He aha te kai o te rangatira i te ao hurihuri?

What is the food of chiefs in a changing world?: Leadership in Te Tau Ihu in the Late Twentieth Century

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Category 1 Dissertation

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'This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA Honours in History at the University of Canterbury. This dissertation is the result of my own work. Material from the published or unpublished work of other historians used in the dissertation is credited to the author in the footnote references. The dissertation is approximately 9,994 words in length.

Abstract

This research examines the nature of *Māori* leadership in Te Tau Ihu during the late twentieth century. A Te Tau Ihu focus has been chosen as I *whakapapa* to *Ngāti Kuia*, *Ngāti Kōata*, and *Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō*. The existing historiography on *Māori* leadership is focused on national scale leaders and fails to adequately take into account local factors. This dissertation analyses how leadership manifested in late twentieth-century Te Tau Ihu. The research was conducted using a combination of oral history and *kaupapa Māori* methodologies and thematic interviews were undertaken with three current Te Tau Ihu leaders. These interviews directed the research and highlighted the leadership roles and attributes that were necessary during this period. The key conclusion to emerge was that there are crucial differences within *Māori* leadership, depending on the *iwi,* region, and context. Within Te Tau Ihu leadership roles were primarily centred around a fight for cultural recognition and the initial steps of the Treaty Settlement process. They were filled by volunteers who had a range of attributes such as charisma, communication skills, bravery, *manaakitanga,* and humility. It was the combination of these roles and attributes that enabled Te Tau Ihu *iwi* to move forward so successfully into the twenty first century.

Table of Contents

Introduction

This dissertation engages with a gap within the literature on the nature of *Māori* leadership. I seek to critique and reformulate the categorisation of leadership roles and attributes in the existing historiography with a primary focus on the work of leading scholars Mason Durie and Selwyn Katene.[1] I chose to undertake research on *Māori* leadership as a result of previous research I had the opportunity to conduct on the nature of contemporary leadership and what is needed to lead us forward. This made me wonder what style of leadership our *tīpuna* practiced and how this contributed to the contemporary context.[2] Leadership is vital for *Māori* development because leaders are the catalysts of change. The essence of leadership has been embodied in various *whakataukī* but is best exemplified by the following: *'Ki ngā whakaeke haumi',* which emphasises the importance of leaders joining people together, and *'Ki te kahore he whakakitenga ka ngaro te iwi',* which refers to the importance of leaders having a vision to work towards.[3] A Te Tau Ihu focus has been chosen as I *whakapapa* to *Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Kōata*, and *Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō*.[4] This period was chosen because in the late twentieth century, leadership underwent a significant evolution as *Māori* claims for *tino rangatiratanga* were increasingly recognised.[5] This dissertation is part of what I hope will be the beginning of my contribution to my *iwi*, by allowing the voices of Te Tau Ihu a platform through which to speak about our history on our terms.[6] I have had the privilege of witnessing *Māori* leadership in action throughout this research, both through the interviews and by attending various leadership *hui* and *wānanga*.[7] This has provided me with valuable insight as the only real way to understand leadership is to experience it. My research is therefore an

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[1] See, in particular, S. Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2013.
M. Durie, *Ngā Kāhui Pou Launching Māori Futures,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2003.
[2] *Tīpuna-* ancestors
[3] *Whakataukī* – proverb/saying.
H.M. Mead and N. Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors,* Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2004, p. 221.; W. Winiata, 'Leadership styles and nursing in a Whanau Ora Context', *Whitireia Nursing Journal,* no. 19, 2012, p. 43.
[4] *Whakapapa* – descend from (also used to mean genealogy, lineage, descent)
[5] *Tino rangatiratanga-* Self-determination.
[6] *Iwi-* tribe.
[7] *Hui-* meeting. *Wānanga-* conference, meeting, seminar.

attempt to transpose this experience into written form, and while it cannot by its nature capture the full range of complexities, I hope that it will offer useful insights and make a contribution to current debates.

Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka-a-Māui (Te Tau Ihu) is the name of the top of the South Island, the Nelson-Marlborough region.[8] There are eight *tangata whenua iwi* in this area: *Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, Rangitāne (Kurahaupō waka), Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Kōata, Ngāti Rārua (Tainui waka), Ngāti Tama, and Te Atiawa (Taranaki).*[9] *Iwi* in Te Tau Ihu have faced their own distinctive challenges. In the late nineteenth century *Ngāti Kuia* was referred to as 'the poorest tribe under the Heavens', and this is an apt description of the Te Tau Ihu situation for much of the following century.[10] In 'the years between 1920 and 1960, Te Tau Ihu Maori communities struggled to sustain themselves on an inadequate land base', which led to 'economic difficulties *[which]* were instrumental in driving many people away from their ancestral land'.[11] This separation was still evident in the latter part of the century with sixty-one per cent of Te Tau Ihu *Māori* not residing in the region in 1996.[12] The leaders of this period were instrumental in changing the situation and the last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed a 'renaissance in Te Reo, in iwi development, and in *marae* construction in Te Tau Ihu'.[13] This can be seen, for example, in the establishment of the land holding trust Wakatū Incorporation in August 1977 and Te Hora *marae* in the 1990s.[14] This period was also when Te Tau Ihu *iwi* began the Treaty Settlement process. In August 1987 the Kurahaupō Waka Trust submitted a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, but the Deed of Settlement was not

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[8] *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka-a-Māui (Te Tau Ihu)* – the prow of Māui's waka, used for the northern region of the South Island (Nelson-Marlborough). *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report on the Northern South Island Claims,* vol. 1, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2008, p. 2.

[9] *Tangata whenua-* people of the land; *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report,* vol. 1, p. 2. For more information on the *iwi* of Te Tau Ihu, see H. Mitchell and J. Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough,* vol. 1: Te Tangata Me Te Whenua, Wellington, Huia Publishers in association with Wakatū Incorporation, 2007.; H. Mitchell and J. Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough,* vol. 2: Te Ara Hou- The New Society, Wellington, Huia Publishers in association with Wakatū Incorporation, 2007.

[10] *Te Whakatau / Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, Ngāti Kuia, Te Runanga o Ngāti Kuia Trust and the Crown, 23 October, 2010, p. 35.

[11] *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report on the Northern South Island Claims,* vol. 2, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 2008, p. 1014.

[12] *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report on the Northern South Island Claims,* vol. 2, p. 954.

[13] *Marae* – spiritual and ritualistic meeting grounds for Māori. Mitchell and Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough,* vol. 2, p. 499.

[14] *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report,* vol. 2, p. 925.

signed until 2010 and the legislation was not passed until 2014.[15]

The existing literature is predominantly focused on twentieth-century exemplar leaders, such as Tā Āpirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea Herangi, and national level factors. *Hapū* and *iwi* level influences remain underrepresented in the literature.[16] Any analysis of *Māori* leadership requires a thorough examination of the contextual factors as these had an impact on its nature. The work of Durie primarily focuses on the impact of these factors on leadership, but his work does not capture the complexities of *iwi* and *hapū* specific factors.[17] Durie's categorisation of time periods are useful for understanding the phases of *Māori* leadership and they resonate with the Te Tau Ihu experience. Katene's work explores the specific leadership roles that were informed by the context outlined by Durie. It is important to emphasise, however, that my dissertation should not be read as a rejection of Katene's work; rather, I argue that his model is not applicable to the nature of leadership in Te Tau Ihu during this time. The three categories that Katene proposes for the late twentieth century are political, organic, and urban activist leadership, which are essentially the same as the ones for the first half of the century.[18] In my view this is limiting, particularly in relation to its applicability on an *iwi* scale rather than a national one.[19] Overall, his work creates an over generalised notion of *Māori* leadership that neglects regional differences and fails to give enough credit to the localised leaders who played a vital role. In what follows, I will illustrate the existence of a variety of leadership roles and attributes that were necessary during this period. The Te Tau Ihu focus will enable me to highlight the presence of specific influences that impacted upon the *iwi* of this region, contributing to its distinct nature. These factors will be examined before discussing the nature of *Māori* leadership. I will then explain why oral history and *kaupapa Māori* methodologies were chosen for this study.[20]

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[15] It was submitted as a cross-claim to Ngāi Tahu's claim. *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report,* vol. 1, p. 6.; *Te Whakatau / Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*, p. 3.

[16] *Hapū* – sub-tribe.

[17] Durie, *Ngā Kāhui Pou Launching Māori Futures,* pp. 87-92.

[18] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* p. 89.

[19] Katene, p. 113 & 122.

[20] In this regard *kaupapa* means a Māori approach or agenda.

Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua [21]

The nature of *Māori* leadership has responded to the problems facing, and aspirations of, *Māori* at the time. Durie identified four phases of *Māori* development since the turn of the twentieth century, 1900 to 1925, 1925 to 1950, 1950 to 1975, and 1975 to 2000, and these will be used to frame this section of the dissertation.[22] The three earlier phases will be briefly outlined before a deeper examination of the latter.

The first phase Durie identified, between 1900 and 1925, involved growing *Māori* involvement with *Pākehā* institutions and society. *Māori* had become 'increasingly dispossessed of their land and other resources', which led to a sense of disenchantment and greater engagement with political processes to seek change.[23] During the second phase, from 1925, the economic development of *Māori* was assisted through the leadership of figures like Herangi and Ngata and their contribution to *kaupapa*, such as the improvement of agricultural systems.[24] Emerging out of this period was a growing recognition of *Māori* as a result of their contribution to the Second World War, primarily through the success of the *Māori* Battalion.[25]

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[21] This *whakataukī* means - 'My past is my present is my future I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past'. L. Pohio, A. Sansom and K.A. Liley, 'My Past is my Present is my Future: A Bicultural Approach to Early Years Education in Aotearoa, New Zealand', in L.R. Kroll and D.R. Meier (eds), *Educational Change in International Early Childhood Contexts,* New York, Routledge, p. 103.

[22] E. Fitzgerald, 'Development since the 1984 Hui Taumata', in P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson and D. Pearson (eds), *Tangata Tangata: The Changing Ethnic Contours of New Zealand,* Victoria, Thomson/Dunmore Press, 2004, pp. 44.

[23] S. Katene, 'Modelling Māori Leadership: What makes for good leadership?', *MAI Review,* no. 2, 2010, p. 7. For a more in depth description of the early twentieth century see, A. Harris, 'Persistence and Resilience, 1920-1945', A. Anderson, J. Binney and A. Harris (eds), *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History,* Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2014, pp. 318-349.

[24] *Kaupapa*- initiative. M. King, *Te Puea: A Life,* Auckland, Reed Books, 2003, p. 55.; Fitzgerald, 'Development since the 1984 Hui Taumata', p. 44. For more on this phase of leadership see, A. Mahuika, 'Leadership: Inherited and Achieved', in Michael King (ed), *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World Moves On,* Wellington, Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd., 1975, pp. 86-114.; Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* p. 79-107.; R. Walker, *He Tipua: the life and times of Sir Āpirana Ngata,* Auckland, Viking, 2001, pp. 91 & 392.

[25] M. Durie, 'Towards Social Cohesion: The Indigenisation of Higher Education in New Zealand', in M. Durie (ed.), *Ngā Tini Whetū: Navigating Māori Futures,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2011, p. 84.; Fitzgerald, 'Development since the 1984 Hui Taumata', p. 44.; Harris, 'Persistence and Resilience, 1920-1945', p. 375-6. Also see, M. Soutar, *Ngā Tama Toa the Price of Citizenship: C Company 28 (Māori) Battalion 1939-1945,* Auckland, David Bateman, 2008, pp. 367- 377.

The third phase identified by Durie, 1950 to 1975, laid the foundations for the increasing *tino rangatiratanga* of *Māori*.[26] During the 1970s there were a series of protests by *Māori* in response to their situation. This decade was characterised by a 'dramatic upsurge in Māori activism, which had a profound effect on New Zealand society'.[27] This heralded in a new era which has become known as the 'Māori Renaissance', and was focused on cultural revitalisation.[28] The need to honour the Treaty of Waitangi, and related advocacy, put pressure on the government to adopt a bicultural approach as opposed to an assimilationist one which had dominated policy until that point.[29]

The last quarter of the twentieth century was characterised by the struggle for *tino rangatiratanga* and Treaty of Waitangi claims and settlements.[30] It was during this twenty-five year period that the most significant advances in *tino rangatiratanga* occurred.[31] Durie characterised the 1980s as a 'decade of development', focused on 'the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, Iwi development, economic self-reliance, social equality and cultural advancement'.[32] During this period there was a greater focus than earlier periods on *iwi* development as the key means of achieving *tino rangatiratanga*.[33] A key turning point was the *Hui Taumata,* the *Māori* Economic Summit, which was held in 1984.[34] The events of the 1990s continued to build on the earlier protest movements and the occurrences of the preceding decade.

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[26] *Tino rangatiratanga* – self-determination/ autonomy. For a thorough description of this period see, R.S. Hill, *Maori and the State: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000,* Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2009, p. 2.; A. Harris and M.M. Williams, 'Māori Affairs, 1945-1970', in A. Anderson, J. Binney and A. Harris (eds), *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History,* Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p. 295.

[27] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* p. 146.

[28] S. Webster, *Patrons of Maori Culture: Power, theory and ideology in the Maori Renaissance,* Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998, p. 28.

[29] Hill, *Maori and the State,* p. ix.

[30] Fitzgerald, 'Development since the Hui Taumata', pp. 45-46.

[31] Hill, *Maori and the State,* p. ix.

[32] M. Durie, 'Te Tai Tini: Transformations 2025', in M. Durie (ed.), *Ngā Tini Whetū: Navigating Māori Futures,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2011, pp. 139-155.; See also, M. Durie, 'Indigenous Transformations in Contemporary Aotearoa', in M. Durie (ed.), *Ngā Tini Whetū: Navigating Māori Futures,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2011, pp. 43-60.; Fitzgerald, 'Development since the 1984 Hui Taumata', p. 47.

[33] Fitzgerald, p. 49.

[34] Fitzgerald, p. 47.

Mate atu he tētē kura, ara ake he tētē kura [35]

A variety of contextual factors informed the nature of leadership and determined what was required of leaders in response to prevailing conditions. This section explores how each phase of *Māori* leadership, from the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century, has responded to these factors, with particular emphasis on the late twentieth century.

Traditional *Māori* leadership roles were assigned based on *whakapapa,* meaning that who could be a leader was determined based on ancestry. Notions of leadership were centred on the idea that leadership attributes were inherited and therefore inherently within certain people.[36] There were three key forms of leadership: the *rangatira* (or *ariki*), the *tohunga*, and *kaumātua*.[37] The nature of leadership underwent an evolution in the middle of the nineteenth century due to the increasing complexity of *Māori-Pākehā* relations. A key change was the location of leadership as collectives deconstructed in response to increasing interaction with *Pākehā* institutions. There was also an important shift from purely *whakapapa* based criteria for leadership meaning that leadership could be earned without the necessary hereditary qualifications.[38] An attribute that was vital during this phase was charisma and it is still viewed as necessary for leaders to possess.[39]

At the turn of the twentieth century increasing integration and an assault on *Māori* resources and identity necessitated a change in the style of leadership. This brought about the rise of educated and national scale *Māori* leaders.[40] These leaders achieved unprecedented status in becoming 'influential beyond the confines of their own village or tribal community, on a

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[35] This *whakataukī* means - 'As one chief dies another rises to take his place'. Mead and Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tipuna,* p. 286.

[36] Katene 'Modelling Māori leadership', p. 5-6.

[37] *Rangatira*- leader/chief, *Ariki*- paramount chief, *Tohunga*- expert, healer, *Kaumātua*- elder.
These three key leadership roles fulfilled the 'political, spiritual and professional dimensions' of life and were not 'one-dimensional', as they often overlapped. Katene, 'Modelling Māori leadership', pp. 5-12.; M. Winiata, *The changing role of the leader in Maori society: a study in social change and race relations,* Auckland, Blackwood and Janet Paul, 1967, p. 82.

[38] Walker, *He Tipua,* p. 392.; Hill, *Maori and the State,* p. 80.

[39] P. Te Rito, 'Leadership in Māori, European cultures and in the world of sport', *MAI Review,* no. 1, 2006, p. 8.

[40] Some of the key leaders from this period were Āpirana Ngata, Te Puea Herangi, James Carroll, and Wiremu Ratana. For more on this see, Winiata, *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society,* p. 80-82.

more or less national level'.[41] They were required to negotiate the two worlds of *Māori* and *Pākehā*, while remaining accountable to their people, in order to bring about change. The national level of leadership is the one most often written about and it is perceived as the main arena, but it is merely one of many. This tendency can be seen in the work of Katene and his focus on national level leaders such as the leaders of the *Māori* Battalion and *Māori* academics.[42] The educated and national level leadership positions were not intended to replace the traditional roles and, in fact, complemented them.

In the late twentieth century leadership remained predominantly on a national scale as *Māori* fought for increasing recognition. However, there was also strong leadership at the *iwi* and *whānau* level that is often obscured.[43] Leadership had a dual focus of cultural revitalisation and the beginnings of the Treaty Settlement process. One of the key events during this period was the 1975 Land March led by Whina Cooper.[44] During the late twentieth century leaders were increasingly politically engaged and from 1984 Treaty claims began to be investigated and settlements proceeded over the latter half of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s.[45]

In this period a range of *Māori* organisations emerged and 'provided leadership opportunities for a growing number of Māori … especially those living in an urbanised environment'.[46] *Iwi* were also growing their capacity and there was a 'significant revival of tribal runanga, or councils'.[47] These leaders were not focused on survival in the same way as their *tīpuna*, but they had the challenge of 'transforming society' and were united by the goals of 'increased autonomy, economic self-sufficiency, tribal redevelopment, and cultural affirmation'.[48] The attributes of the leaders depended on which realm they predominantly operated within. For example, leaders focused on cultural revitalisation were required to have a cultural

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[41] Winiata, p. 149.
[42] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* pp. 112-122.
[43] *Whānau* – family/ extended family.
[44] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* p. 149.; M. Durie, 'Impacts of an Ageing Population on New Zealand Society', in M. Durie (ed), *Ngā Tini Whetū: Navigating Māori Futures,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2011, p. 256.
[45] Fitzgerald, 'Development since the 1984 Hui Taumata', p. 44. See also, A. Sharp, *Justice and the Māori: Māori Claims in the New Zealand Political Argument in the 1980s,* Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 2-5.
[46] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* p. 157.
[47] Hill, *Maori and the State*, p. 213.
[48] Durie, 'Indigenous Transformations in Contemporary Aotearoa', p. 53.

background in *te reo Māori* and *tikanga*.[49] For the leaders involved in the Treaty Settlement process cultural competency was an enriching attribute, but not a precursor to a leadership role.

Each generation and phase of leadership has faced its own distinct challenges and adapted accordingly. There have always been different leadership roles for various tasks and this research aims to show that there were more leadership roles and attributes than typically depicted. The existing literature on *Māori* leadership has largely focused on the national level, obscuring other leadership roles which were just as important for development. These were not mutually exclusive – they were complementary and provided holistically for *Māori* needs. Due to the contextual factors and the focus on protest, *tino rangatiratanga*, and redress for historical grievances leadership roles were largely focused on *iwi* development and achieving settlement. Leaders were required to be involved with Treaty negotiations, and to be effective in doing so. Localised leadership, I suggest, has often been under emphasised in existing literature despite its importance. This can be seen in Katene's categorisation of leadership which emphasises national level roles.

E kōrero ana mo, tātou anō. Kaore e noho ma tētahi kē e tuhituhi ngā kōrero mo tātou [50]

The primary aim of this research is to examine the nature of *Māori* leadership in Te Tau Ihu *iwi* in the late twentieth century. *Māori* leadership is a topical issue because we are now at the point where we can look back and see how *iwi* have dealt with the transition from the mid-twentieth century, through the *Māori* renaissance, and into the settlement era.

This research was conducted using *kaupapa Māori* methodology which is not readily definable, but its essence is that it privileges a *Māori* perspective and allows for the perspectives of those interviewed to direct the research. 'Kaupapa Māori is an attempt to

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[49] *Te Reo Māori*- the Māori language. *Tikanga*- customs, values.
[50] Translated as, 'It is us talking about ourselves. It is not about others writing about us'. N. Mahuika, '"Kōrero Tuku Iho": Reconfiguring Oral History and Oral Tradition', University of Waikato, 2012, p. 125.

retrieve space for Maori voices and perspectives. It is about providing a framework for explaining to tauiwi (non-Maori) what we (Maori) have always been about'.[51]

The use of oral history is literally and figuratively retrieving this space.[52] However, the words of Michael Stevens are kept in mind here: an 'absence' of *kaupapa Māori* does not prevent this space from being retrieved, it is simply one way of going about it.[53] The use of oral history provides a useful balance to the domination of historical research by written sources. Oral histories give *tangata whenua* a voice and a way to share their understanding and perspective of historical events.[54] Oral accounts play a vital role in *mātauranga Māori* and are crucial to *Māori* understandings of historical events and phenomenon.[55] In order to understand the importance of oral histories as a legitimate historical source a key distinction between oral histories and oral traditions must be made. Oral traditions are the 'stories of the past that have been passed down by word of mouth'.[56] Oral histories, by contrast, have been defined as 'first-hand accounts of events the informant has participated in'.[57] These two sources are often simultaneously at play in accounts of the past.

This dissertation is a contribution to the growing field of oral history and its increasing recognition as a legitimate source. It is crucial because it allows Indigenous groups to reclaim the *mana* over their histories and to tell them from their own perspective, their own words, and at their own pace.[58] Oral histories and oral traditions are a *taonga* and an increasing recognition of this ensures that they will be treated as such.[59] As put by Apirana Mahuika:

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[51] F. Cram, 'Rangahau Māori: tona tika, tona pono: the validity and integrity of Māori research', in M. Tolich (ed.), *Research Ethics in Aotearoa New Zealand: Concepts, Practice, Critique,* Auckland, Longman, 2001, p. 40.
[52] N. Mahuika, '"Closing the Gaps": From Postcolonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond', *The New Zealand Journal of History,* vol. 45, no. 1, 2011, p. 110-125.
[53] M. Stevens, 'A 'Useful' Approach to Māori History', *The New Zealand Journal of History,* vol. 49, no. 1, 2015, p. 57.
[54] *Tangata whenua*- people of the land.
[55] *Mātauranga Māori*- Māori knowledge or ways of knowing.
[56] P. Clayworth, 'Recording tangata whenua oral histories and traditions: Techniques and lessons from the Ruapekapeka Pā Oral History Project', *Department of Conservation Technical Series,* no. 36, 2010, p. 7. For more on this distinction see, R.T.M Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu,* Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2003, pp. 9-17.
[57] Clayworth, p. 7.
[58] *Mana* – prestige, influence, spiritual power.
[59] *Taonga*- treasure.

It's us, e kōrero ana mo, tātou anō (talking about ourselves). Kaore e noho ma tētahi kē e tuhituhi ngā kōrero mo tātou (it is not about others writing about us). Kaore e noho ma tētahi kē e kōrero ngā kōrero mo tātou (it is not about others talking about us).[60]

The research was conducted through thematic interviews to allow the interviewees to direct the research. The interviews were semi-structured but were guided primarily by the interviewees responses. Three current Te Tau Ihu leaders were interviewed, one from each of my three iwi: Gena Moses-Te Kani from *Ngāti Kuia*, Kiley Nepia from *Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō*, and Rōpata Taylor from *Ngāti Kōata.* I was extremely honoured to be able to interview these three people as they have all played, and continue to play, an important role in Te Tau Ihu with their leadership. The following two chapters emerged out of the testimony they provided and will show how the context shaped the leadership roles during this time and the attributes that these leaders needed to possess.

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[60] Mahuika, '"Kōrero Tuku Iho"', p. 125.

Chapter 1:

Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini: My success is not individual, but collective [61]

The late twentieth century was a period of continuing marginalisation, alongside a new sense of revival for *Māori*. Te Tau Ihu *iwi* were fighting for recognition of their culture, language, and traditions, and to ensure that the next generation had greater opportunities. All *Māori* leadership during the late twentieth century was characterised by this struggle in some way. This chapter seeks to discover how leadership roles in the late twentieth century responded to the needs of *Māori*. This chapter clearly shows that Te Tau Ihu leadership does not fit with the categories proposed by Katene due to its distinctive nature. It will outline how the leadership roles that emerged reflected the situation of Te Tau Ihu *Māori* through the examples of the cultural revivalist leaders and those who were involved in Treaty settlements. Who occupied these roles will then be discussed and it will be shown that in Te Tau Ihu these roles were largely filled by *kaumātua*, social workers, and in many cases, female leaders. This was somewhat the result of need, as opposed to skills-based leadership, which reflects the context. I will also discuss the term 'leadership' and its inherently collective nature as this was something highlighted throughout my interviews and is the common thread running through all phases of leadership.

Those interviewed acknowledged the importance of the leaders during this time. Rōpata, for example, confessed that he was, 'absolutely in awe of them because … you go back two generations and life was very, very different. And so you had a generation of people in the 70s that were revolutionaries really'.[62] The efforts of the leaders during this time, he says, brought about a 'paradigm shift in our society and culture … and the leadership that's happened in Te Tau Ihu over that period has been incredible really to lead us from this point to that point'.[63]

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[61] Rōpata Taylor, interviewed by Madi Williams, 2016, Wakatū House, Nelson.
[62] Rōpata Taylor.
[63] Rōpata Taylor.

'There's a distinct set of leadership skills required for each phase and those things don't happen … we've needed to shift and change and be dynamic in each phase'.[64] There are many important contextual factors that influenced leadership during the late twentieth century. But the description that resonated most for this dissertation was stated by Rōpata:

> You had this powerful state, this monoculture of Pākehā people that run the show, have all of the money, all of the power, all of the control and you had this group of Māori people that are living on the margin of society saying this is wrong. And you have shafted us and New Zealand is not the utopia you purport it to be.[65]

The leaders that emerged during this time were fighting for their people who had been marginalised and denied the ability to live as *Māori* since colonisation. It was during the late twentieth century that these issues came to be widely acknowledged. Leaders in Te Tau Ihu were those who had been affected by discriminatory policies towards *Māori*. They were not fighting just for themselves, but for their *tīpuna* who came before them, and for their *mokopuna* who came after them.[66] Leaders were seeking rights that had been consistently been ignored, including the right to speak our language and to live as *Māori*. These leaders were 'protestors and … lobbyists and they really shifted the middle ground of New Zealand … to the reality that we have today where our culture is very much mainstream'.[67] Before these leaders could achieve the aspirations of Te Tau Ihu *iwi* they first 'had to get their head around *[the fact that]* we are powerless. We had no control over our lives … How do we do this?' As a result, the leaders of this period had to work to 'get control of the remnant of what *[was]* left and … to convince the state … to allow us to be the architects of our own solutions in charge of our own lives'.[68]

As Rōpata explained, 'there is a background … of loss of language and disconnection from culture, the impact of colonisation is a really insidious one where native people were taught

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[64] Rōpata Taylor.
[65] Rōpata Taylor.
[66] *Mokopuna*- grandchildren.
[67] Rōpata Taylor.
[68] Rōpata Taylor.

to hate themselves and you know hate our traditions'.[69] This background influenced the form of leadership and it manifested itself in the rise of cultural revitalisation movements:

> *[In the]* 1970s through to the 1980s we had the emergence of kōhanga reo movement you know like our grandmothers were basically saying we need to love ourselves and we need to love our language and we need our children to speak in our language and to grow up with it.[70]

What was striking about the revitalisation movement was that it was led by those 'who were a product of assimilation'.[71] These leaders 'fought for te reo Māori, kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, marae development', despite having had none of these things themselves.[72] Kiley recalled that 'they didn't have te reo Māori but they fought for it. And they fought for a position and a time where our people would once again be great'.[73] This is critical to understanding the nature of leadership during this time; the impact of these leaders cannot be overemphasised and without them we would not be where we are today. It took great strength and tenacity to push for change during this time when *Māori* 'had no control over our lives, our assets, our destiny … *[we were]* at the bottom of every positive statistic and…at the top of every bad statistic'.[74]

This revitalisation phase informed the development of leadership throughout the late twentieth century and the 'focus was on that revivalist stuff'.[75] The leaders during this phase were aware of succession planning as key to success. Gena described the impact of this goal on her own leadership journey

> There was a revival phase so you know the 80s and 90s is quite a revivalist phase for us as well and so as young people and … we went off to wānanga … and we were groomed or chosen to do interesting things or given those opportunities. I don't know if we were

[69] Rōpata Taylor.

[70] Rōpata Taylor.

[71] Kiley Nepia, interviewed by Madi Williams, 2016, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.

[72] Rōpata Taylor.

[73] Kiley Nepia.

[74] Rōpata Taylor.

[75] Gena Moses-Te Kani, interviewed by Madi Williams, 2016, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.

chosen, I think there was a whole lot of us were given opportunities to learn cool things as part of that revivalist movement.[76]

The Treaty Settlement process has often been defined by its negative aspects, due to the nature of the process which was characterised by struggle and this created what Gena called a 'bullying kind of culture'.[77] This was acknowledged in the interviews, but as Gena cautioned 'you wouldn't have called them bullies in those days … we do definitely call them bullies now … that was a particular technique that was used at the time during Treaty settlements'.[78] From the 1980s to the 2000s *Māori* leadership in Te Tau Ihu was in many ways focused on fighting. These leaders, Gena says

grew up fighting, fighting, fighting the crown and fighting each other and fighting for something that's no longer what's going to, you can't make reconciliation with each other when you're in fighting mode.[79]

This has had a significant impact on the nature of contemporary leadership because 'the men are the ones who are, they're still … damaged … Treaty settlements damage you'.[80]

One of the key groups to fill the leadership roles were *kaumātua.* These leaders were picked when they were young to fulfil leadership duties. What is interesting about this phenomenon is that they did not necessarily have the necessary skills, but they stepped up anyway. This arose because there simply were not any leaders who had all the necessary skills during this time. Therefore, leadership in Te Tau Ihu at times was based on need as opposed to skills and various groups such as *kaumātua* were selected for leadership roles, and took these on willingly for the development of their people. These *kaumātua* have continued to play a crucial role and have provided a critical continuity through to today. Rōpata stated that

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[76] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[77] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[78] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[79] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[80] Gena Moses-Te Kani.

we need those ones with the memory, the collective memory that remember where we've come from, what happened to us, and so that we remember what the point of it all is again.[81]

There was a 'whole cohort of elders and kaumātua' who played a critical role in Te Tau Ihu's development during this time and 'in those days we probably looked more to our *kaumātua* as leadership'.[82] The key thing that stood out from the interviews about *kaumātua* leadership was that these leaders

knew they weren't going to come to the promised land. So they knew they weren't going to benefit from all that hard work that they'd put in but they knew it was important in terms of their mokopuna.[83]

An issue with *kaumātua* leadership was identified in regard to how they are chosen for leadership. This is more relevant to contemporary leadership as there are now different demands placed on the leaders that require a specific skill set for each job. Kiley stated that 'sometimes we've set our kaumātua up to fail because we put them on different boards but they don't necessarily have the skill set'.[84] He then went on to say that 'moving into the future as well as whakapapa it needs to be pūkenga based so you need to have those types of attributes that you pass on'.[85]

A striking theme to emerge out of the interviews was the importance of matriarchal leadership in Te Tau Ihu. The interviewees mentioned a range of key figures during this time and a significant portion of them were female leaders such as Molly Luke, Kath Hemi, and Judith McDonald.[86] Gena specifically described the leadership as 'very matriarchal...we have a real strong female leadership within our iwi'.[87] This can be attributed to many of the same

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[81] Rōpata Taylor.
[82] Rōpata Taylor
Kiley Nepia.
[83] Kiley Nepia.
[84] Kiley Nepia.
[85] Kiley Nepia.
[86] Kiley Nepia.
Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[87] Gena Moses-Te Kani.

reasons as the rise of social workers and *kaumātua* leadership. It was based on need as opposed to skills to a certain extent and the women of Te Tau Ihu were those who were willing and able to fulfil some of the leadership roles. This is not saying they did not have any skills, but rather that it is different from the situation today where

> we all want to have someone with a law degree and someone with finances, you know we want to have all those people on our team. We didn't have those in the old days … Now I think it's expected that we'll have a broader skill set. More professional skill set. Whereas our leadership wasn't focused on those skills before.[88]

Although matriarchal leadership played an important role during the late twentieth century, it has come to the fore in more recent years. Gena spoke of her belief that the women of Te Tau Ihu will be a key leadership group moving forward:

> I think that it's the women of Te Tau Ihu who will make that happen. I don't think the men have got it in them. So far the men are the ones who are, they're still damaged from, Treaty settlements.[89]

Overall, however '[t]here's not a lot of women in leadership. That's a real challenge I think because I work with national iwi chairs and I find that the voice of women is not heard'.[90] So just as the Treaty process gave rise to the agitator style of leadership, primarily held by males, the subsequent context has provided the opportunity for female leadership to rise more prominently. Gena spoke of her own leadership journey in this regard when she said

> I've been able to be assertive and have a voice [which] is a really important part of leadership and I think not just for leadership for our iwi and for Ngāti Kuia, but for women in general and younger women.[91]

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[88] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[89] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[90] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[91] Gena Moses-Te Kani.

The key factor that weaves the various roles and those who filled them together is the fact that the nature of *Māori* leadership is collective. The term 'leadership' has an uneasy place in *Māori* society due to its individualistic connotations. This issue was a key feature of the interviews and Rōpata suggested that 'ambassador on behalf of a collective is probably a better description of what leadership is for us'.[92] He drew a comparison between the national, exemplar leaders of the twentieth century such as Ngata and those of Te Tau Ihu.

> Āpirana Ngata and those sorts of people and they were like tōtara in the forest of tāne that rose up above everybody else and they were like amazing superman kind of figures and that's not what leadership looked like here in the 1970s. It was more like a forest that grew up rather than individual trees that rose above the canopy.[93]

Leaders do not emerge without assistance and they do not, or rather should not, work for individual gains. As put by Kiley 'it's about being able to look bigger than yourself it's about having a we go rather than an ego'.[94] Leaders tend not to take the credit for their successes as they are 'a reflection of all those people in a community or a collective that have invested in you over time'.[95] Rōpata reiterated this throughout the interview and described *Māori* leadership from his perspective as

> you're a reflection of the people that raised you. You reflect those values, your success is that proverb 'Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini', you know my success is not individual but collective.[96]

As can be seen through this chapter, the nature of leadership was determined by specific contextual factors and this caused it to manifest in an inherently 'Te Tau Ihu' way. While it was influenced by wider developments in Aotearoa at this time and factors that affected all *Māori*, it cannot be neatly fitted into the existing historiography on *Māori* leadership. Durie's phases of leadership apply to the Te Tau Ihu situation in the late twentieth century and the

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[92] Rōpata Taylor.
[93] Rōpata Taylor.
[94] Kiley Nepia.
[95] Rōpata Taylor.
[96] Rōpata Taylor.

region underwent significant changes in leadership during this time. The contextual factors he outlined had an important impact on Te Tau Ihu leadership, as they did for all *iwi* and *Māori*. But there were a range of other, *iwi* specific, factors that are not accounted for in the literature. There are a complex range of factors at the local level that interact with the wider, national level ones. Te Tau Ihu *iwi* faced their own challenges and particular groups of people emerged in response to these to fill the leadership roles. For example, social workers were a core group during this time, but this was not an Aotearoa wide phenomenon. It was, rather, a convergence of factors in Te Tau Ihu that caused this. The categories of *Māori* leadership put forward by Katene focus on the entire twentieth century and fail to adequately acknowledge the distinct nature of the late twentieth century. Alongside this the categories of leadership are limited to organic leaders, and further limited to the 28th *Māori* Battalion, *Māori* academics, and 'urban activists'.[97] These leadership roles imply a homogenous experience for all *Māori* and fail to indicate their limited nature. Katene was, however, right in his assertion of the aim of leadership as 'the realisation of collective Māori aspirations'.[98] It is the manifestations of leadership he utilised that are not applicable to Te Tau Ihu *iwi.* This is evident in one of the key categories he puts forward: academic leadership.[99] This was simply not the case in Te Tau Ihu and highlights how these categories fail to take into account the specific factors that impacted upon various *iwi* and regions.

Te Tau Ihu specific factors in the late twentieth century shaped the leadership roles that emerged which was shown through the examples of the revivalist leaders and those involved in Treaty settlements. As a result of the *Māori* Renaissance and the drive for cultural revitalisation, leadership in Te Tau Ihu became revivalist and revolutionary in nature. Leaders were focused on self-determination for *Māori* and the ability to practice our culture freely. These leaders were responsible for such things as the rise of *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa*.[100] The role of the leaders who were focused on Treaty settlements was equally shaped by the historical setting but they were required to have a different set of skills focused outwards. These skills have sometimes come to be seen in a negative light but in reality they

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[97] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* p. 112-122.
[98] Katene, p. 145.
[99] Katene, p. 122.
[100] *Kōhanga reo* – Māori language nest, Māori immersion pre-school. *Kura Kaupapa* – Māori immersion primary school.

were a necessity and the role demanded the agitator style. These leadership roles were voluntary and were filled by people such as social workers and *kaumātua*. This was because leadership was driven by need as opposed to specific skill sets during this time. Te Tau Ihu had an abundance of social workers and they stepped up to fill a variety of roles. *Kaumātua* played a crucial role in development during this period and *kaumātua* leadership in particular offers useful insight into the nature of leadership as these were the leaders who were not going to benefit from the work they put in. They knew they were not going to see the results of their efforts but continued on for those that would come after them. There was, and still is, a strong matriarchal leadership in Te Tau Ihu, however, this is becoming more important in the contemporary environment. What weaves these factors together, and provides a thread of continuity, is that leadership was exerted on behalf of the collective.

These leaders laid the foundation for where we are today and their work got us to the point where Treaty settlements became a reality and our culture has become mainstream. Te Tau Ihu, as a result of this period, is now in a position where we are able to build on our strengths. This will require new and innovative forms of leadership that can adapt to the changing needs of *Māori*. The late twentieth century, and the start of the twenty first, was dominated by fighting, but this is not what is required of leaders moving forward and this is where 'the new generation needs to come'.[101] So while we are in a far better position than we were two generations ago, there is still much work to be done. We now have a group of people 'that are both educated and able to speak our language and are well connected to our culture'.[102] Yet there is also another 'disaffected group that are very vague about those things. The connections are either fragile or broken back to their families and marae and tribes'.[103] This is one of the key leadership challenges for today's leaders – to reconcile these two groups and to build on the work of the leaders of the past.

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[101] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[102] Rōpata Taylor.
[103] Rōpata Taylor.

Chapter 2:

Ehara ahau i te rangatira, engari he ata ahau nō te tangata: I am not a chiefly person but rather the reflection of one [104]

This chapter seeks to outline the key leadership qualities that were necessary in Te Tau Ihu during the late twentieth century and how these effected the nature of leadership. Importantly, although the qualities are often identified in an individual they are exercised on behalf of the collective. It will examine how certain leadership attributes were identified and developed for the purpose of more firmly establishing the nature of leadership during this time. The leadership skills that were highlighted in my interviews included charisma, communication, *he toa*, *manaakitanga*, and humility.[105] The leadership skills required for the Treaty Settlement process and outward recognition were of a different nature to those required at home on the *marae*, but, both sets of qualities were equally vital to the people. Therefore, one of the key aims of this chapter is to acknowledge the skills unique to the behind the scenes leaders that often get ignored in the existing literature. This will be exemplified through further comparison with the work of Katene.

Necessary, and desirable, leadership attributes have evolved as a result of the changing needs of *Māori*. In the late twentieth century, leadership was related to *whakapapa*, but it was not purely based on it. In the words of Rōpata, 'in some cases you're born into it and in some cases you show certain traits and preferences and then your community invest in you'.[106] As discussed in the previous chapter leadership was, and still is, primarily about the collective and it was the 'group who determine[d] who … ha[d] both the right characteristics, aptitude, attitude, capability, capacity to represent, to manifest that on behalf of the collective'.[107] Rōpata recalled that the way that these skills were developed was often through assistance from 'older generations and particularly close associations with elders and them sort of

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[104] Mead and Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna,* p. 22.
[105] *He toa-* bravery. *Manaakitanga-* can be broken down as mana-ā-ki meaning to fill with mana.
[106] Rōpata Taylor.
[107] Rōpata Taylor.

demonstrating what good looks like. And that's, I think a lot of that leadership is … experiential'.[108]

The late twentieth century was no different and the community or *iwi* identified and developed leadership attributes within people rather than 'hoping that some sort of amazing leadership's going to drop out of the sky or rise out of the ranks of all your people'.[109] For example, for the Treaty Settlement process there was a need to 'identify and say well what skills do we need to represent us at this point in time'.[110] Te Tau Ihu *iwi* were required to identify 'who ha[d] … the skills to negotiate this … and lead this'.[111] Although Te Tau Ihu's Settlement legislation was not passed until 2014, the struggle for it began much earlier. Gena described the leadership qualities necessary for this process as 'focused on the sort of agitator style of leadership', and cultural competency was beneficial but not a necessary precursor to holding this role.[112] They were required to face outwards, while remaining accountable to their people, and to lead the struggle for the rights of their *iwi* and *Māori*. Rōpata noted that there were a range of skills and attributes needed during this time from 'smart, savvy, erudite people that can engage in the process' to 'people with integrity that are cultural repositories of knowledge that can accurately represent us with dignity', and finally those 'with the collective memory that remember where we've come from, what happened to us, and so we remember what the point of it all is again'.[113]

One of the qualities deemed as necessary for effective leadership, for both *Māori* and European alike, is *charisma*. Charisma has been a key quality throughout the history of *Māori* leadership. It is of such importance because it contributes to a leader's mandate to lead and their ability to unite people for a common goal. Rōpata described the leaders in Te Tau Ihu during this time as 'very charismatic people that were able to mobilise us'.[114] This ability to mobilise the people as a collective was of crucial importance to *Māori* at this time. *Māori* were marginalised and often separated from their collective identity. Therefore, these

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[108] Rōpata Taylor.
[109] Rōpata Taylor.
[110] Rōpata Taylor.
[111] Rōpata Taylor.
[112] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[113] Rōpata Taylor.
[114] Rōpata Taylor.

charismatic leaders played a key role as they were 'able to effectively convince or use the tools that they had at their disposal to make change'.[115] This was so effective because these leaders 'had a fire in their belly, they had a belief that what they were doing was right ... And they had ... an urgency and need to make things right'.[116] Leaders such as Kath Hemi, Tom Bailey, Len Nukunuku, and Chris Poki were described by Kiley as 'really quite charismatic ... in terms of the way that they held themselves ... pioneers in terms of the way that they were thinking and ... never quite satisfied with where we were'.[117] Without their charisma and drive Te Tau Ihu would not be where it is today and 'we have to be really thankful of those people because growing up and being a leader in those times wouldn't have necessarily been an easy task'.[118]

The need for charismatic leaders can be seen throughout the twentieth century and skilful oratory was an important part of it. Kiley, for example, spoke of his own leadership journey, and the important role that oratory has played in it:

> Nana Kath Hemi she was the matriarch of our tribe our family and our marae and she really needed someone to be able to assist her in those formal occasions and to be a spokesperson for her and so at a real young age I was able to step into the role of being kai kōrero for my marae and my iwi.[119]

And it was from here that Kiley 'moved through the ranks, in terms of [his] leadership, so kapa haka, manu korero, all those types of things'.[120] One of the key oratory skills is discussion and this was identified as particularly important throughout the Treaty Settlement process. Rōpata explained the process:

> The first part of the process is having that engagement and debate "Ko te kai o te rangatira ko te kōrero" you know the language of chiefs is the art of discussion and we're an oral

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[115] Rōpata Taylor.
[116] Rōpata Taylor.
[117] Kiley Nepia.
[118] Kiley Nepia.
[119] Kiley Nepia.
[120] Kiley Nepia.

culture. You know we need to hui, we need to talk with each other about it, come together and talk about what happened to us and talk about the reality of the situation and that's the first part of the mandate process.[121]

An important leadership quality that was highlighted was the ability to communicate effectively. This can be seen in a variety of leadership roles. For example, the ability to keep everyone connected and ensure relationships were maintained was vital during the Treaty Settlement process, which has been described as 'damaging'.[122] Gena drew attention to this when she said that the process can 'damage families … damage all sorts of relationships'.[123] Therefore, an important leadership quality was the ability to 'retain positive relationships' in the face of this environment.[124] Although this has often not been the case, there are examples from Te Tau Ihu where this has occurred. In particular, the leadership of Molly Luke and her son Lee Luke, was identified as managing Treaty negotiations while maintaining positive relationships. Gena spoke of Molly as having 'leadership *[that]* is distinct. She's definitely one of the chiefs of our era'.[125]

The ability to unify people is a key theme in leadership literature, although it is often discussed in relation to its more formal expression. The behind the scenes leaders had vital communication skills and were often those who were 'keeping everyone connected'.[126] Gena pointed out that the critical communication skills in the late twentieth century were 'not that kind of chiefly formal stuff but the making sure that all the right people know all the right things so they come to all the stuff'.[127] This is often underappreciated and it is important to acknowledge that it 'is a real distinct piece of leadership and not all of us can do it'.[128] This highlights the fact that there were a multitude of leadership roles, and therefore skills, required during this time period. The wide range of skills needed could not be found in a single leader. The leaders 'from behind' - as they are often referred to - tend to remain in the

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[121] Rōpata Taylor.
[122] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[123] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[124] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[125] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[126] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[127] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[128] Gena Moses-Te Kani.

background and therefore do not gain the recognition they deserve. In Gena's words, '[h]ome people are really important and I don't think we look after them enough'.[129]

The attributes necessary for this are exemplified in the *whakataukī 'ki ngā whakaeke haumi'*, which means 'join those who can join sections of a canoe'.[130] It is used as a metaphor for leaders who are 'able to weld diverse groups into a successful combination' and seems particularly fitting for Te Tau Ihu in the late twentieth century.[131] This is due to the fact that *iwi* during this time formed alliances such as *Kurahaupō*, which was between *Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō,* and *Rangitāne*.[132] It was a time of 'joining together so there was a rūnanganui where all the iwi worked together', so leaders that were successfully able to connect people and navigate relationships were of crucial importance.[133]

One attribute that all leaders possessed was bravery, and this has proven necessary throughout the various phases of *Māori* leadership. This was identified in 1850 when Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke outlined eight key leadership qualities or *pūmanawa* and again in 1897 when Himiona Tikitu created a similar list and included '[h]e toa (bravery, courage in war)'.[134] This quality continued to be seen as necessary throughout the twentieth century and remains crucial for contemporary *Māori* leadership.[135] The leaders of the late twentieth century were required to possess this characteristic as it was essential to lead our people forward. Rōpata observed that the leadership that arose was a 'generation in the 70s that were revolutionaries really. And they were brave courageous people'.[136] Although bravery may be taken for granted, the reality of this context cannot be overemphasised:

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[129] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[130] Mead and Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna,* p. 221.
[131] Mead and Grove, p. 221.
[132] *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui Report on the Northern South Island Claims,* vol. 1, pp. 6-7.
[133] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[134] H. Mead, et al., *Māori leadership in governance Hui Taumata Action Force Scoping Paper,* Centre for the Study of Leadership, Wellington, Victoria University of Wellington, 2006, pp. 7-8.
[135] Mead et al., pp. 9-10.
[136] Rōpata Taylor.

[Y]ou had this group of Māori people that are living on the margin of society saying this is wrong … you have shafted us and New Zealand is not the utopia that you purport it to be. And that's brave, that's incredibly brave.[137]

This view was reaffirmed by Kiley who stated that what was needed in a leader was 'somebody to be brave enough to stand up and be counted because again looking at what our climate looked like around those times they were really, our people were marginalised and our people are still marginalised'.[138]

The aforementioned leadership qualities, such as charisma, oratory and bravery, have predominantly been associated with the leaders at the front. That is not to say that leadership qualities, such as bravery, are not manifested in a variety of leadership roles. However, there are certain qualities embodied in, and unique to, those who held the behind the scenes leadership roles. '[P]eople express leadership in different ways', Kiley told me. 'Some people are quite aux fait and comfortable about being out in front, other leaders lead from the back' and neither form of leadership is superior to the other, both played a vital role in the late twentieth century.[139] Despite the importance of this role it has often been underemphasised in existing research. Effective leadership is manifested in a wide range of people and their diverse skills '[s]ome leaders will be out in the, on the marae…some will be in the kitchen. Some leaders will be in the board room and some are at school'.[140] The nature of leadership means that 'there are so many unsung heroes that you know all deserve to be accredited with some type of recognition but probably in their lifestyle they wouldn't get it'.[141]

Perhaps the most vital aspect of behind the scenes leadership is the ability to offer *manaakitanga. Manaakitanga*, like bravery, has been identified throughout all phases of leadership.[142] This quality is an inherent part of *Māori* leadership and it was described by Gena as 'a fundamental difference in the way we work with our people'.[143] Its importance

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[137] Rōpata Taylor.
[138] Kiley Nepia.
[139] Kiley Nepia.
[140] Kiley Nepia.
[141] Kiley Nepia.
[142] Katene, 'Modelling Māori leadership', pp. 10-11.
[143] Gena Moses-Te Kani.

was highlighted through her words when she said that, 'if you can't do that [manaaki] … are you Māori?'[144] Despite its significance, 'we don't necessarily acknowledge [it] as a leadership role but it definitely is'.[145] *Manaakitanga* has retained its status of importance throughout the various phases of leadership, despite some implementation issues within a contemporary context. As Gena said in her interview, 'I look at [Māori] corporate entities and their ability to manaaki is really poor'.[146] *Manaakitanga* is fundamental to *Māori* and 'it's the role of our people to look after each other and that's a really key leadership role I think'.[147]

The nature of *Māori* leadership in the late twentieth century was in some ways characterised by humility. Herangi described 'humility as the basis of leadership and learning'.[148] This quality is something that prevails in contemporary *Māori* leadership. This has been widely acknowledged, for example, Paul Diamond wrote that

getting the *[leaders]* to agree to participate and talk about themselves was … difficult. My experience … has taught me to be wary of suggesting that individual Māori can claim for the collective efforts of many.[149]

This was similar to the interviews conducted for this research, and when I asked Rōpata how he ended up in a leadership role he replied that

Māori people you know we're not necessarily comfortable with that term leadership so we use words like rangatira as a term of honouring others but we're not necessarily comfortable with that as a self-description.[150]

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[144] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[145] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[146] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[147] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[148] J. Reid, 'Māori Land a Strategy for Overcoming Constraints on Development', PhD Thesis, Lincoln University, 2011, p. 127.
[149] P. Diamond, 'Introduction', in P. Diamond (ed.), *A Fire In Your Belly: Māori Leaders Speak,* Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2003, p. 2.
[150] Rōpata Taylor.

This idea is encapsulated in the *whakataukī '[k]āore te kumara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka'*, which is translated as 'the kumara does not speak of its own sweetness'.[151] The collective provides leaders with their mandate to lead and this accountability assists humility. The quality of humility appeared throughout the interviews in both a positive and a negative light. Kiley highlighted it in relation to *whakamā*: 'that's that whole whakamā stuff as well…and one of the interesting things is that we give people accolades at their tangi'.[152] This is related to the nature of *Māori* leadership, which 'can be really cruel'.[153] Our leaders are renowned after their death and often underappreciated in their lifetimes, contributing to this cycle of humility and a lack of willingness to accept praise. Rōpata drew attention to the issue of humility in *Māori* leadership. He spoke of the fact that as *Māori*

> we don't like to talk about ourselves and in fact we're probably the only culture that can be incredibly arrogant about our humility. You know that we judge others on how humble they are and there's a dichotomy there when you really start to look into that.[154]

It is the nature of *Māori* leadership for leaders to be humble as a result of their working on the behalf of the collective. This is illustrated in the *whakataukī '[e]hara ahau i te rangatira, engari he ata ahau nō te tangata'*, meaning 'I am not a chiefly person but rather a reflection of one'.[155] The quality of humility reveals a significant amount about the nature of not just Te Tau Ihu leadership, but *Māori* leadership as a whole. The leaders of this period were self-sacrificing and working for the collective not themselves. This can be seen in the example of *kaumātua* leadership, as these leaders knew that they were not going to benefit from their hard work. My generation, in particular, owes a great debt to these leaders, who paved the way for us to be able to live as *Māori* and to have unprecedented opportunities. This was acknowledged by Rōpata who drew attention to the fact that 'fast forward to your generation and you're the first generation to properly benefit from the settlements'.[156]

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[151] Rōpata Taylor.
[152] *Whakamā*- shy or embarrassed. Kiley Nepia.
[153] Kiley Nepia.
[154] Rōpata Taylor.
[155] Mead and Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna,* p. 22.
[156] Rōpata Taylor.

Leadership in Te Tau Ihu was defined by its voluntary nature which is linked to the collective nature of leadership and the quality of humility. During this time there were no paid roles for those in leadership positions and 'all leadership in those days was voluntary'.[157] This highlights the fact that leaders 'just had a sense of duty and responsibility' motivating them.[158] This shows how passionate these leaders must have been about *Māori* rights and development, to contribute their time and skills for no individual gain, highlighting the collective nature of leadership. These roles were often filled by 'working class folk and social workers' and there was not the demand as there is now for 'someone with a law degree and someone with finances … We didn't have those in the old days'.[159] This contributed to making Te Tau Ihu 'social service focused … our leadership was focused on that'.[160] Gena spoke about contribution of leaders such as 'Molly Luke, Richard [Bradley], Mark [Moses] [who] were all social workers by trade and they all led their iwi Treaty settlements'.[161]

A person whose leadership exemplified these skills was identified in the interviews as Elaine Wilson of *Ngāti Kuia*. Gena spoke of her as 'the one that without her I'm not sure how Ngāti Kuia would survive'.[162] She is the embodiment of a diverse set of leadership skills, as well as being a governor on the *Ngāti Kuia* board, she is the one who will 'cook everyone's kai, she'll karanga, she'll be running in and out doing the whole thing'.[163] Importantly, she also has the necessary skills to connect people for a common cause. This leadership trait is most often discussed in relation to those leaders on a national scale for uniting *Māori* as a whole, but it is just as important at an *iwi* and *whānau* level. The importance of the role of people such as Elaine was emphasised throughout the interviews and she is just one of many from Te Tau Ihu. It is hard to grasp the true nature of leadership without real life examples of it in practice. Their importance cannot be underestimated and they are described as the 'glue' that keep *iwi* and *whānau* together.[164]

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[157] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[158] Rōpata Taylor.
[159] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[160] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[161] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[162] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[163] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[164] Gena Moses-Te Kani.

It can be established through the examination of the skills and attributes required of Te Tau Ihu leaders during this time that they do not slot neatly into the existing framework established by Katene. This is due to the nature of Katene's work, which was never intended to be specific and therefore inevitably resulted in over-generalisation. Katene focused squarely on the national *Māori* experience over a longer time frame than this work and therefore does not explore in depth the attributes required of leaders during the late twentieth century. This is also due to the fact that the roles outlined by Katene were too specific and therefore the attributes that he did describe were only applicable to a small section of leadership. He did utilise styles of leadership such as 'transformational leadership' and briefly described attributes such as 'humanistic and [compassionate]' but these were not developed enough, and too general, to show any real linkages to the Te Tau Ihu experience.[165] The inapplicability of Katene's framework was likely as *iwi* and *hapū* specific realities cannot be expected to fit into a general model of leadership. Likewise, the attributes of the behind the scenes are so varied and reliant on specific factors that they can never be expected to fit into any one category.

Throughout this chapter it has been shown that there were a distinctive set of attributes and skills required of leaders during the late twentieth century. It was the collective who identified and developed these skills. The key qualities that were identified included charisma, oratory skills, and bravery. These attributes have primarily been associated with the leaders at the front and enabled leaders to unite the people. One of the most interesting attributes that was identified throughout the interviews was humility which is often associated with *Māori* leadership. While humility is a vital attribute it can also be a hindrance and leaders are often underappreciated during their lifetime. There are also a range of skills that are unique to behind the scenes leaders who often go unacknowledged, but have played an equally important role as the leaders at the front. They were responsible for offering *manaaki* which has been shown to be essential in all phases of leadership. These leaders also had vital communication skills which enabled them to connect wide range of people for a common purpose. This was linked to the ability to maintain relationships in the face of conflict or adversity which was a difficult task.

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[165] Katene, *The Spirit of Māori Leadership,* pp. 112-122.

What can be seen from an examination of the skills required during the late twentieth century is how these have changed in the contemporary context. For example, 'now … it's expected that we'll have a broader skill set. More professional skill set. Whereas out leadership wasn't focused on those skills before'.[166] Nevertheless, contemporary leaders are still required to have a strong cultural backing, as Kiley stressed:

> you need to almost have your degree from your marae and being able to sweep a floor properly … and then you need your degree in your speciality as well to be able to complement that.[167]

There is a wider problem of succession planning within *Te Ao Māori* and many of the 'so called leaders that are sitting at the board at the moment they don't necessary have [the right] skills'.[168] There is a challenge in contemporary Te Tau Ihu to work on the next generation of leaders in order to ensure that there is available leadership. Those interviewed for this research are playing an important role in this quest. For example, Kiley spoke of his job as 'to start to cultivate that type of leadership so that we have young strong, confident Māori making those types of leadership skills on our behalf'.[169]

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[166] Gena Moses-Te Kani.
[167] Kiley Nepia.
[168] *Te Ao Māori* – the Māori world. Kiley Nepia.
[169] Kiley Nepia.

Conclusion

The answer to the question posed in the title of this dissertation, *[h]e aha te kai o te rangatira i te ao hurihuri?,* is not one that can be simply answered.[170] What can be said, however, is that while the food of chiefs may change, the essence of leadership remains the same – it is intergenerational and collective. Leadership in Te Tau Ihu cannot be thought of as synonymous with Māori leadership as it has typically been depicted. But it did, and still does, possess the essence of Māori leadership of being able to join people together and provide a vision to work towards.[171] Māori leadership on a national scale dominates the existing historiography, as has been illustrated through comparisons with the work of Katene. This dissertation has attempted to combat this trend by offering a uniquely Te Tau Ihu perspective of leadership in the late twentieth century.

The key themes to emerge out of the oral history interviews were the various leadership roles, the importance of those who filled them, and the attributes they needed to possess in order to fulfil their responsibilities. These themes shaped the nature of this dissertation, in keeping with oral history methodology, and provided a wealth of information that would otherwise have remained unavailable. My interviewees provided new perspectives on this area of history and their testimonies revealed how leadership manifested in Te Tau Ihu in the late twentieth century. Importantly, their views showed that there are fundamental differences within Māori leadership, depending on the *iwi*, the region, and context.

Leadership roles in Te Tau Ihu were centred around a struggle for cultural recognition and the initial steps of the Treaty Settlement process. These roles were based on need as opposed to skill and filled by those who had a sense of responsibility. The key groups that filled the roles were identified as *kaumātua,* social workers, and female leaders. These leaders were identified with, developed by, and worked on behalf of, the collective. They were still required to have a range of attributes conducive to leadership, but not a specific set of skills

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[170] Translated as - 'What is the food of chiefs in a changing world?'

[171] As was embodied in the following whakataukī in the introduction of this dissertation 'Ki ngā whakaeke haumi' 'Ki te kahore he whakakitenga ka ngaro te iwi'. Mead and Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tīpuna*, p. 221.; Winiata, 'Leadership styles and nursing in a Whanau Ora Context', p. 43.

as leaders are now. The attributes that were highlighted in the interviews included charisma, communication, bravery, *manaakitanga*, and humility. The skills required differed depending on whether the role was outward facing, such as Treaty negotiations, or based at home, such as the cultural revivalist role. What has been emphasised throughout this research was that the behind the scenes leaders were of equal importance to the outward facing leaders. Their role has often gone unacknowledged in the existing literature on leadership, without both sets of leaders Te Tau Ihu would not be in the position it is today.

As a result of the sacrifices and dedication of the leaders of the late twentieth century my generation have access to a wealth of opportunities that should not be taken for granted. Te Tau Ihu *iwi* have received their settlement from the Crown and although there is much to be done, we must remember where we have been and those who have gone before us. At the same time, we also need to look to the future and work towards ensuring that strong leadership is available and sustainable, using avenues such as effective succession planning. The leadership of the late twentieth century was effective in getting us to this point, however, what got us to here is not what is required today. 'There's a distinct set of leadership skills required for each phase' and Te Tau Ihu *iwi* and leaders will continue to evolve and respond to the changing needs of our people.[172]

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[172] Rōpata Taylor.

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Appendices

Sensitive appendices have been redacted. This material is available for consultation at the University of Canterbury with the author's permission.