-solving education, where the students become student-teachers and teachers become teacher-students. Freire (1970), outlines the conditions that must be met to empower the oppressed through education in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. His theories suggest that empowerment through education can only happen from the bottom up and that knowledge must be socially constructed forward to be meaningful.

Pedagogy of the Oppressed has its beginnings in Freire's life experiences – in particular, his physical hunger as a child whose middle-class family fell from its economic podium and landed headfirst into the land of the poor (Macedo, 2000). Freire's experience of and confrontation with class borders would lead to his radical rejection of a class-based society (Macedo, 2000). According to Macedo (2000) Freire understood that "material oppression and the effective investments that tie oppressed groups to the logic of domination cannot be grasped in all of the complexity within a singular logic of class struggle" (p.13). Freire argues that a clear understanding of oppression inevitably takes a route through some form of class analysis, although it is impossible to "reduce everything to a class as class remains an important factor in our understanding of multiple forms of oppression" (Macedo, 2000, p.14). The fundamental goal of Freire's pedagogical methods concerning education is to heighten the student's level of consciousness of the world around him/her, while at the same time learning to read (Spring, 2006). Spring (2006) writes;

Reading has an important function in the operation of consciousness because, according to Freire, learning to read is a process of learning how to name the world. The language provides the tools by which people can think about the world and see the world as a place that they can change. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Freire considers his pedagogical methods to be as easy to follow as a cookbook, but their implementation requires an understanding of his definition of human nature. The central feature of his method is dialogue. Freire's concept of dialogue is quite different from that of Socrates...(p. 151).

Dialogue, according to Freire's method, is to help both the teacher and the student understand the political, economic and social forces that have shaped their lives (Spring, 2006). Although teachers may possess a critical consciousness, they do not necessarily understand the fundamental aspects of their students' lives (Spring, 2006). The freeing of consciousness from our necrophilic personality (psychology – longing for death) into a bio folic personality (love of life or living systems – attraction to all that is alive and vital) for all people, is a major goal within Freire's method of education (Spring, 2006). The freeing of consciousness is related to Freire's notion of revolutionary change and offers

clear definitions of what he refers to as left and right revolutions (Spring, 2006). Freire considers the revolution in Russia as a revolution of the right, considering there was simply a change from one set of authoritarian figures to another, implying a lack of revolution within the consciousness of the people (Spring, 2006). Spring (2006) illustrates the contrasts between Freire's notion of left and right revolutions within the following table.

Table of Left and Right Revolution

Revolution of the Left	Revolution of the Right
1. People are subject of history	1. Leadership knows the future
2. Leadership and people work together to develop a utopian vision	2. People are domesticated
3. Biophilic	3. Necrophilic
4. Love as liberation	4. Love as possession
5. Dialogue	5. Mutism
6. Reflective-problematizing	6. Slogans
7. People who organise	7. Organisation people
8. Revolution continuous	8. Bureaucracy

(Adapted from Spring, 2006)

The contrast between the two columns within this table reflects Freire's notion of the two forms of consciousness. Numbers 1 – 2 of the left revolution highlight the differences that are shared between people who are consciously working together to shape the future (Spring, 2006). Numbers 1 – 2 of the right revolution indicate self-proclaimed leaders deciding the fate of the people (Spring, 2006). Number 3 of the left revolution has already been discussed in the previous paragraph and number 4 of the left revolution refers to Freire's idea of finding teachers who will initiate social change by developing their biophilic personality and combining it with a revolutionary consciousness (also known as critical consciousness) (Spring, 2006). With these two aspects in mind, teachers will be able to liberate their students through what Freire refers to as an 'act of love' (Spring, 2006). Number 3 of the right revolution has already been discussed in the last paragraph and number 4 of the right revolution indicates possession rather than liberation on the consciousness of the people/students (Spring, 2006).

Number 5 of the left revolution indicates people/students who are engaged in open dialogue while number 5 of the right revolution refers to keeping the people/students quiet by disallowing open dialogue (Spring, 2006). Number 6 of the left revolution promotes allowing people/students with problems to be solved through conscious reflection and dialogue, and 7 of the left revolution refers to the involvement of the

people/students in organising for social change (Spring, 2006). Number 6 of the right revolution refers to revolutionary leaders hurling slogans at the people/students, treating them as objects rather than individuals, while number 7 of the right revolution indicates people/students joining organisations developed by those in power (Spring, 2006). Number 8 of the left revolution indicates a social change that remains continuous while people/students seek a better life and number 8 of the right revolution refers to the bureaucracy that protects the newly won power of revolutionary leaders against any challenges (Spring, 2006).

Although Freire's discussion of curriculum deals mainly with the education of the poor and illiterate, Freire's life's mission was to help the poor and oppressed masses to gain insight into alternative ways of education (Freire, 1970). If we apply Freire's 'left and right revolution' to the implementation of colonialism, in particular its educational pedagogy within Aotearoa/New Zealand, we can gauge what side these pedagogies lean towards, left or right. The differences that exist between Māori and European pedagogies are not acknowledged and open dialogue about the future of Aotearoa/New Zealand is non-existent. This implies a lean to the right for numbers 1 – 2 on the table (Campbell & Sherington, 2007). Negative colonial attitudes towards Māori tikanga, discussed earlier in this thesis, and their insistent approach to what they referred to as the 'civilising of Māori' implies a desire, or longing for, the discontinuation, or death, of Māori practices and language (Binney, 2005). This implies a lean to the right for number 3. Persistent colonial attitudes that Māori must fall under the authority of British rule rather than being an independent ally to Britain suggest possession rather than liberation, implying a lean to the right for number 4 (McCan, 2001).

Māori have had little or no input into the running of Aotearoa/New Zealand following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, even though Te Tiriti o Waitangi was considered a partnership between Māori and the Crown (Walker, 1996). New Zealand's third Chief Justice Judge Pendergast concluded that the Tiriti was a nullity and Judge Myers further reinforced that view (Walker, 1996). This implies a lack of dialogue and inclusion of Māori, which leans towards the right for number 5. The lack of dialogue and inclusion in number 5 further applies to the right for number 6 which suggests that people/students (Māori) are treated like objects rather than individuals. Māori was encouraged to participate in European forms of education established by the missionaries and then by the Crown and were actively discouraged from being involved in Māori pedagogy (whare wānanga) which implies a push towards institutions developed by the ruling class. This displays a lean towards the right for number 7 (Campbell & Sherington, 2007; B. Hokowhitu, 2004). The development of a New Zealand government that implemented rules and legislation that dramatically affected the status of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand indicates bureaucracy that protects the ruling class, which implies a lean to the right for number 8 (Walker 1996).

Thus, according to Freire's table of left and right revolution, the colonisation of Aotearoa/ New Zealand would be considered a complete right revolution.

8. Franz Fanon (1926 – 1961)

The Martinique-born French revolutionary theorist, Franz Fanon, developed a theory of imperialism that can add emphasis to the psychological dimension of colonial subjugation. For Fanon (Frantz Fanon, Sartre, & Farrington, 1963), decolonisation was not merely a political process, but one through which a new 'species' of man was created. He argued that only the cathartic experience of violence is powerful enough to bring about the psycho-political regeneration.

Fanon's praxis led him to reflect constantly on the challenges facing the most oppressed groups in society. These reflections resulted in a grounded theoretical analysis of such challenges that guided his acts of resistance. His actions led to deeper reflections and analyses of the problems, which ultimately resulted in more informed acts of critical resistance.

Fanon's efforts focus primarily on the plight of colonised peoples in Africa, predominantly in Algeria, although his work is widely recognised for its relevance to colonised peoples everywhere. His works took shape in three principal stages:

1. The search for black identity, as presented in *Black Skin, White Masks* (Frantz Fanon, 2008) the stunning diagnosis of racism that Fanon wrote while he was studying medicine and psychoanalysis.
2. The struggle against colonialism, as explained in *A Dying Colonialism* (Franz Fanon, 1970), a collection of essays Fanon produced when he was actively engaged in Algeria's war of independence.
3. The process of decolonisation, as analysed in *The Wretched of the Earth* (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963).

Fanon's influence on revolutionary actors has been significant, particularly in the United States. Chicano activists and Black Panther leaders regularly invoked Fanon's work, particularly *The Wretched of the Earth*, as central to the development of their theory of action. (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008). Mainstream sources such as *Time Magazine* branded Fanon "an apostle of violence" and a "prisoner of hate" (Wyrick PhD, 2014) and used this reading of his work to position these revolutionary groups as threats to the social order. However, authentic reading of Fanon's work suggests that he was guided by a deep commitment to humanity aimed at ending violence and oppression (Wyrick PhD, 2014). Fanon was likely seen as threatening to the mainstream because he contends that the European economic model is the primary cause of suffering around the world.

He argues that the economic strategies of many European nations and the United States are dependent on valuing profits over people. He concludes that the masses of people suffering under these economic models could be liberated only if they reject them and pursue instead economic principles that emphasise humanity above all else.

From his earliest work as an intellectual, Fanon rejects the traditional separation of theory and practice. He believes true intellectualism means embracing the responsibility of engaging and affecting material conditions. He sees the notion of objective distance as an unthinkable strategy for doing work that matters to the world. He believes, instead, that an individual's responsibility is to engage daily in the struggle for justice.

Fanon probes the economic section of decolonisation, which demonstrates his intense support for the redistribution of wealth and unification of resources. He holds in contempt the urban proletariat, the tribal leaders and the colonised intellectuals who have submitted to Western ideology but he later asserts they can regain their bearing by integrating with their brethren in their struggle against colonisation (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963). Fanon explains clearly that colonisation is a military project, thus the reason he promotes the use of force by the colonised against the coloniser to achieve freedom (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963). Fanon examines Western attitudes towards the colonised, as well as the awareness of colonial conditions and of the kinds of people that emerge from both worlds (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963). Fanon's conclusion demonstrates his promotion for change when he calls for the Third World to create a distinct delineation between itself and Europe to create a new man (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963). Fanon details the psychological impact colonisation has had on the colonised and the coloniser in his *The Wretched of the Earth* (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963). He concludes that colonisation has led to self-hatred amongst the colonised and pathological delusions of grandeur among the colonisers; thus evolves his suggestion for the Third World to create a new man through engaging in bloody anticolonial revolution (Frantz Fanon et al., 1963).

Fanon's assertions can be observed in Pakeha/Māori relations and the numerous attempts by Pakeha, through western conventions including Christianity, law and order, and education, to extinguish the Māori way of being and its culture. For example, the 1847 Education Amendment Act was a guise for assimilation and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act outlawed various experts and Māori repositories of knowledge. Fanon writes that the native is seen by the coloniser as absolute evil, a corrupting element that is the enemy of the coloniser's values. This attitude is reflected in Aotearoa/New Zealand by the high incarceration numbers of Māori, as well as the government's persistent attitude of harsher disciplines rather than considering Māori alternatives to incarceration. Fanon's notions of the redistribution of wealth and unification of resources can be seen in the aspirations of iwi through submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal, although in this circumstance, the land can be referred to as a traditional

resource (Hayward & Wheen, 2016). Fanon(1963) holds in contempt the tribal leaders and colonised intellectuals who have surrendered to Western ideology and argues that the Third World must create a new man through anticolonial revolution. By comparison, Māori must create a revolution of change by rejecting the ruling class ideology within the government and mainstream institutions that negates a Māori worldview. Māori must create a new person with a new world view by encouraging those Māori who have become subjugated by the ruling class ideology to engage in aspects of the Māori culture and Māori ideology. This can be achieved by participating in the struggle for the revitalisation of indigenous Māori leadership in ways that promote heightened engagement to galvanise identity (R. Mahuika, 2008).

9. Michael Oakeshott (1901 – 1990)

In his essay “Rationalism in Politics” (Oakeshott, 2015), Michael Oakeshott advocates for the maintenance of continuity and tradition as a format for political and leadership stability. Oakeshott argues that traditional values and established customs should be upheld and respected based on familiarity, which provides a sense of reassurance, stability and security. This suggests that there is a general human disposition to favour tradition over innovation, in other words, the established over the new. To be conservative, Oake- shott suggests, is:

‘to prefer the familiar to the unknown, to prefer the tried to the untried, fact to the mystery, the actual to the possible, the limited to the unbound, the near to the distant, the sufficient to the superabundant, the convenient to the perfect, present laughter to utopian bliss’ (Oakeshott, 2015).

The support of traditional values and established beliefs as argued by Oakeshott has been one of the central themes of neoconservatism, which has warned against the destruction of spiritual values by market pressure and the spread of permissiveness. The problem with this position is that it assumes there is an authoritative moral system upon which order and stability are based. It is doubtful that sets of values can be regarded as being authoritative in communities and countries characterised by growing moral and cultural diversity. On the other hand, tikanga in the context of Māori practices is flexible to meet changing circumstances, so tikanga and other authoritative “tools “ are flexible and capable of adjustment – they are based on a set of values, that does not change, but also accept that the past only gives part of the answer to achieve change in the present and future.

Oakeshott is saying that tradition is there to guide; offering past lessons and answers that may or may not be capable of meeting present challenges without adjustment (Oake- shott, 2015).

Tania Ka'ai when writing on the life of Ngoingoi Pewhairangi (Ka'ai, 2008) captures some of the opposing themes amongst kapa haka adjudicators at the time, including the late John Rangihau, the late The Venerable Sir Kingi Ihaka and Ngoi. Ngoi tended to take a more adventurous and innovative approach to judge as opposed to John Rangihau's traditionalist stance.

Timoti Karetu expands further (Ka'ai, 2008) that Ngoi believed in innovation, which was very different from Rangihau. Rangihau did not tolerate innovation and was a conformist, a very conventional judge. He was adamant about adhering to the tenets set down (probably by kaumātua) when he was young, and those were his rulings; whereas Ngoi had parameters, but would be permissive of innovation.

10. Michel Foucault (1926 – 1884)

We often think of power as a possession, a tool that is used to gain leverage or dominance over something or someone. Power is often understood as an authority, management, leadership, even delegation. To delegate means to be able to have the authority to be able to do so. So within this context power is closely associated with a personality, an institution or an organisation. The personification of power within a wider context and society, however, is not necessarily limited to dominance. Like the term heliocentric, the notion of power being anything less than repressive, dominant, or dictatorial overshadows the reception of power in wider society, which greatly contributes to how effective power is administered. Michel Foucault labels the top-down approach as the "juridical model... command—obedience model" (Allen, 2002, p. 134). Foucault indicates the repressive model of power is too narrow. The repressive model has not disappeared; the structure of authority based on sovereign governance is still the accepted practice, even under progressive democratic structures which are inclusive of collective input – the basic establishment still governed by an elected person(s).

In the modern era, sovereign power has not disappeared, but simply changed form; no longer vested solely in the person of the King, it has been democratised, transformed into the foundational and legitimating power of the people, a power that is codified in the principle of popular sovereignty (Allen, 2002, p. 134).

Michel Foucault is a writer and theorist whose theories continue to shape inquiring minds. Foucault's *Madness and Civilisation* is a powerful examination of the historical development of what is referred to as madness and what is meant to be mad. In *Madness and Civilisation* (Foucault, 1965). Foucault examines what he describes as the archaeology of madness in Western culture, from the 15th century to the 18th century. Within this period, insanity was considered part of everyday life, but attitudes would slowly change to the point where such people were to be considered a threat to society

and its developing norms (Foucault, 1965). In today's society, the term madness is radically different from what it meant during the age of reason (Foucault, 1965). *Madness and Civilisation* takes a chronological approach to the development of madness and illustrates how the term mad was manipulated throughout history for society to redefine itself against "the other" (Foucault, 1965). Foucault discusses madness as a psychological state of a person who becomes absorbed by fantasy to the point where they cannot function in the real world (Foucault, 1965). Foucault examines how powerful institutions have functioned in response to the irrational; how the issue has been approached during different areas and how madness is defined, handled and treated (Foucault, 1965). Foucault discovers that the origin of insanity and psychological confinement corresponds with the reduction of leprosy in Europe (Foucault, 1965). Foucault also identifies how the divisions of institutional power sought to find alternative means of normalisation and social control through public degradation and the imprisonment of the mentally ill, the poor and the homeless (Foucault, 1965).

Foucault's *Madness and Civilisation* represents an important contribution in the field of post-modern philosophy. Reading through Foucault's *Madness and Civilisation*, it is easy to assume that it is a criticism of major institutions and their treatment of the insane. But Foucault illustrates how asylums and wards have been used as a tool of power to shape the way our society wants people to live, and how cultural standards and mores come to define madness as being in opposition to supreme reason. Foucault compares contemporary society with Jeremy Bentham's (an English utilitarian philosopher) Panopticon, a philosophical design for prisons (Horrocks, 1997). Within Bentham's design, a single guard watches over many prisoners without being visible to them (Horrocks, 1997). Old-style prisons have been replaced by clear and visible ones, writes Foucault, but he cautions that this is a trap. It is through this visibility that modern society implements its controlling structures of power and knowledge (Horrocks, 1997). The ability of institutions to track individuals' movements throughout their lives is clear proof that increased visibility leads to the individualised level of surveillance, Foucault states (Horrocks, 1997).

Foucault argues that a carceral continuum permeates modern society in subtle ways (Horrocks, 1997). From penal institutions to government departments, to the enforcement sector, to educational institutions, even within the offices and factories of society, a standard of acceptable behaviour (control) is demanded and enforced by all (Horrocks, 1997). Foucault writes that the Panopticon has become a transparent building where society as a whole must become the warders; that it is no accident that prisons bear a resemblance to factories, hospitals, schools and army barracks (Horrocks, 1997). Throughout history, the mad, who is rarely defined in any epoch, are treated dreadfully and detested for their differences to what is perceived as normal (Foucault, 1965).

Foucault (1965) highlights many of these situations in his work, *Madness and Civilisation*. Foucault's philosophical interest in France was focused on two areas: the philosophies of experience, the subject, meaning and consciousness or namely, existentialism and phenomenology (Horrocks, 1997). Smart (Smart, 2002) writes that Foucault's work has received a variety of responses including indifferent criticism for his historical inaccuracy to naïve admiration for establishing a new political theory and practices. Smart (2002) states that;

Criticisms of historical inaccuracy, principally levelled at two texts namely Madness and Civilisation and Discipline and Punish, have tended to be predicated on the incorporation of Foucault's work within traditional history, in consequence possibly significant differences between Foucault's work and traditional history have been neglected or conflated so that charges can be made of historical omission, distortion, and invention. For example, in respect of Madness and Civilisation Foucault has been accused of arguing the "humanitarian values and achievements of the 18th century Enlightenment" have been for the worse and that the isolation and confinement of the mad was a product of a conspiracy of medical professionals. Implicit in such criticisms is a conception of the progressive historical development of humanity to which Foucault's work is incorporated and conceived to be in a relation of opposition (p. 63).

According to Smart (2002) to conclude that Foucault's works view historical events as some type of conspiracy is a clear misunderstanding of his ideas and theories. The necessity of a multiplicity of causes stems from the study of historical events (Smart, 2002). Besides ".....human subjects are conceived to be formed in and through discourses and social practices which have complex histories; and, last but not least, power is conceptualised neither as principally repressive nor prohibitive." (Smart, 2002, p.63). Social practices and discourses, including power, are conceptualised through productiveness and positivity, writes Smart (2002). Thus, the allegation that Foucault has simply developed a social control model of human relationship is devoid of substance (Smart, 2002).

Māori incarceration numbers, Māori health statistics and Māori poverty are issues that plague Māori society (Barnes, 2008; Durie, 2003). If Māori exists in a carceral society, the type of society Foucault refers to in his book *Madness and Civilisation*, then their warders are the criminologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and even sociologists that demand normality according to the perception of the ruling class. Those who judge Māori on their perceptions of normal and who are too quick to recommend incarceration of the body, of the mind, of the spirit as the panacea do so to defend their

way of life. Incarceration and reformation do not reduce the crime rate or help those who have a mental disability or help those who are poor (Cavadion, 2006). Even though statistics show that incarceration reformation does not work, the government's natural inclination is to punish more harshly and demand more reform.

Foucault argues that the Panopticon has become a transparent building where the whole of society has become the warders. In other words, the whole of society (including some Māori who subscribe to this philosophy) critiques a Māori context through their ideology of the perfect life and its norms. There is little room for Māori context within this notion of perfection and in reality, and even those Māori who promote society's views of the ideal life are merely tolerated but are never fully integrated within this ideology, either because of their cultural, genealogical, physical or spiritual differences. Māori will always struggle to exist in a society which is built on the ideology of the ruling class. This particular ideology affords minimal accommodation to a Māori context that promotes kotahitanga (unity, collectivism) and ideology that is fundamental to Māori and has been practised in Aotearoa/New Zealand for nearly a thousand years.

11. Edward Said (1935 – 2003)

Said was a leading literary critic, a prominent advocate of the Palestinian cause and a founding figure of postcolonial theory. His key texts include *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993).

Edward Said developed a critique of Eurocentrism through his notion of 'orientalism' (Said, 1978). Orientalism highlights the extent to which western cultural and political hegemony influence the rest of the world (non-western other), but over the Orient, in particular, are maintained through elaborate stereotypical fictions that belittle and demean non-western people and culture.

Edward Said was a writer and theorist who had many views. In his *Culture and Imperialism*, he examines what he describes as imperialism and European literature (Said, 1993). He illustrates the broad grasp of imperialism and the tenure of one culture or group of people over another through analysis of Western authors and texts (Said, 1993). Said defines imperialism as an ideology; a set of assumptions that justifies, supports, and legitimates the conquest, control, and domination of lands that are inhabited by other people (Said, 1993). Imperialism as an ideology is distinct from colonialism, which is the actual activity of dominating other lands and people through fear of physical and economic force (Said, 1993). Furthermore, imperialism goes beyond the political and economic domination and stays in a culture in the most subtle of ways (Said, 1993). One of the main themes in *Culture and Imperialism* is the interconnection between culture and

society whether in the past or the present.

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said does not purposely intend to denigrate the West but attempts to show how one's identity is determined by one's relationship with what he refers to as the 'other' or the Third World (Said, 1993). His observations on this relationship between the West and the other are enlightening and revealing. Said discusses western cultural representations of the non-European world, representations which tend to be crude, racist and suffering from a chronic case of reductionism (Said, 1993). He believes this tendency is not accidental but a systematic element of an imperial inclination that suffers from the need to dominate (Said, 1993). Said writes that the voice of the non-European world in Western culture is not likely to be heard to any significant degree, and is deliberately suppressed by imperialism (Said, 1993). According to Said (1993) politics and culture are the same. The developed world depends on the developing world, even though in cultural interpretations, the former often represents itself as separated and elevated from the latter (Said, 1993).

Said examines the power of literature to form and maintain ideological control over cultures, history and their people and how Western literature, the words and ideas, have affected and continue to affect non-Western cultures (Said, 1993). Said's observations go a long way in supporting his assumption that imperialism did not end after decolonisation and that there is still an intense need to justify domination in cultural terms (Said, 1993). Imperialism is viewed by Said as existing both in the material world and in the imagination. This view gives a reason for his focus on Western literature (Said, 1993). Decolonisation does not put an end to the influence of imperialism and the practices of a nation (Said, 1993). Said's *Culture and Imperialism* reveals that the tools used by Western imperialism to dominate other cultures are literary as much as they are political and economic (Said, 1993). Said explores Western fiction and contemporary mass media as weapons of conquest and also analyses the rise of oppositional indigenous voices in the literature of the 'colonies' (Said, 1993). He argues that dominant cultures of imperialistic powers are connected through strong ideological ties to their nations (Said, 1993).

Art is power, writes Said, and because of this often unforeseen connection, the repression of the other has been subtly endorsed through poetry, prose and philosophy (Said, 1993). In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said does not argue that authors such as Jane Austen and Joseph Conrad endorse colonialism as their explicit purpose for writing (Said, 1993). It is the nature of their artistic medium, the novel, which explicitly and implicitly shapes colonial thought (Said, 1993). Said analyses Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and states that it displays an unavoidability of European domination, which inevitably leads to the expected subordination of those being colonised (Said, 1993). Furthermore

Said mentions that it is not simply what was written in the Heart of Darkness that supports imperialist attitudes, but also what was left out (Said, 1993). Said argues that Conrad's exclusion of natives and their unique perspectives in the story reinforces imperialistic attitudes (Said, 1993). In other words, this is an extension of how the West, or for that matter any colonising nation, represents the other as inadequate, passive people who have become nothing more than background scenery for dominant actors.

For Māori, Western literature has permeated every aspect of Māori thought. From the arrival of the missionaries, and their religious doctrine, through to the establishment of colonial rule in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Māori language and culture have been impacted upon. As an example, and mentioned earlier in this writing, the ruling class attitudes towards Māori culture in the 19th century were openly antagonistic and hostile. These negative attitudes towards Māori language and culture have not changed in many institutions across Aotearoa/New Zealand, but the hostility has become more subtle in its delivery (Walker, 2001). For example, the mass media in all its forms plays a more prominent role in reinforcing ruling class ideology than it ever has. Read any mainstream newspaper in Aotearoa/New Zealand to see how negatively Māori are portrayed. Read the many books that have been written about Māori by non-Māori to see how Māori are negatively depicted. This type of literature concerning the Māori culture and its language has been written over many years. Non-Māori researchers often only include Māori in the initial part of the research, the part where Māori have explained to the researcher how their customs and protocols are practised, but they are not included in the explanations as to why and how these practices have developed (Harrison, 2001; Harvey, 2000, 2002; Liamputtong, 2008; Smith, 1999). Through Said's theory, indigenous cultures, including Māori, are given another way to analyse the impact of colonialism on their languages, culture, decision making and leadership, apart from the economic and political reasons frequently espoused. This theory is significant since it suggests that Māori should be selective in what literature they choose to read. Māori should seriously consider the negative effects that specific literature has had and continues to have on Māori ideology. Māori must take into account the books their children are reading. Considering how impressionable children are, Māori parents must be aware of the effects of romance novels, science fiction novels and popular magazines that their youth are reading, especially as youth are the driving force behind popular culture. Furthermore, the question is raised: that if Māori language, Māori ideology and indigenous perspectives are excluded from literature, then how will Māori children be able to form a critical opinion of their environment? With the exclusion of a Māori context or an indigenous worldview from print literature, the chance for the survival of an indigenous perspective and blueprint is markedly diminished.

It is the non-Māori that feel the need to explain to Māori their customs and practices.

This attitude displays an imperialistic worldview. It assumes that the natives are unable to articulate the more complex aspects of their customs and practices and therefore it remains the duty of the Western world to become the parent/teacher. However, in recent years, many exceptional Māori writers have produced books that contradict this paternalistic view of Māori and articulate a truly unique Māori context. Unfortunately, the majority of books written about Māori and other indigenous cultures are the types of books Said refers to, as books that shape and reinforce a hegemonic ideology. There is the potential in all forms of mass media for positive change, from novels/literature to television, to the Internet. All have unlimited possibilities; however, these same tools also have the potential to strengthen and solidify a hegemonic worldview that could have fatal consequences for indigenous leadership, language and culture and the many other indigenous and oppressed minority languages.

12. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (Born 1938)

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is an African writer, Distinguished Professor of English and theorist who has written broadly on decolonisation. Thiong'o's *Decolonising the Mind* is an important piece of writing in understanding anti-colonialist struggles. The Western world understands colonialism in terms of the most visible aspects of a nation, namely its leadership (Thiong'o, 1986). However, Thiong'o reminds the reader of other aspects of colonialism; specifically, the domination of language by the Western world (Thiong'o, 1986). This domination of language allows a type of social apartheid to exist by asserting the superiority of European languages over non-European languages (Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o (1986) rightly protests that an educational focus that embraces essentially only foreign works, language and culture is destructive. Thiong'o (1986) realises that this foreign language and culture is taking indigenous Africans further away from themselves and their world. Thiong'o (1986) saw a need to create literature that expressed the indigenous African worldview, but that also espoused a local perspective. He clearly understood that the local version held the true identity of its peoples, expressed through their oral traditions and songs (Thiong'o, 1986).

Although Thiong'o received an English education, he eventually turned to write in his native language of Gikuyu. This is something he suggests all indigenous African writers should strive for (Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o primarily writes about African perspectives and his views on colonisation give great insight into Māori culture and its experiences with colonisation. Thiong'o describes how the racist notions of the Western world affect how indigenous Africans see themselves and exacerbate their feelings of displacement, self-hatred and anxiety, feelings experienced by many indigenous cultures worldwide

(Thiong'o, 1986). Thiong'o's *Decolonising the Mind* is both an explanation of how he came to write in Gikuyu and his encouragement of African writers to embrace their native language through their art (Thiong'o, 1986). The foreign languages most African authors write in are the languages of the imperialists, suggests Thiong'o (Thiong'o, 1986). These languages imposed on indigenous Africans have and will continue to lead to the destruction of indigenous African identity (Thiong'o, 1986). An examination of some of Thiong'o's writings will reveal that his ideas are not that distant from Karl Marx's ideology and what he refers to as the oppressed and the exploited of the earth (Thiong'o, 1986). According to Thiong'o (1986);

The oppressed and the exploited of the earth maintain their defiance: liberty from theft. But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by the imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in the environment and their heritage to struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland, it makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other people's language decadent and reactionary, all those forces which would stop their own springs of life, it even plants serious doubts about the moral rightness of struggle (p3).

Thiong'o (1986) posits that the aim is to pacify the oppressed by making them believe they are better off for existing in what the ruling class referred to as the ideal life. Through this form of pacification, it would seem the oppressed could be better off economically, but it only seems that way. The reality is that the ideal life has only ever been a form of escapism for the oppressed (Thiong'o, 1986). The following example is one way of looking at this form of escapism and pacification that Thiong'o writes about. It is like the turning on of a television set which allows you into a beautiful house that has delicious foods and several things you could desire. But abruptly switch the television set off and you are quickly brought to the realisation that it is impossible to obtain these things simply by watching television, or by conforming to the ideology of the ruling class. They are only images that are there to tantalise, to pacify and to create conformity. Therefore, the main job of the agents of the ruling class is to keep the television set running by continually bombarding the oppressed with images (through politics, education, mass media and other areas) of how it could be if they only follow the ideology of the ideal life. This bombardment allows no time for the oppressed to articulate their true situation; a situation that if fully realised by

the oppressed could lead to a breakdown in the status quo.

In Thiong'o's most recent book *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance* he continues the discussion of the use of language to decolonise the mind and remember the past with the present. He also discusses Africa's historical, economic and cultural fragmentation by slavery, colonialism, and globalisation (Thiong'o, 2009). Thiong'o (2009) explores Europhonism (the replacement of native names, languages and identities with European ones), and posits that the result of Europhonism has been the dismemberment of African memory. Thiong'o further posits that to revitalise a language one must seek to remember it in its wholeness (Thiong'o, 2009). In *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance*, Thiong'o makes comparisons between the colonisation of Ireland, and the detrimental effects this had on the Irish language and culture, with that of African countries and their languages and cultures (Thiong'o, 2009). Thiong'o also compares the resurrection of African memory and its ongoing identity struggles within the literature, with European writers' victorious emergence from the shadow of Latin literature (Thiong'o, 2009).

Māori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand has experienced oppression in a similar way to what Thiong'o writes about. The traditional names of many places in Aotearoa/New Zealand were quickly changed to European names on the first contact and the speaking of the Māori language was actively discouraged. The practising of many aspects of Māori tikanga was prohibited and Māori knowledge was seen as backward and redundant (Harlow, 2007; May, 1999; Walker, 1996). Thiong'o writes about the concept of the ideal life and that this particular idea exists within the ideology of the ruling class and is promoted by its followers. This ideology is detrimental to the aspirations and worldview of Māori and indeed all indigenous cultures, mainly because it is built to support the ideology of the ruling class; an ideology that is rigid and full of empty promises of inclusiveness and accommodating cultural concerns, in particular, indigenous cultural concerns (Hartley, 2000; Tierney, 2007).

Contradictions exist within this idea of inclusiveness and accommodation. How can these things exist within the ideology of the ideal life if the ideology fundamentally opposes the worldviews of indigenous cultures? The mere suggestion of creating inclusiveness and accommodating for cultural concerns is an indication that the ideology of the ideal life is exclusive of the indigenous worldview. Creating accommodation for indigenous ideology within the notions of the ideal life implies that indigenous cultures are visitors, and therefore accommodation must be found. But like all visitors or manuhiri the expectation is they will eventually return to whence they came, meaning accommodation (inclusiveness) is only temporary. Furthermore, inclusiveness could only refer to participation in developed constructions and not included in the reconstruction

of fundamental ideology. The idea then is, manuhiri are guests and must appreciate and abide by the rules of the hosting country or, in the case of Māori, the ruling class (the coloniser).

13. Henry Giroux (born 1943)

Henry Giroux is a writer and theorist who has contributed hugely to the field of critical pedagogy. Giroux promotes radical democracy (a strategy that challenges neoliberal and neoconservative concepts of democracy), and strongly opposes religious fundamentalism, neoliberalism, empire and militarism due to the anti-democratic tendencies inherent in these areas (Giroux, 2003). Giroux (2003) critiques the influences of the American political and economic systems on the youth of America in his book *The Abandoned Generation: Democracy Beyond the Culture of Fear*. Giroux (2003) rebukes the “war on terrorism” which he describes as a diversion of public attention and unnecessary waste of public funds, arguing that America’s anti-terrorist campaign harms the very democracy that defines America. Giroux (2003) argues that America is at war with its youth, a generation that is no longer seen as the future of democratic America. Giroux (2003) states that the youth of America are now derided by politicians, demonised by popular media and ridiculed by certain so-called educationalists who are all looking for the quick fix solution to crime, education and health. Giroux (2003) contends that instead of providing a decent education for all of America’s youth, they are being offered the increased potential of being incarcerated. Instead of offering American youth decent health opportunities, they are simply served more tests (Giroux, 2003). According to Giroux (2003), America is projecting its class and racial anxieties onto the youth of America and that this is negatively affecting all sections of American society. Instead of offering the youth of America what Giroux refers to as “vibrant public spheres”, the youth are being served a commercialised culture driven by consumerism which is offered as the only requirement to citizenship. Giroux (2003) states, “educators need to provide spaces of resistance within the public schools and the University that take seriously what it means to educate students, that is, to question authority, recall what is forgotten or ignored, and make connections that are otherwise hidden” (pp. 40-41). Giroux’s (2003) admonishment of the American government, in particular George Bush’s approach to the September 11 terrorist bombing of the twin towers in New York, is explicitly derisive.

While Bush and his associates are quick to remind American people that much has changed in the United States since September 11, almost nothing has been said about what has not changed. I am referring to the aggressive attempts on the part of many liberal and conservative politicians to undermine informed

debate, promote a remorseless drive to privatisation, and invoke patriotism as a cloak for carrying out a reactionary economic and political agenda on the domestic front, while simultaneously cultivating an arrogant self-righteousness in foreign affairs in which the United States portrays itself uncritically as the epitome of purity, goodness, and freedom, while its opposition is equated with the forces of absolute evil. As a wartime president, Bush enjoys incredibly high popularity ratings, but beneath the rating and the president's call for unity, there is a disturbing appeal to modes of community and patriotism, and security work to stifle dissent, empty democracy of any substance, and exile politics to a realm of power no longer subject to criticism of public debate. Shamelessly pandering to the fever of emergency and the economy of fear, President Bush and his administration are rewriting the rhetoric of community to remove it from the realm of politics and democracy (Giroux, 2003, p.2).

Giroux (2003) states that since the 1980s, and in particular after the September 11 attacks, neoliberalism and a culture of fear have controlled American politics, causing what he refers to as a crisis of democracy. Giroux (2003) writes that the security of America also includes its people, their health, education and terrorism including what Giroux calls the "terrorism of everyday life". This type of terrorism includes the anguish and suffering experienced by millions of Americans, adults and children, who lack adequate food, healthcare, jobs, childcare, retirement funds and basic housing needs (Giroux, 2003). Neoliberalism is very dangerous in several ways, states Giroux (2003). For example, the depoliticisation of society through the construction of cynicism; the construction of a world economy of part-time workers based on commercialisation and privatisation; the destruction of public places and the lack of understanding and relating private dilemmas within societal concerns (Giroux, 2003). In Giroux's (2003) *The Abandoned Generation; Democracy Beyond the Culture of Fear*, he examines the privatisation of public schools, the commodification of higher learning, and how these affect the youth of America. There is an obvious influence of Paulo Freire and Giroux's theories of educational pedagogy as well as Marxist political views (Giroux, 2003).

Giroux's earlier work of critical pedagogy focuses more on the development of radical democracy, writes Eryaman (2010), but by the early 1990s, there was a shift in his theoretical orientation to post-modern, feminist and postcolonial theories. With this type of shift in his theoretical orientation Giroux was better able to address issues such as race, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation (M. Y. Eryaman, 2010) Giroux's radical democracy and its main tenet, border pedagogy, promotes the need to establish a public identity and make available the opportunity to enact the identity in collective democratic

processes, positing that this is a vital concept in participatory democracy (M. Y. Eryaman, 2010). If this aspect is excluded from the democratic process, then the outcome is a marginalised society which is limited in its ability to become public actors or to contribute to any meaningful dialogue that elicits change (Eryaman, 2010).

Giroux's work displays similar concerns for the American youth as Māori show for their own youth. Giroux (2003) writes that American youth are derided by their politicians, demolished by popular media and ridiculed by certain so-called educationalists. A paper written by one of Aotearoa/New Zealand's Principal Youth Court Judges, Judge Becroft, reveals that the New Zealand justice system is failing Māori youth, this is according to the findings of the research material Becroft used (Becroft, 2005).

Becroft (2005) writes:

Young Māori are more likely than other racial groups to receive severe outcomes such as orders for supervision either in the community or in youth justice residence. Researchers concluded these more severe outcomes were due to increased vigilance by the public and the police concerning Māori youth. Māori youth are more likely to be dealt with in the Youth Court where more severe sentences are meted out, than by family group conference. These more severe outcomes may result from Māori being brought to the attention of the youth justice system more frequently (p.1).

Becroft (2005) also states that according to research carried out by Te Puni Kōkiri, Māori youth are three times more likely to be apprehended, prosecuted and convicted than non-Māori youth.

Māori youth are not seen as the potential holders of fair democratic governance but instead are the enemy which needs containing. Giroux's radical democracy and its main tenet, border pedagogy, promote the need to establish a public identity and make available the opportunity to enact that identity in collective democratic processes (Eryaman, 2010). Māori youth need to become part of a collective identity which also allows them to be included in the democratic processes. Instead of Māori youth being offered public spheres to explore their identity and having places of resistance within schools and universities that allow Māori youth to challenge authority and make connections that are otherwise hidden, Māori youth are offered the increased potential of being incarcerated. Giroux contends that other alternatives to incarceration must be explored and this is the case for Māori youth where these alternatives must include a Māori approach based on a Māori worldview.

Conclusion

The ideas, theories, assumptions and views of early ancient political/critical theorists discussed within this chapter provide a perspective for Māori to consider. Most of the theorists within this chapter do not directly confront the struggle of minority and indigenous peoples and the impacts colonialism have had on Māori leadership. Indigenous perspective offers an analysis as to how the theorist's views and ideas can be rendered through the expression of Māori experiences.

While certain criteria were used in the selection of the theorists used in this chapter, the main criteria for selection was based on whether their theories could inform this writing.

Much like the flight and dexterity of the fantail, no one theorist had a monopoly on the contemporary Māori leadership framework. The underlying message from the theorists suggests a rationale for the various points on contention resulting from colonialism.



Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū: The Swirling Winds of Māori Leadership

CHAPTER 4

Conclusion

The positives and negatives of using theorists to analyse Māori culture and leadership is that any theory can in itself become dogmatic. Any revolutionary act to overturn authoritarian rule can, once it settles in as a dominant power after a number of years succumb to being the status quo it once sought to dislodge. And this for me highlights the nature of power; it is transient, but once settled with personalities can become all-consuming, and build a discourse of legitimacy to fortify its position. The most useful thing that I learned from the theorists is to be aware of what discourse and society are built upon. Discourse for me is the DNA of society. Whatever gains momentum in directing social change is built upon a discourse. Discourse empowers, but it also enslaves. Being aware of when both positions are in operation results in being better informed before taking action instead of reacting.

For me, not all aspects of leadership are entirely harmful. Consider those soldiers, as an example, serving in a war zone need to be coerced into obeying orders when in training. Discipline ensures uniformity of thought and action as each soldier has a specific role to fulfil to help keep everyone alive and on track to completing a mission. Autonomy plays no part when your life is in danger and the reliance on your fellow soldiers to look out for you is of the utmost importance.

While Walker (Walker, 1990; Walker & Amoamo, 1987) provides excellent publications on the history of our oppression, we benefit also from being able to position his work alongside Western critical theorists and notions of hegemony and oppression to identify recurring patterns in the relations between culture and power. Walker introduced us to the term “tyranny of the majority” (Walker & Amoamo, 1987) p.96.

Walker noted in 1995 that:

'Freire warns that educated men from subordinate strata are determined from above by a culture of domination, which constitutes them as dual beings. But they are necessary to the reorganisation of the new society, for which purpose they have to be reclaimed by the revolution' (Walker, 1995) p80.

I do not think the people who shape change are the people you read about in the headlines. It is usually the people who are doing the everyday work. It is the marae caretaker, it is the marae chairperson, or it is the person helping out down at the homeless shelter, or the person volunteering down at the budgeting service.

This stands in opposition to the big celebrities that we hear about or the politicians who are making these decisions. I have come to think that the real power does not lie with them. It lies with the people in the community, and they can exercise that power when they come together. Whether it is in iwi/hapū organisations or in trade unions or some other collective movement, when that happens, that is where the real power lies and where the real influential change comes from.

The advent of marae-based decolonisation programmes, a growing iwi awareness of globalisation, environmental pollution and genetic engineering and the ever-increasing critical mass of indigenous students, academics and state tertiary institutions have provided an opportunity for people to access knowledge that is beyond state control. Iwi members within these environments are privileged to appreciate the power of knowledge in its most liberating and emancipated form – as a man's independence. Concurrently we are constantly and painfully reminded of the peculiarities of every leadership representation in a neoliberal environment – within hapū and runanga, and between iwi and the state. Issues of power and control are compounded further by the internalised oppression and culture of silence inflicted on too many iwi members – victims still of colonial domination. Illusions of grandeur, honorific capital and symbolic violence take precedence over the importance of consensual and informed consent. Power to the once powerless is intoxicating. Walker refers to Foucault when he writes that "power infects men with madness and only those who distance themselves from power and stand aloof from tyranny can discover the truth" (1996, p261). He was referring to the pseudo-speciation rhetoric used by the colonisers of this country to justify the violence of colonial despoliation (ibid) during the first wave of cultural colonisation.

In this thesis, it has been argued that contemporary iwi is undergoing a new wave of ideological colonisation and that the individuals whom power infects with madness today are an elite and privileged group of indigenous citizens who justify their actions as

being for the benefit of the collective good. Addressing historical grievances through the construction of state condoned autocracies that pursue economic ideas and values over humanistic ones is dehumanising.

It is now in the hands of indigenous leaders to develop the terrain on which our war to defend cultural continuity and well-being can be contested – a terrain whose boundaries have no boundaries, a terrain that is multi-frontal and yet has no fronts, a terrain that is both real and virtual. To cut the shackles, cut the crap, and cut the mustard, indigenous leaders must fight to reclaim our cultural authenticity. As I have argued here, this is a struggle to regain the lost dimension of organicity, that is, the indigenous dimension that my grandparents attempted to instil in me.

The ongoing leadership evolution will be continually influenced and shaped by Māori themselves. Lessons have been learned from the effects of male-dominated colonisation which contributed to the marginalisation of complementary female leadership. Leadership from men and woman of all ages and affiliations remains the most potent factor in multi-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 with a mandate to lead.

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 inherited from those gone before. That leadership will be ongoing and ever-changing direction like the pīwairaka. New personalities will emerge. They will have their unique styles of leadership to meet the challenges of the day and take advantage of the opportunities of tomorrow. Many of our contemporary leaders, and particularly our wahine toa, have been uncompromising activists, able to shed light on complex issues and events, to critique underlying colonial attitudes and values, and to challenge the status quo.

Wahine toa like Dame Whina Cooper and Tariana Turia provided uncompromising strategic direction – leading from the front, unafraid to challenge convention or the status quo, leading by example (e.g. Turia crossing the floor on the seabed and foreshore issue, Cooper leading the 1975 Land March at the age of 80). As Beatty notes, strategic leadership involves decisive action despite ambiguity, complexity or chaos (Beatty & Byington, 2010).

I had the great fortune to have been influenced by a venerable gentleman from Te Tai Tokerau, the late Sir Kingi Matutāera Ihaka, who composed a haka of which the following words resonate with this thesis.

Ngā Hau Āwhio o Kaihautū
Kua o Matangi Wawatai

Ka ngaro rā āku whenua

My heritage lands have disappeared

Ka ngaro rā āku tika

My customary rights extinguished

Mātaotao ana te aroha

Iwi burgeon with new priviledge

Mōmona ana ngā iwi whai rawa.

Iwi have become bereft.

Tūpuhi ana ngā iwi rawa kore.

(Mason Durie, 1998)

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