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HE MATA NGARO: MAORI LEADERSHIP
IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

*A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Educational Administration at Massey University*

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1993

Abstract

This thesis is about Maori Leadership in Educational Administration. It focuses on the complexities of the Maori Educational Administrator's world, in particular, the reconciling of local and national demands. The study provides an example of how they find themselves confined to a governance agenda while working with Maori Communities seeking to advance their respective self-determination positions. It attempts to reveal the size and shape of Maori leadership ideas within a diversity of Maori realities and the implications for Maori Educational Administrators. Its relevance is displayed by the variance between Maori community expectations and Maori Educational Administrators' perceptions about what they do or should do. The dilemma raises questions about the knowledge, skill and qualities required by Maori who pursue an education profession. More importantly, it challenges the frame of reference used to develop training and personal development programmes for this purpose. For similar reasons, the study has application for Maori working in other government agencies because these concerns, expectations and perceptions are likely to affect them also.

The research methodology used for this study is a multi-disciplined approach which recognises Maori cultural indexes for knowledge and research definitions. Within this framework, the significance of tribal reconstruction and redevelopment, and the pursuit of self-determination by Maori social groups are accounted for. Questionnaire surveys and focus group interviews were the main techniques used for gathering quantitative and qualitative data.

The most significant leadership variable identified was a commitment to improve the Maori position followed by Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity. Maori ethical/moral discipline is considered to be in major crisis, ahead of achieved leadership, Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity. In comparison, it is considered that too much time is wasted on international knowledge and skills, results orientation, inherited leadership, group acceptance and loyalty to the group. The poor rating of international knowledge and skills is an unusual feature.

Further to this, it is argued that education administration theory development has significantly influenced the direction of Maori Education in New Zealand spanned by a historical tension between Tino Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga. It is also argued that the assimilative practices will not improve the Maori position according to Maori community expectations. Furthermore, the credentials of Maori leadership have been transformed by diverse thinking Maori individuals and groups who are associated with a multiplicity of social institutions both Maori and non-Maori. For many Maori Educational Administrators, Maori Community expectations such as working primarily for their benefit and accepting commitment to improve the Maori position according to their agenda. are unreasonable.

This thesis concludes that Maori Leadership in Educational Administration functions in a diversity of Maori realities. Within these contexts, there are Maori leadership variables which are significant to Maori social groups. However, Maori Educationists are not always well equipped to perform effectively in situations characterised by a tension between the ideological positions of governance and Maori self-determination as expressed by the individuals and groups concerned. This is compounded by very demanding Maori community expectations and the conformity required by education agency responsibilities, which in turn affects Maori education outcomes. Teacher training and personal development that focus on Maori Leadership in Education may improve this situation.

He Mihi Noa

E rere kau mai te awa nui
mai i te kahui maunga
ki Tangaroa
ko au te awa
ko te awa ko au

E kore e oti tenei mihi ki a koutou katoa i manaaki mai i a au i roto i enei mahi rangahau. Tena, e tika ana te korero e kore e mimiti te puna aroha, heoti ano ka puta, ka ora.

Writing a thesis has taught me some valuable lessons which I will not forget easily. Personal experience has an uncanny knack of doing that. It is with this thought in mind that I sincerely thank all those who shared time with me as you listened, and often looked in puzzlement. Nevertheless, I am grateful for the treasures of patience and tolerance you offered me. Thank you.

Me pehea e au e whakahuahua nga ingoa o nga tangata katoa i homai te ringa manaaki ki tenei pukapuka? Na te rahi o te roopu i kore ai e tuhia enei kei warewaretia ko wai ra e ngaro ana. Heoi ano, tena koutou e te tokomaha me te tautoko mai ki taku mahi. Ko taku ngakau e mihi atu, Tena ra koutou katoa.

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Glossary of Maori Terms

Whare Wananga	A recognised tribal institution for the maintenance and transmission of esoteric knowledge.
Manaaki (tanga)	The act of sharing with others.
Aroha	The act of caring for others.
Tino Rangatiratanga	Maori sovereignty.
Kawaratanga	Governance.
Tahuu	Ridgepole of an ancestral meeting house.
Whanaungatanga	Relationships.
Whariki	A weaved mat.
Whakapapa	Genealogy.

Preface

A study of Maori Leadership in Educational Administration is a necessary and relevant activity for a Maori education research community. In fact, the significant contribution that a Maori body of knowledge has to offer has yet to be clarified from a philosophical platform which can be practically utilised to advance theory, practice and research of all issues that impact on the life chances of Maori people. While this writer believes that such a philosophical position does exist, a static view should not be entertained when considering what this platform looks like and how it can contribute to global debates such as leadership in Educational Administration. More importantly, how it can improve educational outcomes for Maori people.

This thesis attempts to tease out the fabric of the Maori Educational Administrators world, specifically, the tension between Kawanatanga and Tino Rangatiratanga as it impacts on this. This is inextricably connected to issues of power and control, and the ideologies upon which they are based. By considering these matters, it tries to improve our understanding about what Maori Educational Administrators do and begins to probe what kind of Maori Leadership may enhance a transformation of Maori Education.

Chapter One introduces the purpose of this study, discusses the theoretical framework and research process, and illuminates the issues associated with these aspects. This chapter raises questions about the relationship between Maori Leadership and Educational Administration, the tension between the philosophies of Tino Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga, and power and control issues between Maori and non-Maori.

In this context, a historical review of Maori Leadership is described as a fundamental activity to this study because it provides the literature for beginning an analysis of the implications for Educational Administrators in New Zealand. A review of the historical impact of Administrative Theory on Maori Education can also be described in this way. There are separate chapters devoted to these aspects.

Chapter Two provides a background to the research design and discusses the ethical issues raised by this study. The research design section expands on the concerns highlighted about research process and error elimination. It also describes the development of an appropriate methodology which responds to questions about access to Maori Communities for research purposes as it affects this study.

In Chapter Three there is an overview of the theory movement and the positivist disposition it is based on. Hoy and Miskel, and Foster's publications are used to bind this administration theory whakapapa. The work of positivists such as Taylor, Bobbitt, Simon and Halpin are reviewed here also human relations approaches are discussed as their antecedents are described, in particular, references to the Hawthorne studies, the work of Chester Bernard, Herbert Simon and Halpin. Philosophical issues are noted with regard to the work of Weber, Kuhn and Hughes. Greenfield's phenomenological position is also reviewed before introducing the critical theory position. This review is applied to the New Zealand situation with a discussion about the historical impact on Maori Education.

Chapter Four attempts to demonstrate the connections between Educational Administrative theory development and the state of Maori Education. The ideological conflict between Tino Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga is explored in this context, in particular, the use of Educational Administrative practices which successfully reinforce a Kawanatanga position. A review of research about the Maori Education position is indicative of a gradualism mentality which is inadvertently or otherwise supported by the state. The literature highlights the changes in Kawanatanga thinking which continue to marginalise a Maori position. Essentially, the power of the Pakeha veto is revealed from evidence about the shaping of Maori Education by Kawanatanga policy and Educational Administrators.

In Chapter Five, the position of Maori social organisations is discussed before describing the shape and size of Maori Leadership in these social orders. Its inclusion to this study, reflects the writer's belief that a discussion about Maori Educational Administrators is essentially about Maori Leadership. Therefore, the most suitable framework for this to be advanced is not a general review of Educational Leadership but an understanding of the diverse Maori realities, their influence on Maori Leadership expectations and the role of the Maori Educational Administrator, and its significance for transforming the present state of Maori Education. A set of Maori Leadership variables and broad Maori Educational contexts are identified for further study.

Chapter Six presents the research results for the focus group interviews and questionnaire survey administered. In Chapter Seven, there are three questions reflected upon; the relevance of Maori knowledge to this work, the power relationship between Maori and Pakeha as perceived by Maori respondents in this study and respondents perceptions of Maori Leadership in Educational Administration. These conclusions provide a synthesis of the findings with a discourse analysis orientation. In conclusion, a new tentative proposition is offered.

A final statement is provided for those who choose to read this work. This study is not about defining educational outcomes for Maori, or biculturalism in schools and wider society, or about the allocations of resources for Maori Education. However, it is about maximising human resources as it applies to education and to the communities where this takes place.

What is this study about: Maori Leadership in Educational Administration

This thesis is a study of the relationship between Maori Leadership and educational administration. It is part of a more wide ranging discussion about issues surrounding the philosophy of tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga. It is primarily a study of power relationships between Maori and non-Maori, and the historical antecedents upon which they are based.

In this context, a review of Maori leadership provides a backdrop for the ensuing debate about its implications for educational administration in Aotearoa. This is strengthened with a review of educational administration research and its relevance to Maori education.

One might ask, does Maori leadership and educational administration have anything to do with power relationships between Maori and non-Maori? It is the writer's contention that it does because Maori leadership in educational administration may become a major contributor to the powershift taking place within both Maori and New Zealand's social and economic structures.

A new paradigm is emerging, in which Maori and non-Maori alike are being challenged to replace beliefs and values of the industrial age. A new whariki is being woven with its weft and warp in sharp contrast to the industrial model and its associated theories and practices. This is evident in the post-modern literature on narrative knowledge as explained by writers such as Lyotard (1984), Bruner (1986) and Polkinghorne (1988).

Hopa¹ states that the industrial model is a product of western thought and experience. It shaped the central thread of societal development throughout the world, including Aotearoa. This ideology fashioned the goals which received priority policy attention. From its deep structure emerged sophisticated methodologies for guiding human choices in ways that remained consistent with its underlying assumptions. Both Maori leadership and educational administration have not been immune to this powerful ideology.

¹This was extracted from a letter sent by Pare Hopa to the Whanau Division of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority in 1991. It was written in reference to Te Wananga o Raukawa and the direction this institution is taking in regards to Maori knowledge and skills. Pare Hopa was a member of the accreditation panel that scrutinised their application for nationally registered degree courses. Te Wananga o Raukawa received

Toffler (1991) and others describe the emergence of a new movement, the result of forces which are rendering agricultural and industrial models obsolete. It is characterised by a decrease in industrial production as a social function and the increase of activity in service and information related areas.

This alignment is critical to a transformation process, which may not yet be clearly defined for Maori. Both Maori leadership and educational administration may need to respond sharply to this transformation of beliefs, values and social structures and the growing concern with value questions related to the quality of life. It is an opportunity to express an ideological position which reflects the interconnected and interrelated disposition of human affairs and nature couched in terms such as whanaungatanga. Many critics, Maori and non-Maori alike, have questioned the present education system because it has destroyed this world view.

New Zealand's education system has performed poorly for Maori. (Ministry of Education: New Zealand Education Statistics 1989) The historical antecedents associated with this may influence how Maori Educational Administrators view their role today. They may claim that cultural roles are inseparable from their work, particularly when they share a commitment to improve the educational attainment and retention rates of Maori people. For them, it may be important to describe and analyze Maori views of educational administration and leadership within a framework that is relevant for Maori and responds to the new whariki being woven on a global scale.

There is a wealth of research about educational administration, however, in the New Zealand context there is little information about Maori Educational Administrators. Researchers such as Mintzberg (1975) began with the question, "What do educational administrators do?" For Maori Education, it is just as important to begin teasing out the fabric of the Maori educational administrator's world because it may differ from that of other administrators.

This topic is significant to the writer because the notion of tino rangatiratanga is expressed as the central tenet to the Maori perception of transformation. In education, it is perceived to be the foundation for improving the life chances of young Maori people. Maori Educational Administrators may be expected to adhere to this. If Maori Educational Administrators are to find relevant solutions to Maori Education issues then a relevant framework is required. This framework needs to consider what Maori Educational Administrators actually do.

Maori people seem to place their trust in Maori Educational Administrators who display both relevant work related and cultural qualities. They appear to expect these qualities to be demonstrated within New Zealand's present education system. It may be useful to ascertain what these qualities are and to consider how administrators apply them.

The disintegration and restructuring of Maori social structures is relevant also. This state of affairs needs to be reviewed because it may reveal a Maori perception of New Zealand's education system, but even more importantly, it may establish whether a new direction about what Maori Educational Administrators do is required.

In summary, this thesis will focus on the knowledge, skills and qualities that Maori Educational Administrators may need to function effectively in the new paradigm that is emerging, may use to enhance the achievement of Maori development goals, and may stimulate the emergence of methodologies that are consistent with a Maori philosophy.

The Theoretical Framework

The framework developed for this study responds to the work of Maori scholars such as Rangihiroa (1966), Winiata (1967), and Rangihau (1975). It may provide an opportunity to extend our understanding of the conceptual tahuu, Maori philosophical base, that binds Maori knowledge to all fields of study.

This tahuu is central to the way that Maori make sense of their world. It is carved from a narrative knowledge base (Lyotard; 1984) and serves as a platform for interacting with their chosen pursuits. Although, Maori customary knowledge has been threatened since the arrival of the missionaries, it remains significant in the thinking of Maori social organisations; whanau, hapu and iwi. For many Maori peoples, it still provides a defiant statement about Maori Independence and challenges to Pakeha knowledge along with the systems that legitimate it.

Walker (1973) captured this in his assertion that education is geared to a single frame of reference which purveys and perpetuates a cultural tradition of West European tradition that is ethnocentric and middle class oriented. He claimed that the educational under-achievement of Maori could be attributed largely to these features of the education system. This is supported by educational research which notes that despite the adoption of policies for Maori Education by successive governments, the 1989 education statistics indicate that the gap between Maori and non-Maori education attainment and retention rates is increasing. The predicament is confirmed by the 1993 Maori Education statistics.²

² Maori achievement and retention rates between Maori and non-Maori have not improved significantly.

The situation could be misconstrued by arguments which not only acknowledge the increasing rates of change but accept it as a plausible reason for tolerance. If the rates of change are sustained then there may be cause for celebration, however, it seems premature at the moment. Without assurances, it would be futile trying to persuade those who are most affected, that it is sufficient to acknowledge the gap exists and to accept the potential for sharp improvement if the rate of change continues. This is significant because statistics alone will not immediately comfort Maori who are in this predicament.

Such poor Maori Education outcomes are tolerated by New Zealanders within an educational framework that is based on false charity. Freire (1972) describes false charity as the cure for any attempt to soften the power of the oppressor. It serves the oppressor who must perpetuate injustice to continue expressing their generosity.

Therefore, this framework cannot be bound by constructs that will not allow Maori people to discover and develop their potential, to give names to things around them. Freire (1972) described this as winning back the right to say your word, to name the world. In this context, it is an invitation to ensure that the framework accounts for the diversity of Maori positions. In this way, Maori people can act upon and transform their world and in so doing take control of their life chances.

Maori Educational Administrators may be expected to demonstrate behaviours that are consistent with this philosophical base because it is viewed by many Maori to be the basis for changing the structures of a New Zealand society which continue to oppress Maori people. Education is central to this because it provides the opportunity to practice freedom. It is the means by which Maori people can deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. This is demonstrated by the contesting of ideas associated with kawanatanga and tino rangatiratanga.

The terms kawanatanga and tino rangatiratanga are direct references to the Treaty of Waitangi. These two terms have been debated since the signing of the Treaty. Both terms describe a power relationship. Kawanatanga is about governance which enables the Pakeha to maintain their dominance. Tino rangatiratanga refers to Maori sovereignty which many Maori believe allows them to share the power and authority of the country. In spite of this view and the attempts to have Maori rights acknowledged and resolved, successive governments have continued to promise much and deliver little.

Maori people have kept the tino rangatiratanga debate alive by reaffirming their right to protect and preserve their taonga as well as seek opportunities to benefit from them culturally, educationally, socially and economically. For this to happen, they expect the government to honour the Treaty and thereby allow them to achieve tino rangatiratanga.

However, many Maori people do not trust the government. This influences the approach taken by Maori people when government initiatives are being discussed. History has taught Maori people some hard lessons with respect to this power struggle and it has become a legacy to be handed down to successive generations.

Ani Mikaere (1991) clarifies the debate by stating that different writers who have contributed to the treaty debate have based their views on the assumption that the signing of the treaty coupled with the surrounding events resulted in the cession of sovereignty as provided by the Pakeha text, or at very least they appear not to regard it as being an issue. She contends that this in effect involves a denial of the concept of tino rangatiratanga as guaranteed by the second article of the Maori text. It underlines the colonist perception that interprets the Treaty as a transfer of sovereignty. The Maori text, however, refers to a sharing of power and authority.

The relationship between Pakeha and Maori is demonstrated by this on-going debate about kawanatanga and tino rangatiratanga. Maori do not accept Pakeha definitions of Maori reality nor will they conform absolutely to Pakeha structures despite their participation. It is incorrect to assume that Maori participation indicates agreement. There may be a willingness to participate but agreement is left suspended until beneficial outcomes are achieved.³

Tino rangatiratanga is, therefore, more than a notion for Maori people. It is a revolution that continually undergoes thesis and anti-thesis from one generation to the next. Despite the persistent onslaught of assimilative policies the revolution is still evident in the defiant nature of historical Maori responses. It remains the source of critical appraisal and transformation for Maori people. It, is perhaps, the central tenet of this situation because it influences the roles of all Maori who work within or outside of the government bureaucracy.

Based upon this view, tino rangatiratanga could be characterised by the following aspects:

- Maori development controlled and delivered by Maori;
- power sharing between Maori and the government;
- redistribution of resources to Maori for Maori development in all spheres of New Zealand society;
- recognition of the tangata whenua - manuhiri relationship between Maori and the government;
- quality Maori imperatives inculcated into the New Zealand consciousness.

³ This information was extracted from a discourse analysis assignment completed on the Maori responses to the New Zealand Qualifications Framework Proposal (1991) which was written in partial fulfilment of a Masters Education Admin course. This analysis was completed from a sample of over 240 responses. The findings have been

This position is exemplified by the Whanganui River Maori Trust Board's Treaty of Waitangi statement in their Iwi Education Plan.⁴ It notes that Whanganui Iwi have resolved that the Treaty of Waitangi has wide ramifications for Maori development. They argue that there are many Treaty issues still being debated between Maori people and the government including education.

Despite this, Whanganui Iwi expect the government to guarantee, good government for Maori people, Maori self-determination and equality for Maori people. The treaty is, in essence, a quality assurance device for the Whanganui Iwi Education Plan 1992-97. It is the basis for all discussions about the implementation of their plan with government agencies, local authorities, and all other groups that Whanganui Iwi choose to negotiate with.

They have declared that Whanganui Iwi will seek to affirm the following points regarding the Treaty of Waitangi in Education:

- quality education delivery to Maori people;
- the acquisition of education resources from the government and others;
- affirmation of tangata whenua - manuhiri relationship;
- quality iwi imperatives inculcated into education activities undertaken by Maori people.

The implications for Maori Educational Administrators in this tribal area have yet to be examined in detail by this iwi group, nevertheless, there are some clear signals being sent to Maori Educationists which will impact on their role as educational leaders.

This is demonstrated by the contesting of ideology, tikanga, and leadership within Maori social structures today. Many Maori people continue to resist the ideological capture of Maori philosophy by power brokers who wish to subsume this within a new-right ideological framework. The process may be more subtle today but the outcome is still assimilation oriented.

It is a major concern because many Maori are left confused about their whanau, hapu and iwi relationships, what they stand for and how they promulgate Maori leadership. Consequently, many Maori social organisations base their ideas about leadership on assumptions which are not scrutinised.

⁴ The Iwi Education Plan developed by the Whanganui River Maori Trust Board was approved in September 1992. It has become a key document for Education initiatives in Te rohe o Whanganui. The document has an outcomes orientation and describes the cultural imperatives in terms of knowledge and skills that educational

There is a tendency for many Maori to become overly precious about what is generally referred to as the *Maori way* and remain unwilling to scrutinise this. It is important to subject our present knowledge to further research which will seek to eliminate error from our conjectures. It would seem unwise to accept a nebulous view of the *Maori way*. To do so, would only serve to reinforce the view of Maori culture as an artefact. This is reviewed in this thesis because a study of Maori Educational Administrators is about Maori leadership.

Influence of International Writers

The work of Bernstein, Bourdieu, Freire, Gramsci and others is offered in this thesis to strengthen the theoretical framework. In this way, the *tahuhu*⁵ is supported by the work of international writers whose insights may enable Maori people to demonstrate the significant contribution they have to offer in Educational Administration. Freire and Gramsci offer Marxist perspectives on the world which they applied to their situations. Their predominant focus on class struggle is important to this study but needs to be wider to acknowledge ethnicity and racism as integral issues. This is crucial because such issues are not separated from the class struggle of Maori people, whether it be amongst themselves or with non-Maori.

According to Adam (1972; cited in Simon 1986:6), ethnicity, racism and class struggle are the result of the dominant group feeling that the former subordinates are beginning to compete in areas where they have prior and superior claim. It portrays a dominant group continually seeking to legitimate the behaviour that protects their interests. For all intents and purposes, it portrays a deliberate act which focuses on the organisation of consent (Simon, 1982). A more specific reference to the New Zealand context is cited by Simon (1986) who argued that this is the position between Maori and non-Maori; a structural relationship of dominance and subordination. These arguments reinforce the suggestion that a critique of *tino rangatiratanga* in relation to *kawanatanga* is significant to this thesis.

While the work of Marx, Gramsci and Freire provides this study with an international perspective of oppression it should not detract from the way that oppression is perceived by Maori people. Notwithstanding this, Freire's (1972) concept descriptions are attractive, in particular, the banking concept of education. According to this view, education leaders are beyond scrutiny and are to be respected by their subordinates. They are the founts of unquestionable knowledge and disseminate what they constitute to be true. This stems from a belief in formal logic as the paragon of reason, constituting a meta-discourse used as the final arbiter in all matters (cited in Harker; 1993). Murphy (1989: 63) describes it in this way:

⁵ A reference to the theoretical framework of this study

Politically...the bureaucratization of society is disastrous. Power becomes extremely concentrated, usually in the hands of a few technocrats. These functionaries are believed to possess the education and skills required to make scientific or rational decisions. Because knowledge is not widely disseminated, the political process begins to collapse. The average citizen is unable to make informed choices, while those who have knowledge become increasingly indispensable. (Murphy; 1989:63)

In the New Zealand context, it ensures that Maori people are not, as Freire (1972) puts it, conscientised. This is revealed by the "one-people, we are all New Zealanders myth" which has its genesis in the kawanatanga ideology. The kawanatanga ideology is not about Maori liberation, but it is viewed by the western world as the glue that binds this nation. A Friirian would argue that it is the means by which the oppressor legitimates their behaviour.

This ideology is based on an underlying assumption that is couched in conflict, illustrated effectively, by New Zealand's Westminster style of government. It demands that conflict be central to its leadership make-up. Such leadership is a necessity for the maintenance of kawanatanga in its present form.

According to this view, it follows that the main functions of education are the reproduction of the dominant ideology of a society, its forms of knowledge and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the existing division of labour (Giroux, 1983). Opposition is a central component of this view. It values competition, acknowledges differential power relations and stresses the importance of contest and struggle as key aspects in the establishment, maintenance and reproduction of the dominant social order in society. This view of the world is largely driven by a Marxist analysis of society.

Hegemony can be described as a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated or supportive of a single class (Livingstone, 1976). It enables the continued legitimation of meanings and values which are consistent with the dominant group, thereby, confirming and constituting their sense of reality for others in society.

Gramsci's theoretical position, that hegemony acts to 'saturate' our consciousness with the consciousness of the dominant group, so that the educational, social, economic world we see and interact with, and the common sense interpretation we put on it becomes the only world (Williams, 1976; cited in May, 1992:16), is useful because it provides a framework to study the hegemonic processes entrenched in the concepts of assimilation, accommodation and integration which have shaped the history of interaction between Maori and Pakeha.

These views are common place in the sociology of education. Within this framework, education places are seen to be sites of social and cultural reproduction. Such theoretical positions about the dominance of ruling class ideas have been utilised to critically analyze education sites, such as schools. Amidst this conceptual space, schools are described as mechanisms for the maintenance of the ruling class perception of the world.

Educational Administrators, Maori or non-Maori, can be observed through this theoretical looking glass as well. They are not only party to processing pupils but they process knowledge as well. In keeping with this position, Young (1971) argues that knowledge can be examined as a social construction, largely influenced by deeply ingrained but specific power relations. It follows, that the behaviour of Educational Administrators would reflect and give value to the knowledge offered or not offered in education places. In addition, it highlights the necessity of the dominant group to undermine a Maori knowledge base because its inevitable conclusion of failure is a powershift. In this case, it would mean sharing power with Maori people in ways that begin to breakdown kawanatanga in its present form. The implication is emphasised by Toffler (1990:20) who argues that the control of knowledge is the crux of tomorrow's world wide struggle for power in every human institution.

While these ideas are powerful, it is the work of the French Sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, which provides working tools that significantly strengthen the tahuu of this framework. At the core of this, is the adaptability of Bourdieu's conceptual tools which are capable of supporting a critical description of tino rangatiratanga.

This is more clearly understood when consideration is given to the probability that educational institutions have a certain cultural capital, essentially the habitus of the dominant group, which is advocated by them to be accessible to everyone. This is not so, according to a Bourdieu perspective. He argues that Educational Administrators would not necessarily have access to this but they nevertheless would be required to behave accordingly.

Bourdieu (1974) argues that education places, namely schools, are geared to transmit a tradition which is only there to benefit those who possess the cultural heritage that conforms to that demanded by them. It infers that Educational Administrators, Maori or non-Maori, who process knowledge, skills and qualities which do not fit must be subdued and not allowed to surface even though the potential benefits may be extremely visible.

It follows that all other knowledge, skills and qualities possessed by Maori Educational Administrators must, therefore, be devalued or inculcated in ways that maintain the dominant group's powerbase. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, strategies, practices and cultural capital can be utilised to reveal the distinctive features about Maori leadership and its relationship to Educational Administration in New Zealand.

The notion of habitus states that the result of socialisation is continually modified by what is going on. Harker (1991) notes that according to Bourdieu, habitus is a product of history which produces individual and collective practices in accordance with the schemes or dispositions generated by that history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences which tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms. Harker and May (1993) further note that habitus sets the boundaries within which agents are 'free' to adopt strategic practices. These practices are based on the intuitions of the practical sense that orient rather than strictly determine action.

Tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga may be typical of this and thereby provide a means of orientation rather than determinants of human action. This study examines whether or not we do share the same habitus and whether some habitus are more valued than others. Maybe, some Maori people actually disagree with the views of other Maori about the philosophy of tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga. There is a strong probability that a diverse range of opinion exists between Maori and non-Maori alike about such matters. What is perhaps even more revealing is the assumption that a unified Maori position about these issues does exist or should exist, thereby, supporting a sense of Maori nationalism. However, this may be difficult to substantiate. Thrupp's (1991) thesis tends to support this. He identified four positions and their characteristics which are held by various New Zealand Administrators, including some who are Maori, involved in education at a national policy level.

Position one is shared by those who hold exclusively Pakeha frameworks of thought which is demonstrated by a denial of any special claim to equity by Maori. They are consequently uncomfortable about forms of Maori autonomy. They also tend to use overseas research that does not support the use of Maori solutions to Maori Education policy needs.

Position two explains equity as the incorporation of Maori dimensions. In this case Maori have a special claim to equity. Differences are recognised as are Maori forms of education and ways of doing things. A measure of autonomy is considered necessary and treated positively. It requires Maori control and decision making to be displayed in suitable educational contexts, however, it does appear to openly involve an expression of tino rangatiratanga.

Positions two and three are described by Thrupp (1991:45) as middle ground positions.

Position three is about limited tino rangatiratanga. These people tend to share similar approaches to those in position two. This group's analyses indicates an awareness or agenda of tino rangatiratanga or iwi self-determination in relation to education. It was raised in discussions about autonomy and in relation to the Treaty. However, tino rangatiratanga does not dominate as strongly here as in position four. Position four is shared by those who are very focused on tino rangatiratanga.

It is the *tahuu* of their thinking and expressed in notions as tribal sovereignty, relative autonomy, coequal power sharing and *iwi* devolution. Pakeha notions of equity are identified as the problem and inappropriate for Maori. Honouring the Treaty, in particular *tino rangatiratanga*, is considered to be equitable.

These four positions are essentially grounded in discussions about *tino rangatiratanga*. It may be unwise to assume that position one is necessarily a *kawanatanga* view or perhaps even to assume that position four is at the opposite end of *kawanatanga*. Assumptions about each of these four positions could be made with regard to *kawanatanga* if there was an acceptance that *tino rangatiratanga* is at the other end of the spectrum. Some of the interview responses tend to support this. Nevertheless, an analysis of the tension between Maori and Pakeha in respect of *kawanatanga* may provide further insight about the *habitus* which are celebrated within New Zealand society. Whatever the case may be, Bourdieu (1990) argues, that appropriate behaviour is largely a condition of acceptability as defined by social practices which are appropriate within the limits or boundaries around what is thinkable (*habitus*).

Bourdieu (1986) argues that rules are not a useful way to describe social practices because the concept is too definitive and incapable of expressing the variance of the human condition. He has developed the idea of strategy which does not focus on adherence to rules but emphasises the practical sense, a feel for what is appropriate and acceptable. He refers to this as the sense of the game. It follows that the notion of leadership may not only be contested within Maori circles based on differing perspectives of *tino rangatiratanga*, it may also be contested between Maori and non-Maori when debated in terms of *kawanatanga*.

When this is considered in relation to Maori leadership in educational administration, it raises issues about what is important to Maori and similarly what is important to non-Maori. In this context, the expectations of Maori Educational Administrators can be critically analyzed in terms of knowledge, skills and qualities of Maori leadership.

Related to this is Bourdieu's notion of practice which is produced as a product of history (*habitus*). It is itself history generated in accordance with the history that the practices were based on. In a sense, a means of ensuring reproduction. This suggests that practice for Maori leadership in educational administration may be the result of convergence between the histories of *tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*.

This is pertinent because studying the practices of Maori Educational Administrators may reveal the strategies used to function effectively and efficiently within these parameters. For Maori Educational Administrators to achieve this it may be a prerequisite to be conversant with the parameters of not only Maori leadership but leadership in educational administration internationally.

The relationship of Bourdieu's (1990) conceptual tools with Maori leadership and educational administration becomes more pronounced when it is understood that some habitus constitute cultural capital and are reinforced with success while others are not. New Zealand's Education System is couched in *kawanatanga* (governance) which, by its very nature, must resist any acknowledgement of habitus that may threaten the benefits offered to those who have the accepted cultural capital. It is inevitable that this becomes the domain of the privileged few who are capable of transmitting the habitus necessary for the reception of the institution's messages (May, 1991:17). The question remains, does this disadvantage Maori Educational Administrators who must function in these institutions? Given Bourdieu's position on schooling and its effects on pupils (1974, 1977, 1990) an affirmative response cannot be discounted.

In respect of the New Zealand experience, Harker (1984) tells us, that schools transmit the dominant habitus which is necessary for the reception of the school's messages. It could be argued, therefore, that Maori educational administrators who fail to inculcate and transmit the dominant habitus may be quickly sidelined because their sense of the game is not appreciated.

Harker (1991:18) encourages further questioning when he tells us that the openness of New Zealand's Education System is questionable because current practices may be based on particular views of education which tend to reinforce (and hence reproduce) the structures that structured the practices in the first place and make other sorts of alternatives 'unthinkable'. This view is important, according to Harker (1991), because it raises questions that infringe on social and cultural development as well as educational ones.

Bourdieu's working tools have been utilised by Harker (1984,1990,1991) and others in educational research within New Zealand. Much of this research has centred on the school as a dominant group institution which enables children from that group to capitalise on their cultural capital while Maori children and others who do not carry the necessary cultural capital are denied or at the very least restricted in their potential capitalization.

While much of the emphasis of Bourdieu driven education study in New Zealand has focused on the child, in this study, Bourdieu's conceptual tools are utilised to reveal the mosaic of the Maori Educational Administrator's world. Also, these tools are seen to be essential for analysing the tension between *tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga*.

A key element of Bourdieu's contribution to this study is the relationship to critical theory that can be deduced. This relationship is pivotal to the theoretical framework because it accentuates the responsiveness of this study to the Maori Educational Administrators environment. The issues being raised in this thesis are entrenched in the concept of transformation which is central to critical theory.

The notion of critical theory, as a guide to action, enables the researcher to respond to the ethical and political dimensions of administrative practice. For the purpose of this study, these dimensions cannot ignore the kawanatanga tino rangatiratanga debate and its influence over Maori leadership in educational administration. To this, we could add Bourdieu's contributions of habitus, practice, strategy and cultural capital which are useful for analysing what it looks like. They are not necessarily used to determine change, nevertheless, they do contribute to the process of transformation by enabling clarity to be achieved.

Bourdieu's tools are capable of assisting the researcher analyze and reveal the differences between what is and what could be. Such a critical awareness is insufficient by itself and must be complemented with socialisation to achieve change but, in this sense, Bourdieu's conceptual tools contribute to this theoretical framework in a way that enhances the search for social action which continually and critically challenges, reformulates and challenges again.

Furthermore, critical theorists argue that critical theory is an improvement on both positivism and phenomenology as a guide to action with regard to administrative practice. This viewpoint is couched in persuasive arguments which focus upon the underlying assumptions and inadequacies of positivism and phenomenology but also emphasises that transformation is a fundamental tenet of educational administration. Theorists such as Bernstein (1976) and Foster (1986) have raised a raft of issues related to this.

All these aspects form the basis for the theoretical framework because they provide the braces (heke) that are capable of supporting the central thread (tahuhu) of this study. Essentially, the intention of this theoretical position is to strengthen the weave that binds Maori knowledge to all fields of study including Maori leadership in educational administration.

The Research Process

Popper's formula describes the process by which this study has been conducted. This formula provides an all encompassing process that can generate the powerful connections needed to scan the literature and use a multi-disciplined approach to improve what little we know about Maori Educational Administrators.

Popper's formula allows the researcher to draw on a variety of research methods which may be appropriate to this study. Corson (1987) describes this in his discussion about an approach to research in educational administration. He highlights the short comings of applying different research views in educational administration which include the presentation of complex matters from one perspective only and the difficulties associated with verification.

His conclusions do not discount scientific traditions completely but neither do they discard the work of Greenfield (1975) and others who argue that the study of administration is more properly concerned with value issues and better undertaken through the hermeneutic tradition than it is with and through the methods of a science. This perspective about research seeks an approach that incorporates science; recognises the influences of subjective bias in all that we do; and responds to the probability of error.

Popper's formula stems from his theory of knowledge which has evolved to emphasise error elimination as the central point of his research process. This conceptual shift is a departure from the notion of falsification which proved to have problems of rationality when applied to different sets of circumstances. Instead, it is argued that the growth of knowledge proceeds by eliminating error from our conjectures.

This process model enables researchers to extend their concerns, to embrace not only empirical and interpretative interests but to reflect a critical moral interest. As a moral science it is concerned with the resolution of moral dilemmas. Such dilemmas can be resolved in a reflective or unreflective manner. An unreflective approach is what positivism is accused of by opponents such as Foster (1986). A reflective approach involves an examination from the widest possible range of perspectives. It infers, therefore, that dilemmas need not be simply resolved but they can be transformed so that an improved administrative practice is realised.

Bernstein (1976) believes that a research for empirical correlation, the task of interpreting social and political reality and a critique of that reality are not three distinct types of enquiry. They are three internal movements of theorising about social and political life. Foster (1986) and others support this viewpoint. They argue that empirical work must be balanced by interpretative and critical understandings. According to them, administration should be examined from the wider context of which administration is a part, because this context provides opportunities for moral decisions.

According to this view, educational research cannot ignore the rights and values of children or the sensitivities and sensibilities of young people (Corson, 1987). Codd (1990) elaborates with his argument that if schools are to achieve their goals and purposes then we need an organisational culture where good management and leadership are both reflective and collective responsibilities.

Popper's formula as described by Corson (1987) provides a powerful tool for educational researchers to synthesise empirical and interpretative information fused with notions which may not be revealed by them. It is consistent with critical theory because it demands continuous rigorous scrutiny of our conjectures. For this to be achieved, a research process that is transformative by nature is required. Because Popper's formula provides this, it has formed the basis of the research process for this study.

PI - TT - EE - P2

Corson (1987) states that PI stands for problem identification; TT stands for tentative theory; EE stands for error elimination; and P2 stands for the resulting identification of a new problem.

Problem Identification

In terms of educational administration, problem identification encourages a multidisciplinary grasp of the situation. This requires a deep immersion in the disciplines. The more knowledge gained about the field of the problem the more explanatory and explicit can be the tentative formulation and statement of the problem. Therefore, the problem is critically appraised from a variety of perspectives. By drawing on all the available knowledge that the researcher has access to, it is possible to summarise what view of the world is presently held about the situation.

A cross disciplinary approach is used to examine the problem situation. The theoretical framework for the study is consistent with this approach, in particular, it reflects a disposition of the Maori educational administrator's environment. In addition, the changing role of Maori leadership and educational leadership in general, is examined from a variety of perspectives before isolating this to the literature on Maori leadership in education.

The situation is then expressed as a theoretical statement which is now susceptible to critical processes of error elimination and reformulation. The literature about this topic has been reviewed to establish the known parameters of the research. It provides a synthesis of assumptions and data from a number of disciplines and elaborates on their relevance to the study.

Tentative Theory

As a result of the problem identification stage a tentative theory is developed to supersede the theoretical statement which emerged from the literature. This is an attempt to express clearly what the proposition is before subjecting it to a more extensive literary review.

The subsequent tentative theory, therefore, responds to the assumptions, concepts and data presented by extracting and consolidating the key points in a coherent and concise theoretical statement. This is possible because the shape of the tentative theory has been refined within the parameters of the literature reviewed.

By canvassing a number of disciplines about educational administration, Maori leadership and education in a systematic and analytical fashion, data collection reveals a tentative theory which is as explicit as possible given the knowledge base examined about the field of the problem.

Error Elimination

According to Corson (1987) error elimination is described by Popper as the critical method. It is a method of trial and the elimination of errors, of proposing theories and submitting theory to the severest tests we can design. For this study, it implied that the elimination of error required the design and application of measuring instruments that:

- improve our understanding about what Maori Educational Administrators do;
- begin to probe what kind of leadership is required to transform the present state of Maori Education.

Data gathering instruments were utilised within culturally relevant forums, that is, research methods and processes were used which enabled participants to share information in ways that did not compromise their cultural tenets.

Smith (1986) stated that Maori people do have their own cultural indexes as far as knowledge, learning and teaching and research definitions are concerned. Popper's research process does not preclude the use of Maori oriented research practices⁶ because it enables the researcher to draw upon a wide variety of sources to build up a picture of the world.

⁶ Maori oriented research practices is part of the Maori Research Methodology debate. This debate does not discount the use of research methods such as Popper, but, it does question the use of methods which do not encourage the exploration and use of Maori cultural imperatives in all research fields.

Popper's formula provides a vehicle to transport and express such beliefs and practices as *tangata whenua* because it is a reality that is pertinent to their research studies. Therefore, it is legitimate to apply Maori oriented research practices and to explore the relevance of a Maori body of knowledge. This is qualified, however, by the fact that Western derived knowledge is often assumed to be democratised while Maori knowledge is specialised and entrusted to a few members for the benefit of the *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi*. This study does not, therefore, attempt to traverse Maori knowledge which has been noted by participants as inappropriate for discussion in this forum.

I note that researchers such as Cameron (1985) and Smith (1986) have raised genuine concerns about Pakeha who continue to access Maori communities for research purposes. Indeed, I agree with the special care considerations⁷ of Thrupp (1991) who demonstrates an awareness of some of the issues involved in research being undertaken about Maori people. I extend this consideration to Maori researchers who are also prone to making assumptions about their experience and skills with different *whanau*, *hapu*, *iwi* and pan-Maori groups.

In this study, my Maori research contribution is derived mainly from my relationships and interactions with Whanganui *iwi* and the associated *tupuna* areas. However, I also draw on my cultural experiences with other tribal and pan-Maori groups. Much of the data collected here reflects the *whanau*, *hapu*, *iwi* and pan-Maori activities that have dominated my cultural experiences.

This is a useful caution especially when it is considered beside Royal's (1992) criticism of Maori history. He argues, in general, that there was an attempt to create some kind of national norm of Maori history and traditions. He highlights the attempts of John White⁸ and others to create a common version of tribal traditions, thereby undermining tribal diversity and ultimately tribal authority. Royal (1992: 15) states:

The tribal researcher of today cannot escape this cultural reality, and all research must take cognisance of tribal reconstruction and redevelopment. Tribal redevelopment has as much to do with the spiritual health of the individual as it has to do with the return of tribal land.

⁷ This is well expressed by Thrupp (1991:35) in his thesis about Competing notions of Distributive Justice: Equity and Tino Rangatiratanga in Maori Education Policy Debate 1990.

⁸ Royal (1992:105) makes a reference to John White who recorded tribal histories and traditions and published them in several books, the most famous of which was *The Ancient History of the Maori*. More recent scholars have accused him of misrepresenting some tribal histories and traditions. Royal (1992) suggests that the essay on White written by Michael Reilly in the first volume of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1990) be read for further information.

It is important, therefore, for this research to maintain some integrity in terms of the sources upon which its data are based. The literature reviewed about Maori leadership and its implications for Educational Administration, in particular, has been scanned with Royal's considerations in mind. To emphasise the point further, this study is limited and does not claim to represent an all encompassing account of the issues commented on by respondents.

Much of the informal data was obtained as a result of the relationships and interactions of the writer with whanau, hapu, iwi and pan-Maori groups in Te rohe o Whanganui. It would be incorrect to consider this study a comprehensive Maori position. Nevertheless, the research parameters used here are considered appropriate and valid for the purposes of this study.

Tentative Theory Two

This is noted by the completion of the research cycle and a return to the first stage. The original proposition is now reviewed against the research findings. This stage requires that all the processes of error elimination employed are accounted for in the reformulation of the new tentative theory from which a new proposition may be derived.

Criticisms of Popperian Thinking

Karl Popper, according to Carr and Kemmis (1986:118), argued that no amount of true deductive inferences from a theory ever justified the conclusion that the theory was true. Popper contended that while scientific theories cannot be verified by specific observations, they nonetheless can be falsified or at least challenged.

Popper, however, changed the orientation of his theory slightly in the 1960s. According to Corson (1987), the change was subtle but it shifted the emphasis away from 'falsificationism' to error elimination. This movement, suggests Corson (1987), brought into sharp relief the implications of Popper's theory for research in educational administration. The important aspect of Corson's supportive arguments concern the change in orientation of Popperian thinking. He says:

His (Popper's) change of emphasis from 'falsificationism' to 'error elimination' is not as well known as his original idea and therefore people are prone to believe that they are familiar with Popper's views when in fact they are not (Corson, 1987:30).

The crucial role of Popper's research process is not to confirm, verify or prove scientifically held positions. Instead, it seeks to challenge, evaluate and, if possible, to disprove the conjectures used to validate or explain a particular state of affairs. Therefore, if theories can never be verified, then all knowledge has a provisional existence which reflects an evolutionary nature.

The key aspects which offer potential for this study are couched in a simple analysis of Popper's position. Firstly, if scientific knowledge is involved in an evolutionary struggle then competing theories are always prone to adjustment or replacement. If this is the case, the search for an objective, value-free approach to a theory of knowledge would seem to be unproductive.

In spite of Popper's argument that the commonsense theory of knowledge is a subjectivist blunder, including his attempt to eradicate it, and to replace it by an objective theory of essentially conjectural knowledge (Popper, 1972, p. vii), I think his research ideas are useful to this study. I believe that Popper has taken a just right-of-centre position (a sharp deviation from the orthodox positivist position) which begins to fuse ideas that are slightly left-of-centre (toward a critical theorist position). This is supported by the fact that adjustments and replacements are not necessarily the outcome of strict scientific progress, but are more likely to be the result of 'imaginative, creative and sometimes speculative conjectures' (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:120). The contextives of science as the primary means of achieving this is further advanced by Lyotard (1984:7) who argues scientific knowledge does not represent the totality of knowledge:

it has always existed in addition to, and in competition and conflict with, another kind of knowledge, which I will call narrative....I do not mean to say that narrative knowledge can prevail over science, but its model is related to ideas of internal equilibrium and conviviality next to which contemporary scientific knowledge cuts a poor figure.

I would argue that error elimination actually encourages such thinking and therefore supports this type of activity as an integral part of its primary intention. Corson (1986:35) notes this as one of the productive practices that may result from such an approach. He states that 'researchers may adopt methods guided by a use of ingenuity and imagination rather than by the traditions of the subject or its component disciplines'.

Thirdly, Carr and Kemmis (1986) recognise that Popper has contributed to a changing image of science which is very different from the orthodox positivist account. The main deviations indicate a departure from verification by acknowledging the impossibility of absolute knowledge and focusing on the elimination of prejudices and dogma that distort everyday commonsense thinking. This new position has transformed the researchers *locus operandi* from passive observer to active analyst of theories that are created by individuals to explain their world. Therefore, the researcher's role is not to create theory but to examine and challenge it.

In addition, the search for objectivity is itself a process of inquiry with associated norms and standards shared by a research community. It can be argued that such a community is only engaged in activities which adhere to their agreements. Kuhn (1962) captured this with his argument that positivism is a context shared by a community that has a common commitment to specific values and beliefs. From this position, there is always an opportunity for adaptation or even a complete shift to new values and beliefs.

The criticisms and responses offered here are not a justification for using Popper's research process. It is presented as a written account of my attempt to fathom the relational aspects of the various theorists, researchers and practitioners mentioned in this research process explanation. Moreover, it examines the extraction of ideas which I have synthesised here. In conclusion it reflects a desire to tighten the weft and warp of this whariki as it begins to take shape. Such is the disposition of this study because its critical nature promotes an exploration of a wide context of contributing information.

Ethics and Research Design

Research Ethics in Maori Communities

In designing the research methodology I chose to respond to issues raised by Maori Educationist such as Stokes (1985), Cameron (1985), and Smith (1986) who are critical of the 'academic stance' of researchers, in particular, non-Maori researchers. However, while their concerns are worth noting, their interest in non-Maori generated research activities of Maori Communities is not the main attraction. For the purposes of this study, an over emphasis on those aspects would divert attention away from Maori research considerations in the first instance and secondly, from the related ethical issues and their implications for Maori researchers. The intention is to provide a summary of useful research guidelines that respond to the relevant ethical considerations of this study. Te Awekotuku (1991) suggests that this cannot be avoided. She argues that in contemporary Maori society, and in the social research field, some form of rule book has become necessary. Two critical questions are raised. Firstly, should the same code of ethics apply to a Maori as to a non-Maori? Secondly, what should that code be?

Whilst studies of Maori Communities completed by ill informed and culturally inexperienced non-Maori researchers should be challenged, a preoccupation with such activity does not focus a Maori research community on fundamental questions about such matters as hapu and iwi generated philosophical positions and their application for future Maori development.

In any event, Researchers, in general, are being taken to task more often by the social groups they want to study. Researchers who believe that they have no responsibility in these matters are likely to find this is no longer acceptable, and certainly in some Maori Communities it is no longer tolerated. This is particularly important for Maori researchers because their most ardent critics are likely to be other Maori.

This is not to say that the points highlighted by Stokes, Cameron and Smith are not pertinent, it is to suggest that, Maori researchers may be more useful if they concentrated on the research needs and developments of Maori Communities rather than the inadequacies of other research communities that do not share a passion for their cultural imperatives. Walker (cited in Te Awekotuku, 1991:14) is an advocate of this position. He urges the development of indigenous models and methodology, and the extension and reinforcement of the traditional knowledge base - waiata, whakapapa, and oral history.

Furthermore, Stokes (1985) mentions that there are inherent conflicts in attitudes to knowledge between Maori and Pakeha. This is illustrated by the academic principle of democratisation: a European construct which does not 'fit' with the attitudes of many Maori Communities. Therefore, it is incumbent on the researcher to 'know', intuitively or otherwise, what should not appear in written accounts.

This must essentially be a self imposed monitoring mechanism. If it is to function effectively, the individual or groups must be assured of their right to exercise control over their contributions.

The ownership, management and control issues associated with Maori knowledge are further advanced by an interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi in so far as Article II is concerned. It is based on the premise that the phrase '*o ratou taonga katoa*' covers both tangible and intangible things and can be best translated by the expression '*all their valued customs and possessions*'. This is consistent with the Waitangi Tribunal conclusions for the Kaituna river and the Motunui findings where it was accepted that the phrase meant '*all things highly prized*'. The Manukau harbour case supported this view. As a result, it was stated that taonga in the context of the Treaty means more than objects or tangible value. It could be suggested that the ethical debate about Maori research is situated amidst arguments about intellectual property rights.

The questions raised and comments made by Maori writers such as Stokes (1985), Smith (1986), and Walker (1990) lean toward this view. Stokes (1985:8) argues that there exists a *private* or *community* knowledge which cannot be assessed readily, nor is it for public consumption. Smith (1986:4) notes that Maori knowledge was never universally available. Maori society valued knowledge highly, to such an extent that certain types of knowledge were entrusted to only a few members of the whanau. Knowledge was considered to be tapu and there were sanctions that ensured that it was protected, used appropriately and transmitted with accuracy. Walker (1990), on the other hand, suggests that non-Maori researchers should be deployed as consultants, or advisers away from the actual research field thereby denying them direct access to '*private*' or '*community*' knowledge.

It would be fair to say that Maori knowledge is inextricably connected to whanau, hapu and iwi histories. Stokes (1985) states that their historically accumulated knowledge is held by selected individuals who are duty bound to care for it, sustain their social group from its use and prepare it for transmission to a future generation. In spite of the realities of modern Maori society and the disintegration of tribal ties, close meaningful tribal relationships are still mandatory before a researcher is likely to be welcomed by any Maori Community. This is not easily attained and certainly involves an undisclosed testing time. Access to a Maori Community is never completely secure and can be withdrawn more readily than it is given. Suffice to say, that a Maori researcher's participation in tribal affairs is more likely to maintain access rather than their academic pursuits.

The importance of understanding and relating to a Maori individual's or group's cultural responsibilities cannot be over stated. For this study, I have drawn on my tribal knowledge and experience gleaned from the relationship I share with the Whanganui river and its surrounds. The words of Rangihau (1975) are offered here to accentuate the relevance of tribal experience as opposed to 'Maori' experience:

Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoie person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maoris. And there are so many different aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, or Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoie person and all I can share in is Tuhoie history (cited in King, 1975:174).

The issues raised here imply that the primary audience for this study must be the researched groups and individuals. In keeping with this theme, information-sharing with key participants, during and at the completion of this study will be a necessary activity. More importantly, the points raised here demand that the study contribute in some significant way to the researched community, in this case, Whanganui Iwi. An interchange of ideas and presentations of significant research to this iwi group is considered to be a useful approach. In this way, it may enable this community to capitalise on their intellectual investment. In keeping with this approach, it should be pointed out that a wide sample of Maori Educationalists has been used. This may provide generalisability about the findings, however, the Whanganui Iwi community sample may not be generalisable. While this sample may be indicative; it cannot be taken to be representative of all Maori people.

The research methodology has been developed with these issues in mind. In the section on error elimination I noted that the research methods and processes must not compromise the cultural tenets of the Maori participants and the various Maori social groups they are responsible to. In designing such a methodology, the attitudes of Maori participants toward knowledge and its transmission cannot be dismissed. It is just as important to acknowledge the existence and advocate the use of research parameters which are more akin to Maori Communities. Therefore, this discussion has attempted to take cognisance of '*tribal reconstruction and redevelopment*' (Royal, 1992:15) and establish a research position that encourages the pursuit of self-determination by Maori social groups.

The concerns raised here have influenced the dimensions and methodology of this study in, what I believe to be both, an appropriate and beneficial way. Indeed, there are issues noted here which do require more detailed discussion, however, I do not think it would be valuable to this study.

Methodology

Because there was only a 30% response to the network sample, I decided to use a focus group technique which provided an opportunity to ask unrehearsed questions, followed by a survey questionnaire. For the focus group interviews a list of key points were developed. These were used to generate lively discussion and debate amongst the participants. As the facilitator, I only used the key points to guide the dialogue when it was necessary, otherwise the group were left alone. This proved to be more successful. Another data collection device involved the recording of relevant hui discussions. These were written in the form of summaries which noted the key points and issues only. In her discussion paper on Maori research and development, Stokes (1985) describes this situation well:

The researcher who has learned to listen quietly will learn more and so be more effective. There is a very limited role for the clipboard and formal questionnaire (Stokes, 1985:11)

The focus group interviews and survey questionnaire provided valuable feedback about expected Maori Leadership knowledge, skills and qualities in educational administration. The results and a summary of the key issues and points raised are included as appendices. At this time, I also note that an unpublished discourse analysis I completed in 1991 about the Maori responses to the National Qualifications Framework is also included. It is used in this study because it provides a view of tino rangatiratanga arguments raised by Maori people.

I am content that the ethical considerations described here enhance the error elimination process and contribute significantly to the tahuu of this thesis. They provide monitoring devices for scrutinising my pre-conceptions and the importance of removing arbitrary false prejudices that impair understanding. These prejudices are more likely to show themselves when brought into sharp relief against a backdrop of the literature and data analyzed. This is consistent with Simon's argument about the interpretative process:

It is through the interpretative process that the interpreter gradually becomes aware of the structure of his own prejudices. Interpretation is described by Gadamer (1979:107 cited in Simon 1986:4) as a process leading to self-understanding, for only through others do we gain true knowledge of ourselves (1986:4).

The Measuring Instruments

Network Sampling

This involved both formal and informal requests for information from a variety of Maori people about Maori Educational Administrators. A questionnaire was sent to forty people who are involved in Maori Education. They were chosen after consultation with Maori Educationists working in Kohanga Reo and other education institutions in New Zealand. Responses were received from approximately 30% of the sample group⁹. The questionnaire was also discussed with individuals and groups by telephone and at hui I attended, particularly, in Te rohe o Whanganui. A summary of their responses was drafted and analyzed to ascertain what the sample group believes Maori Educational Administrators are doing and what they should be doing. These responses were used, along with the literature review, to guide the development of the interview schedule.

Interview Schedule: Focus Group Technique

A focus group technique was developed to meet the analysis requirements of this study. Two administrative approaches were used. Firstly, interviews were conducted with Maori Educationists. Secondly, a wider Maori Community sample (within Whanganui Iwi tribal boundaries) was canvassed at both formal and informal gatherings. I considered this technique to be appropriate because it encourages a collective participation, values all contributions, and enables the participants to identify issues of importance to them rather than have the researcher identify his or her perceptions of what are or what should be considered important.

Maori Educationists were interviewed to gather information about how they view their role and environment. They were also asked to comment on what they believe Maori Educational Administrators should be doing. It is important to note that the focus group technique revealed what respondents perceive the situation to be from their point of view. By interviewing Maori Educationists it was possible to gain an insight of the Maori Educational Administrator's work, which was compared with the perception of Maori Community respondents. A questionnaire survey was used as an error elimination mechanism; a means of scrutinising the research data collected from the interviews and literature review. This provided a checkpoint, in a quantitative manner, about the level of significance and performance regarding what the respondents perceive Maori Educational Administrators do and should do.

⁹ 40 network questionnaires were sent out in particular to Maori who are either working or involved with education places and or Maori leadership issues. Twelve (12) responses were received of which only two (2) were from Maori women. Also, three (3) respondents were very brief and noted time constraints as the reason for their inability to provide anything more substantial. Overall, this is a 30% approx. hit rate. Consequently, the network sample responses are not considered to be generalisable for two reasons. Firstly, the returns did not provide a reasonable spread. Secondly, the number of responses is insufficient, at least that is the opinion of the writer.

The survey questionnaire focused on what knowledge, skills and qualities the respondents believed to be essential requirements for Maori Leadership in educational administration. All respondents were given a further opportunity to submit other comments. The focus group interviews were recorded and analyzed.

Data Analysis

a Comparison of Data

This involved a literature review which focused on an examination of the research and ideas of various writers. Historical analysis is an aspect used to highlight the social, cultural, economic, political and educational influences which affect Maori Educational Administrators. It establishes the relevance or otherwise of the data to this study and scrutinised the ideas that are raised by this thesis. The technique is useful for refining the methods used in this study, to refine the situation expressed by the researcher and to design a tentative proposition.

b Content analysis of focus group interview and survey questionnaire responses

On occasion, respondents were asked informal questions, when necessary, to ensure that the responses were not misinterpreted. The intention was to paint an accurate picture of the ideas and views offered by respondents. Otherwise, the material was organised into a manageable package for further analysis.

c Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is useful because it enables the researcher to reflect upon the historical and political context of the literature and research data gathered. The language context is significant with this type of analysis. Therefore, the particular view of social practices in education being expressed within the literature and responses is a critical feature.

This approach has been used to distinguish what is meaningful about Maori Leadership in relation to educational administration based on the literature and responses analyzed. In addition, the analysis attempts to tease out the associated issues of power and control, and the ideology upon which they are based. The potency of discourse is revealed by Bourdieu (1977:648) who stated that language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also to be believed, obeyed, respected and distinguished.

Language can be an instrument of power as a coercive force or a restraining one. However, a more subtle form of power refers to the legitimating of ideas and their meanings to gain the consent of the masses through what Gramsci called "ideological hegemony". This concept of power sets about to penetrate the consciousness itself.

Codd (1988:243) stated that power exercised through discourse is a form of power which permeates the deepest recesses of civil society and provides the material conditions in which individuals are produced both as subjects and objects. It is this form of power which is exercised through the discourses of the law, medicine, psychology and education.

This is evident in the arguments of writers such as Lauder (1990) who are critical of New Zealand educational reforms. Lauder (1990), Grace (1990) and Codd (1990) argue that education has been captured by the discourse of the new right. According to them, education has been redefined as a commodity in a competitive market driven environment which is characterised by management and leadership practices that are consistent with this view of the world. The work of Gramsci and others, referenced in this thesis, reinforces the issues surrounding the legitimation process described by Codd (1988) and Lauder (1990) within the New Zealand context, and how language power and control is central to that process.

The work done by writers such as Codd and Lauder provides a critical analysis of new right persuasiveness which values managerialism and commodification. Codd (1988) examines the ways that discourse is used to legitimate the power brokers social reality, while Lauder (1990-91) provides a detailed account of the implications of new right thinking in education. However, this work does not consider the discourse of a Maori response to this transformation, more specifically, its relevance for Maori Educational Administrators.

In terms of educational administration, it is the work of researchers such as Gronn (1983) who reveal the importance of discourse analysis in this environment. Although Mitzberg (1973: 38) and others have noted the high proportion of time spent by administrators in verbal communication none of their studies actually examined the interactants words. Gronn (1983) used discourse analysis to examine the power and control features of verbal communication between school administrators and staff. He identified communication power as a guide to human action and control in administrative exchanges.

In this study, discourse analysis offers an opportunity to obtain a better understanding of this social context through the study of oral and written text. The studies conducted by researchers such as Gronn (1983) infer that language is a powerful means of constructing social life and is itself socially constructed. Significantly, it can be used to transmit cultural thought and influence human action.

It also has the capacity to analyze attitudes, ideologies and interpretations. These aspects are essential features for an analysis of the interplay between the tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga ideologies, and their influence on the attitudes of different interest groups toward Maori Leadership and educational administration.

The scope and methodology of this study was not limited to Maori who hold Educational Administration positions. Data was compiled from respondents who commented on Maori Leadership, and others who have an interest in the performance of Maori Educational Administrators. The data spans both formal and informal spoken interactions, as well as, various kinds of written text.

Potter and Wetterell's (1987) use of discourse analysis is supportive of this approach. According to them, discourse analysis involves any of these forms of written and spoken communication. Responses to the network sample, focus interviews and the survey questionnaire provided the bulk of the data for this study. By examining these responses, it was possible to capture a snap shot view, at best, of how the Maori involved in this study are thinking about Maori Leadership and educational administration. This has been compared with the literature reviewed while subjecting it to a discourse analysis as an integral part of the theoretical framework and research methodology used in this study. Within this context, Bourdieu's conceptual tools and the research ideas of Popper are combined to complete an analysis of power relations between Maori and Pakeha. The connection between this power relationship and research is reflected on by Simon who argues:

...there is the abundance of statistical evidence which from the time of the Hunn Report, 1961, show Maoris as a group to be disadvantaged within our society. Thus in terms of political and economic power in New Zealand society, the Pakeha can be seen to be dominant and the Maori subordinate. In order to understand teacher attitudes, I needed, therefore, to seek the meaning behind them within the context of these power relations (1986:6).

This is concerned with seeking the meaning behind the attitudes of Maori about Maori Leadership and Educational Administration. The issue raised by writers such as Simon highlights the significance of discourse analysis as a tool to reveal such meaning.

Education Administration Theory Development

Systematic study of administration and development of theories of organisation and administration are twentieth century phenomena (Hoy and Miskel; 1987)

Education Administration theory, research and practice have been influenced sharply by events of the industrial revolution. These events can be traced to distinct periods of debate which have, in the main, been driven by Western thinking and desire. In general, Education Administration development has occurred in concert with those in the broad field of administration. Educationists, such as Hoy and Miskel (1987) and Foster (1986) have summarised administration developments by providing background information, describing the central tenets and analysing their merits.

Hoy and Miskel (1987) concentrated on the evolution of administrative science over a period of eighty years from 1900. They provide an overview in three general phases which overlap and continue to develop today. In contrast to Hoy and Miskel, Foster provides a critical reflection and understanding of Educational Administration. Their summaries provide the mainframe for this review. The theoretical positions developed since the industrial era are discussed here and interwoven with references to analyses completed by both proponents and critics of these positions. The remaining section of this review considers the historical impact of international Education Administration theory development on Maori Education. The concept of Maori Education is discussed amidst events which influenced its present state and led to poor Maori educational achievement and retention rates.

The Theory Movement

In the early part of the 20th century, Taylor, Fayol and Gulick were leading figures in the scientific management movement. Taylor, the father of this movement, was an industrialist who explored ways of using people effectively in industrial organisations. He is credited with the classic objectives model which emphasised pre-determination and scientific precision. His industrial efficiency platform valued high worker production rates.

Taylorism followers completed time and motion studies to ascertain what the physical limits of workers were. The intention was to describe the fastest way of completing a task. This narrow physiological view resulted in a job analysis approach to administration.

Fayol, a French industrialist, added to Taylor's work by categorising administrative behaviour into five functions; planning, organising, commanding, coordinating and controlling. This was advanced by Gulick who devised an acronym for seven essential administrative procedures; planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting (POSDCoRB).

Scientific Administrative Managers argued that the division of labour was essential because separating a task into its smallest components encouraged specialisation which lead to effective worker activity to complete the task. This type of administrative thinking encouraged a hieratical labour structure with power and authority being allocated in pecking order fashion. It is referred to as the 'span of control'.

Gulick also advocated that positions should be placed together based on a principle of homogeneity. He argued that departments could be formed of positions grouped in four different ways; major purpose, major process, clientele, or location. The influence of this approach is evident in many education systems throughout the world including New Zealand. There are critics like Thompson (1968, cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1987) who highlighted their concerns about trying to determine what the order of priority should be for the criteria established.

These scientific oriented developments are the epitome of the bureaucratic organisational approach. The critical characteristics are the divisions of labour, controlled allocation of power and job specification. Its basic premise is that organisations can be planned according to industrial scientificism.

It is the work of Taylorism proponents like Bobbitt (1924) and Simon (1965) who took scientific management principles and inculcated them into Educational Administration theory, research and practice. In their discourse can be found the positivist ideological position in Education Administration gleaned from the industrial advancements of Taylor and his followers. Bobbitt (1924) was particularly interested in curriculum development, however, his advocacy of scientificism encouraged wide conceptual connections between Taylor's industrial context and education. He focused on what the products (students) needed for the future. This culminated in surveys of community leaders to identify essential skills which could then be packaged into specific objectives by administrators for teaching purposes.

Bobbitt (1924) extended his curriculum development by creating an alignment between Educational Administrators and managers which was principally fact oriented. Education writers such as Greenfield (1986:60) have questioned the narrowness of this view:

The spirit of positivism, which is now pervasive, discourages historical inquiry, and so puts to flight any notion that scholars of administration should know their intellectual origins and the assumptions on which their fields rests. But placed in the history of ideas, the belief that administration is (or can be) a science appears as a phenomenon of the mid-20th century. As we near the end of the century, this belief is beginning to appear as a misplaced faith. It is also becoming clear why it is an enormous error to conceive of administration as a science rather than as a moral act or as a political event. Because positivistic science cannot derive a value from a fact or even recognise values as real, we have a science of administration which can deal only with facts and which does so by eliminating from its consideration all human passion, weakness, strength, conviction, hope, will, frailty, altruism, courage, vice and virtue (Greenfield, 1986:61).

The scientific management contribution of Bobbitt, Simon and others in education had a significant impact, particularly, in the training of administrators. Despite this, Greenfield (1986) questioned their failure to respond to psychological issues, sociological issues and the significance of people in organisations. This is to be expected since industrial models are primarily concerned with low expenditure, high production and high return on investment. These approaches were criticised, particularly by behaviourists, because they neglected the potential of both unexpected internal events and external influences which cannot be ascertained or fixed in advance. The rigidity of this organisational model has been reviewed by education writers who are genuinely concerned with the lack of consideration for the human aspects of organisations.

The human face of administration was given a boost with the Hawthorne plant initial research studies of the Western Electric Company which began in the late 1920s. In these studies the intention was to determine whether or not there was a causal relationship between the quality and quantity of illumination to efficiency in industry.

The results did not verify a relationship between illumination and production rates. It was concluded that employee output was not primarily related to the quantity or quality of illumination. Furthermore, too many variables had not been controlled during the experiments. Consequently, follow up studies were conducted over a period of five years between 1927 and 1932. These research studies focused on the possibility of a relationship between physical work conditions and worker production rates. A shift toward psychological and physiological factors became apparent.

This was demonstrated by the Bank Wiring Room study which concluded that workers behaviour did not conform to official job requirements. It was concluded that the social relationship patterns in a work context are significant to employee performance.

These studies formed the basis for the development of psychological programmes for the workplace. Spin offs from the Hawthorne studies, like psychologically based programmes, have been criticised mainly for their behaviour conditioning focus. They were the precursor to the social systems approach which sought to understand organisations in relation to both internal and external forces.

This developed into three competing systems views; the rational system which descends from the classical scientific managerial approach, the natural system which focuses on fundamental needs that workers must have to function efficiently and effectively and the open system which responds to external forces that may affect the internal operations of an organisation.

The arguments for and against these models are narrowed down by Hoy and Miskel (1987) who believe that the open systems model perspective has the potential to provide a synthesis, a way of combining the three perspectives. Foster's (1986) position is more philosophical, in that, he argues that the human relations work was a necessary event. It provided an antithesis to the conventions of scientific management. While it stressed the importance of the internal and external forces on an organisation's performance, by observation, it disclosed the human nature of organisations and thereby challenged the prescriptive indices of Taylorism. This is supported by Griffiths (1959) with his argument about theory building in Education Administration;

We in the social sciences have thought that we were using the scientific method when we attempted to use the method of experimental science; yet we have actually overlooked the methodology of science most applicable to our peculiar problems. Rather than the experimental method, we should be using the observational approach of the physical sciences and of some of the social sciences.... Researchers in Educational Administration should turn to the observational and away from the experimental methods of research (Griffiths, 1959:35).

Human Relations

By the 1950s, Taylorism had been tempered by the impact of the Hawthorne studies which in turn influenced the literature about administration at that time. It inspired observational studies which focused on human relations and democratic practices. According to Hoy and Miskel (1987:22), during the 1940s and early 1950s, Education Administration was a democratic approach long on rhetoric and woefully short on research and practice.

However, the emergence of the behavioural science approach and its subsequent development in the 1960s witnessed a new direction in Education Administration thinking. The usefulness of concepts from other disciplines and different research parameters were explored. Foster (1986:50) argues that this was largely due to a failure of the theory movement to address some central dilemmas of administration. It caused scholars to shift their attention to more pragmatic concerns as politics in education, sex, racial equity within schools and the economics of schooling.

Chester Bernard's work is described by Foster (1986) as the nexus between the early schools of Taylorism and human relations which were about improving work place conditions for enhanced productivity, and their later theories which focused on more scientific study of administration, in particular, how administrators behaved in organisations. It is through Barnard's (1938) work that attention moved to organisational and human aspects of systems.

He investigated the total organisation as a complex system made up of interdependent parts. Administration's primary role, as described by Barnard (1938), is the development of a cooperative system by establishing moral leadership in the organisation. According to Foster (1986), Barnard's work conveyed the foundation ideas about organisational culture. Barnard believed that organisational leaders are responsible for creating a culture of mutual effort and cooperation. However, Barnard's utopia did not respond to the politics, bargaining and conflicts in organisations.

Greenfield (1975, cited in Hughes, 1975:88) highlighted this concern. He argued that Barnard's work does not provide an understanding of the ideological issues within an organisation, especially, the ideology that is in control. Greenfield (1975) credited Barnard as a good systems theorist, however, his theory is questioned because it dealt with abstraction about organisations and did not deal with the ideologies of those who ran them.

In spite of this, Herbert Simon's work (1965) was still potent enough, at that time, to argue the positivist position. He contended that administrators must not allow values to influence their decisions, that administration can be reduced to a set of technical propositions and that administration is only concerned with maintaining efficiency. Simon's philosophical stance was based on logical positivism which does not consider ethical commitments. Logical Positivists consciously separate technical concerns from practical (ethical) concerns.

As a result, positivism tended to promote research about what it is that administrators do, not what they ought to do. Halpin (1966) on the other hand, although a positivist, questioned the theory movement's disregard for what an administrator should do. Such reactions, particularly from within the positivist ranks, did stir up the debate.

The human aspects of organisations gained support from the research community but there was still a preoccupation with the internal aspects of schools which ultimately restrained progress because little consideration was given to wider environment matters. Hoy and Miskel (1987) signalled this with their claim that theory and research in Educational Administration slowed down in the 1960s and 1970s because of social and political unrest. They noted that anti-war and civil rights movements were widespread and the utilisation of depleted natural resources was a world agenda item. New Zealand was not immune to these world events and whether by choice or otherwise was influenced by these circumstances. This world stage and its drama tested philosophers of science and social science in the 1960s whose questioning of positivist assumptions reverberated through many disciplines including Education Administration. These events provided a platform for the rise of social enquiry as a worthwhile approach to progressing Education Administration theory and practice.

Weber's characterisation of 'social action' is a structural antecedent of this platform. He proposed that social interaction occurs when actions are reciprocally oriented toward the actions of others. It follows that actions are reciprocally oriented to each other not in any mechanistic fashion of stimulus and response, say, but because actors interpret and give meaning both to their own and to others' behaviour (cited in Hughes, 1979:71).

According to Hughes, the important point has to do with the notion of meaning and the relationship to the sort of knowledge we require or can have in order to understand or explain social phenomena. He elaborates by stating that:

To speak of meaning is to begin to point to that most important fact, that human beings can be said to have a rich and varied mental life reflected in the social artifacts and institutions on which they live. In sociological and anthropological terms this is, globally, referred to as 'culture' and includes all that social actors can talk about, explain, describe to others, excuse or justify, believe in, assert, point to, theorise about, agree about, dispute over, pray to, create, build and so on (Hughes, 1979:71).

Greenfield (1975, cited in Hughes, 1975:86) expands on this with his contention that it is from Weber's notion of the ideal type that an image of a social situation at a particular time and place can be provided. He says that this image may then be surrounded with others made of different organisations or of the same organisation at other times. By looking at these images comparatively, by seeing them almost as the frames of a motion picture we begin to understand our world better and to comprehend its differences and the processes of change occurring within it.

Greenfield also argues that Weber's philosophical position provided the impetus for investigating language and the categories it contains for understanding the world. It also provided an opportunity to investigate the processes by which we negotiate with each other and so come to define what we will pay attention to in our environment and our organisations.

Thomas Kuhn's Influence

Another philosopher who questioned the assumptions of positivism was Thomas Kuhn. He did not agree with the positivist line that there is a single scientific method by which the nature of reality can be explained. Kuhn's (1962) work was particularly significant because he challenged the philosophical basis of positivism. He postulated that scientific knowledge is a product of the social activity of scientific enquiry. According to Kuhn this is primarily concerned with the construction of theories not the discovery of facts pertaining to a reality that is waiting to be discovered.

Kuhn proposed that the context in which facts are interpreted can be identified by paradigms shared by a community of researchers. He describes them as "universally recognised scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners" (Kuhn, 1962, p.viii). Kuhn's thesis was favoured by social scientists who had always considered differing views on the nature of social reality to be the norm (Foster, 1986:51).

If the views of such social scientists are accurate then, Education Administration theory and practice could be analyzed by focusing on the change in thinking of a research community and between different research communities. Applying this to the Maori Educational Administrators environment raises the probability of Maori research communities seeking to articulate a philosophical position from which to describe what they believe Maori Educational Administrators do and what they should do. Following Kuhn's arguments, this could be described as a paradigm development.

An analysis of Kuhn's work reveals that the search for a unified theory of administration, predictive and value free, was in vain (Foster 1986:51). This stimulated the development and articulation of alternative views. It provided a new forum for debating theory and practice which recognised diversity and the range of paradigms that scholars followed to study administration theory and practice.

Following Kuhn's thesis, it could be suggested that the positivist view of social science is a paradigm within which Bobbitt (1924), Haplin (1966), Griffiths (1979) and others developed their education administration theories and practices. This paradigm included sociological theories of functionalism and psychological theories of behaviourism. Based on this, organisations were understood to be natural systems controlled by universal laws.

To elaborate, Kuhn's arguments illuminated a wide range of issues about positivism. Carr and Kemmis (1986) provide a useful overview of these issues. Their analysis indicates that positivist research serves only to reinforce theoretical positions which do not deviate from positivism and its preoccupation with verification. It ensures that these positions are not criticised and rejected. Secondly, they argue that if a change from one paradigm to another is a matter of conversion then it essentially reflects a commitment to new values and beliefs. Knowledge is therefore not objective, universal, and value neutral as positivism would have us believe. According to Kuhn's thesis, it is subjective, context bound and always political.

Thirdly, Carr and Kemmis (1986:74) believe research is an activity performed within social communities and the ways in which these communities are organised is of critical significance in the production of knowledge. A paradigm, therefore, is an acquired manner of thinking that is gained in a non-reflective way. It follows that scientific researchers are a research group with particular expectations of its members which are justified by continual references to attitudes, beliefs and values which are consistent with the paradigm it reinforces.

The final point that Carr and Kemmis (1986:74) make is that paradigms are informed by a whole complex of beliefs, values and assumptions. Kuhn argues that scientific researchers will suppress theory and practice conflicts because they do not verify the dominant paradigm. These arguments tempered the attraction to positivism because its potential to free educational theory from value conflicts and ideological bias can only happen if scientific researchers are conditioned to the values and ideology that the dominant scientific paradigm prescribes.

Kuhn's thesis scrutinised the positivist position and stimulated the view that administration is a generic field. This meant that it may be studied across a range of disciplines. It was considered constructive because it encouraged Education Administrators to draw on administrative research from other disciplines for advances that may be useful in their context. The pool of knowledge available could be substantially increased as a consequence of Kuhn's proposition. Education Administration theory could be enhanced by an enlarged knowledge bank with deposits from various disciplines and their philosophical positions, in time and space, which embrace the derived theories and practices.

The Interpretive Paradigm

The positivist paradigm in Education Administration theory has two key conjectures. Firstly, that it is possible to produce scientific explanations of education situations, thereby achieving objective decisions about educational questions. Secondly, that only instrumental questions are capable of scientific solution. Instrumental questions are those which demand a fact oriented response as defined by the positivist paradigm. However, there are several well known debates which continually question the usefulness of a positivist approach to the development of administrative theory. Greenfield (1974), Hodgkinson (1978), Thompson (1987), and Foster (1986) are but a few education writers who have exposed positivism to a barrage of criticisms which have yet to be responded to in ways that encourage consent by other education research communities. This is compounded by criticisms that describe the unimpressive results of positivism as the inevitable outcome of a positivist epistemology and an unquestioning faith in the applicability of scientific methods to human and social phenomena.

These unimpressive results are a central argument upon which the interpretive paradigm has emerged. In contrast to the influence of positivism on the Anglo-American tradition, the interpretive paradigm descends from the European tradition. Its proponents argue that social science is significantly different from the natural sciences. The basis of this proposition stems from the idea that human action and behaviour cannot be fully appreciated by quantitative methods.

It is the qualitative methodologies, according to proponents such as Greenfield (1974), that allow researchers to study Education Administration organisations based on the meanings given to situations by the individuals and groups involved, what their view of the world is and how they make sense of their world.

The disciplines of ethnography, history and hermeneutics provide the major contributions to the interpretive tradition. Hermeneutics is generally referred to as the science of interpreting texts. It took shape as an epistemological basis for the social sciences through the work of German social theorists including Weber (1964). Weber's words provide a clear expression of the interpretive position:

Sociology... is a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action.... In 'action' is included all human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Action in this sense may be either overt or purely inward or subjective; it may consist of positive intervention or passively acquiescing in the situation. Action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course. Weber (1964:88 cited in Carr and Kemmis 1986:87).

According to Carr and Kemmis (1986: 84) the interpretive paradigm in education is derived mainly from the social phenomenology of Alfred Schutz (1967) and the sociology of knowledge developed by Berger and Luckman (1967). It was developed further by Michael Young (1971) and others who argued that what counts for knowledge for one social group is different from what counts as knowledge for others.

He contends that knowledge is decided upon by social determinants. Young's ideas focus on notions of power and control where access to knowledge is a significant feature. The control of knowledge provides the basis for imposing what knowledge is and the maintenance of that view. This is reflected in the reinforcements and rewards which supports the dominant social group's reality. The interaction between the dominant and minority groups is a central brace in this framework. It is essentially Marxist oriented.

It is through the work of Cirourel and Kitsuse (1963) that an early application of the interpretive approach to education study can be found. In their work, an organisation is not a real thing, therefore, schools are but a context within which human activity takes place. Consequently, the organisational rules applied in schools are seen by them as the result of continual affirmation through the everyday decision-making practices of teachers and administrators. Early studies of this nature focused on how teacher views about what they are doing creates a reality which is considered objective and capable of study through the social activities which produces it. These studies were conducted within an interpretive framework. It presupposes that social reality can only be discerned by understanding the subjective meanings of individuals.

The Influence of Thomas Greenfield

The interpretive theoretical position was given a boost in 1974 by Thomas Greenfield when he presented his paper to the International Intervisitational Programme in Educational Administration held in Bristol, England. He challenged the positivist paradigm by questioning its conceptual view of organisations and administration. Greenfield states that underlying widely accepted notions about organisations stands the apparent assumption that organisations are not only real but also distinct from the actions, feelings and purposes of people. This assumption conveniently separates people and organisations. According to Greenfield, it reinforces a mistaken belief in the reality of organisations which has diverted our attention from human action to intentions, the stuff from which organisations are made.

Organisations, according to Greenfield (1974), are not capable of being conceptualised as real phenomena. He describes them as constructs created by people who agree to organise their activities in a particular way. His argument implies that organisations are socially constructed. Therefore, if organisations are created by people, accomplished by human intervention, then human intention, reality, and history are key components in the study of organisations. Greenfield's (1983:1) subjectivist view of Educational Administration is accentuated by his argument that "organisations are inside people and are defined completely by them as they work out ideas in their heads through their actions in the practical world" (cited in Foster 1986:61).

Basically, Greenfield tells us organisations are acted upon not actors, therefore, are manipulated by individuals in ways that affect their intentions. He also argues that each individual perceives the world differently. It follows that what is rational for one person is not necessarily rational to another. Furthermore, he tells us that if we are to understand organisations then we must understand why individuals act as they do. While Foster (1986) is but one of the many writers in educational administration who have found something worthwhile in Greenfield's propositions, he, like many others, have broadened the study parameters by expressing the view that an understanding of individual values is also essential. Greenfield (1975, 1986) is not adverse to this, in fact, he mentions the work of educationists such as Hodgkinson (1978) who offers comprehensive arguments about the political and ethical dimensions of educational administration. Hodgkinson describes administration as 'philosophy in action'. An emphasis on values is fundamental to this view. Essentially, human action and intention are seen as bound with individual and collective decision making situations that involve political and ethical judgments.

Both proponents and critics are well documented (see Greenfield 1975, 1978, 1980, 1985; Griffiths 1979) and there is an extensive array of comment about the implications (see Hodgkinson 1978, 1983; Gronn 1983, 1985; Foster, 1986; Thompson, 1987), in particular, alternative approaches to the study of educational administration. These discussions demonstrate the sharp contest between scientific and humanist approaches to administrative theory development. Foster's (1986) summary of Greenfield's work is indicative of the tension that exists between these research communities. He states:

Greenfield's thesis has profound implications for the study of educational administration and for the preparation of administrators. Two extreme preparatory models suggest themselves. The administrator-as-scientist, schooled in the scientific method and concerned with quantifiable results, applies the findings of social science research as best he or she can, and brings progress to the school by performing all other required scientific or pseudoscientific activities. The administrator-as-humanist, trained in the arts and sciences and experienced in the ways of the world, brings feeling and intuition to the profession. Orthodox theory endorses the scientist model, but the humanist model may offer a more accurate description of the effective administrator. Indeed, Greenfield argues (1982:7) that history and the law are the appropriate disciplines for training administrators because these disciplines recognise both the failings and accomplishments of individuals and provide a perspective on the course of events that guide our lives (1986:62).

The interpretive research forum has demonstrated how individuals create the social make up and the collective forum that we call organisations. Its proponents reject the positivist approach which assumes that organisations are 'objectively real phenomena' (Foster, 1986). Importantly, an administrator in this paradigm would value the actions, histories and languages of the individuals in the organisation.

It is, perhaps, appropriate to summarise this segment with Greenfield's postulations about the application of ideas based in phenomenology upon the concept of organisation. Firstly, according to Greenfield (cited in Hughes 1975:90-6), an organisation is an invented social reality, which holds for a time and is then vulnerable to redefinition through changing demands and beliefs among people, which is somewhat consistent with Kuhn's (1962) paradigm concept.

This should be sorted out amidst a healthy scepticism for the claim that a general theory of organisation and administration is at hand. Greenfield states that our own experience of our organisations is a valuable resource. It is with this experience that the organisation theorist must begin to understand the nature of organisations. "Since an understanding of organisations is closely linked to control of them and to the possibility of change within them, the phenomenological perspective points to issues of crucial importance both to the theorist and to the man of practical affairs" (cited in Hughes, 1975:91).

Greenfield (1975) argues that research into organisational problems should consider and begin to use the phenomenological perspective. He believes that methods which attempt to represent perceived reality are more applicable than those which tend to concentrate on highly quantified and abstruse techniques. With this in mind, he states that "the path to understanding more about schools must lie through interpretations and analysis of the experience of people in schools, not through attempts to decide which structural elements of schools yield outcomes that best approximate their ultimate purposes" (cited in Hughes, 1975:89).

Interestingly, he makes a distinction between outside and inside variables which begin to consider the value that both quantitative and qualitative approaches have; He says that it might be useful to think of two kinds of variables in a social situation-outside and inside variables. The outside variables are those which lend themselves readily to quantification and which involve a minimum of interpretation.

These variables provide information about the characteristics of the people and resources found in a social situation. The inside variables are those which may only be expressed through interpretation of experience.

His arguments encourage this further when he suggests that both kinds of variables are important despite the dominant influence of quantitative variables. Greenfield's shift toward the importance of both quantification and qualification as complementary rather than opposing approaches is significant. He signals the opportunity for some revealing analyses to be achieved from the contrasts between the school seen in terms of external variables and the school in terms of internal variables.

The essence of Greenfield's (1986:73) position is clarified when he says that the placing of meaning upon experience, which shapes what we call our organisations should be the focus of the organisation theorist's work. His work distinguished how organisations are made up of individuals who have beliefs, values and attitudes which cannot be ignored in administrative theory development. As a consequence, Greenfield's growing interest in the ethical dimensions of administration contribute to the references he makes to the work of Barnard (1938), Hodgkinson (1978) and others. With this in mind, Greenfield (1986:73) offers a sobering challenge to the scientific approach to administrative theory development with this argument:

...if science cannot speak of praxis then it is time to begin again with a conception that sees administration as a set of existential and ethical issues. If inquiries launched from this premise lead to an understanding of administration in moral terms, and if this knowledge helps administrators see themselves and their tasks more clearly and responsibly, we may then have reliable knowledge and a sound guide for action in the world (1986:73).

Critical Theory

Conventional administrative theory was also challenged by critical theorists such as Horkheimer and Marcuse who argued that positivism was remiss because it assumed that all knowledge is validated by facts, that all cognitive enquiry should be aligned toward a scientific methodology and that process in knowledge is based upon this and therefore excludes all value judgements. Furthermore, critical theorists argued that positivism does not give sufficient attention to ethical commitments. This is attributed to the scientific epistemology which separates technical concerns from practical (moral) concerns.

This challenge is founded upon assumptions and arguments generated by the German research community which became known as the Frankfurt School. They were primarily concerned with critical analyses of science, culture, ideology, social and economic systems. Based on modified Marxist principles, they developed a social theory which not only questioned the way we organise our lives or the way they are organised for us but that intentionally set out to transform society by praxis.

Since the emergence of critical theory, the German critical theorists have argued that there is a close relationship between epistemology and history, that is to say, there is good reason to reflect on the historical antecedents of all knowledge, what benefits are accrued and for whom. As a consequence of this, theories are not separated from the circumstances that surround their development. Foster (1986:66) describes the contrast in this manner:

Positive science aims at the progressive accumulation of facts and solution of puzzles from within a received paradigm. Social science, though, does more than build a database; it offers a series of possibilities that are by nature critical reflections on history.... A critical theory is thus conscious self-reflection in Dewey's sense, but more than this, it is also structured reflection on economic and cultural conditions and the ideologies that support them.

Critical theory was essentially conceived as a form of enquiry. It provides a vehicle for scrutinising the underlying assumptions which are often taken for granted and accepted as a natural consequence of history. It is a powerful concept because it positions human relationships amidst structural issues related to class and power, underpinned by an uncompromising bias toward structural change. This is a key feature. It is an opportunity to penetrate the recess which may enable us to make more transparent the differences between what is and what should be. While critical theory focuses on the causes of social domination and oppression, it does not exempt humans from being responsible for their actions. Implicit in this social theory is the commitment to ethical and moral issues. This generates questions about the barriers to the attainment of such values as democracy and freedom (Foster, 1986:72).

In terms of administration, Thompson (1987) states that ethics involves the application of moral principles to the conduct of officials in organisations. He refers to ethics as the principles of particular professions and morality in terms of personal conduct. Moral principles are few in number, very general and tend to guide rather than stipulate while moral conduct is based on moral rules which are many in number and are specific in what an individual can or cannot do. Thompson's work in this area rejects the view that administrative practice is ethically neutral. He argues that understanding why administrative ethics is possible is a necessary step not only toward putting into practice but also giving it meaningful content in practice.

Administrative ethics is described as a species of political ethics, which applies moral principles to political life more generally. In a sense, morality asks whether the action or policy benefits people or whether it could be accepted by the many interest groups who are likely to be affected by any outcome. Moral judgements presuppose the possibility of a person or group to make the judgement and a person or group of persons to be judged.

The corollary of these developments has been to try and understand how organisations really work and to use this knowledge towards the improvement of educational practice. It also questions the merit in shifting theories and assumptions to new settings without examination. This encourages greater consideration for alternative views such as Greenfield's concept of organisations as '*invented social reality*' (1973:556) and the notion that no human activity can be value neutral.

Although phenomenology, as expressed by Greenfield (1973), provides an alternative to positivism, it too fails to respond to an appreciation of the usual and unusual events of human activity and engage in an effort to develop, challenge and liberate. This can largely be rationalised because of their descriptive nature which has no place for critique. According to this view, the science of administration should not only be concerned with empirical and interpretive interests but must reflect a critical moral interest. As a moral science, says Foster (1986), it must be concerned with the resolution of moral dilemmas. Such dilemmas can be resolved in a reflective or unreflective manner.

In administrative practice an unreflective approach refers to simply performing as one was taught. In comparison, a reflective approach involves an examination from the widest possible range of perspectives. This approach infers that dilemmas need not be simply resolved but they can be transformed so that an improved administrative practice is realised.

According to Foster (1986), empirical work must be balanced by interpretive and critical understandings. Administration would be examined from the wider context of which administration is a part of because this context provides opportunities for moral decisions. These descriptions collectively contribute to a social theory which sets about to cause change, to transform society through praxis. In other words, critical theory can be considered as a synthesis of the empirical and interpretive paradigms fused with notions which were not revealed by them. While legitimate questions about social structure that relate to class, power and culture are glossed over by the empirical and interpretive paradigms, they remain significant with critical humanists (Foster, 1986).

Essentially, critical theory acknowledges that it is a political act to educate people; to argue for participation in decision making; to demystify structures and to penetrate *normal* conditions. The administrator is charged with the responsibility to make ethical and political decisions while s/he is involved with the careful interplay of knowledge and action.

Foster (1986) provides a final uncompromising view in this regard. He states that administration can be instrumental in bringing about practical change but it requires a dedication to political action and a frame of mind that both *believes and critically reflects*. In administrative practice, critical theory demands reflection, understanding and education. These activities are essentially political and ethical. According to critical theorists such as Foster (1986) these are legitimate issues which a theory of administration must embrace if transformation is desired.

Postmodern Ideas about Knowledge

Postmodern ideas about knowledge are a departure from a belief in the absolute validity of science and technology for generating answers to problems. This is challenged by opponents who are intolerant of postmodern ideas because they are not susceptible to rigorous scrutiny and verification. Consequently, narrative knowledge is considered to be outdated, irrelevant, mythical and anecdotal. In contrast, scientific and technological developments are seen as relevant and valuable by scientificism proponents.

The significance of postmodern ideas to this thesis cannot be presented without briefly discussing the issues which influenced their inclusion. In the first instance, Harker (1993) argues that writers such as Sarup (1989), Murphy (1989), Best and Kellner (1991), Rosenau (1992) and Bauman (1992) provide descriptions about postmodernism ranging from sharp rejection to scholarly questioning of modernity. On this matter, postmodernist writers argue that modernity supports a belief in formal logic as a paragon of reason and its bureaucratization of society with a reduction of individuality. This is defended by Habermas (1981) with a questioning of postmodernism writers' understanding of the modernity field, in particular, what is meant by its tolerance of scientific discourse as another narrative.

In this respect, Giddens (1990) argues that a break with modernism is simply not there. Instead, it is described as a phase in which modernity is undergoing radicalization. Similarly, Mestrovic (1991) argues that postmodernism is merely an extension of modernity, since it never truly rebels at the notion of rationality. Further evidence of this is presented in the *Postmodern Condition* by Lyotard (1984) who is unwilling to posit anything radically different which might involve a fundamental historical and cultural break with modernism. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that postmodern ideas about knowledge can be viewed as an extension of modernity. Within this understanding, a narrative knowledge position remains irreducible to a logic-scientific mode and vice versa. This is described by Lyotard (1984: 19) who argues that the narrative form is pre-eminent in the formulation of customary knowledge and has unique characteristics which make it distinct from scientific knowledge. It brings into sharp relief, fundamental distinctions between a narrative knowledge and the scientific disposition of knowledge. The table presented here provides a comparison between these positions.

Narrative Knowledge	Scientific Knowledge
both the form and the content are transmitted as part of the social process	science is set apart from language games that form the social bond, though it may be indirectly related
the narrative form makes use of a variety of language games	only one language game is accepted, a statement's truth value is the sole criterion of acceptability
transmission is highly ritualised, there are pragmatic rules transmitted through the narratives which constitutes the social bond	scientific statements gain no validity merely by being reported, they must be validated through argumentation and proof
both the transmitter and the receiver have to be competent in the narrative form	only the sender needs to be competent in the scientific form
narrative form follows a rhythm, it has a musical quality	science is diachronic, it must have memory and be cumulative

Table 1: *This table is my emphasis but the information was extracted from Harker (1993). Finding some trees in the postmodern forest: tales of an educational dog (unpublished). Palmerston North: Massey University.*

From this comparison, issues of knowledge protection, distribution, definition, integrity, transmission (delivery), management and use, can be discerned. In respect of "narrative knowledge", it highlights the importance of mechanisms that protect the wananga state of Maori knowledge. In so doing, definition is maintained and advanced within this conceptual framework. Importantly, in an information technological age, intellectual property systems are required to provide assurances about the integrity of these matters.

Essentially, this seeks to revise the nature of reality and how it should be studied (cited in Harker, 1993: 5). In contrast to this, "scientific knowledge" is viewed to be one narrative amidst many that may contribute to our understanding of the whanaungatanga (relationships) shared by all things. However, it is not given a prominence which consents to reason controlling its creators. Harker (1993: 4) argues that "people learn to reason, hence it is a social product and has social consequences". With regard to postmodernism, Murphy (1981: 108) argues that reason has not been abandoned:

...they simply refuse to allow reason to control its creators. People are still able to classify and explain events, and accordingly to generalise their findings. But now this process is understood to be predicated on judgements that need social collaboration, if decisions are to be known as rational.

Within the field of Educational Administration Theory Development, it encourages Maori peoples to reflect on the significant contribution that the narrative of whanau, hapu and iwi can make to improve the Maori Education position. It enables Maori peoples to define their world and maintain the integrity of a conceptual framework that advances Maori thinking and practice.

A Review Comment

This review of Administrative Theory Development described a history of events which fashioned the arguments used by positivist, phenomenologist and critical theorists to consolidate the paradigms that guide their research, theorising and administration practices. An analysis of these positions suggests that convergence between the different schools of thought may be taking place, that is, movement either left or right toward each other. Whilst each of these research communities has non-negotiable items, a thinking shift which is fostering greater consideration of each paradigm's merits rather than complete acceptance of each others positions appears to be taking place. The movement is recognisable, particularly in their discourse.

The review noted that positivism has and is still being challenged by phenomenology and critical theory followers. The resulting debates have introduced arguments which are not hard line orthodox positions for either research community. For instance, Popper's theory implications for administration as described by Corson (1987) introduces a sharp deviation from the orthodox positivist position.

The central tenet of error elimination encourages a multidisciplinary approach which by its very nature accepts that adjustments and replacements are not necessarily the outcome of strict scientific progress. However, there is no compromising the *objectivity* principle which is fundamental to the positivist paradigm.

In comparison, phenomenology appears to be moving more toward critical theory arguments, at least that seems to be the case, given Greenfield's (1986:73) reasoning about praxis and existential and ethical issues. Greenfield's reflection on the work of Hodginson (1978) and Thompson (1987) appears to influence his position in this regard. However, he is unrelenting about his concept of organisations as *invented reality* which is fundamental to the interpretive paradigm.

Although critical theory does not agree with either a strictly positivist or phenomenological position it, nonetheless, acknowledges the contribution that each makes to the whole. It is argued that critical theory is a composite of the empirical and interpretive positions fused with a healthy regard for ethical and moral issues, and a passion for transformation. In spite of the well documented differences, these theory movements offer a reasonably well blended harmony when listened to in concert. This may provide a useful way to make clear distinctions about the impact of administration theory development on Maori Education.

Postmodern ideas about knowledge seek to radically revise the nature of Educational Administration reality and how it is studied. This is not incongruent to a critical theory position insofar as it does not completely disregard positivism or any other narrative. However, postmodernism is characterised by behavioural features which reflect individuality and its contribution to a collectivism, operating on principals of collaboration. These synergetic cornerstones encourage Maori knowledge contributions in ways that do not displace nor compromise the integrity of the contributors. In this sense, a phenomenological research position is useful with a healthy regard for critique that serves to address ethical and moral issues within powershifts¹⁰.

¹⁰ Toffler (1991) describes a powershift as a transfer of power. He states that it is a deep-level change in the very nature of power, according to him, this is simply not a transfer of power from one person to another, but a fundamental change in the mix of violence, wealth and knowledge employed by the elites to maintain control.

Historical Impact on Maori Education

A discussion about the historical impact of administrative theory development on Maori Education is better conducted within this broader context of administration because these developments influenced New Zealand Education Administration thinking which in turn affected Maori Education advancement. Its connections with international trends are visible through the effects on other indigenous groups throughout the world. This is plausible because treaty arrangements between indigenous groups and colonists have historically led to rapid assimilation of the indigenous population to a colonist reality. It suggests that assimilation is not about sharing, even though when required the idea is used to guard its true purpose. It is couched in ideological conflict which has been captured by such concepts as institutional racism, inequality and discrimination. These notions contribute to a broader context of educational impositions on Maori people.

Friere followers would argue that these impositions are necessary for education systems that effectively protect the interests of the dominant culture while legitimating the dominant group's arrogant expectations about indigenous groups. This is evident in the history of Pakeha-Maori contact which featured colonist expectations of Maori social organisations; whanau, hapu and iwi. It is supported by Ballara (1986:10) who argued that the missionaries regarded the Maori as inferior savages. They believed that Maori culture in its entirety had to be destroyed before the Maori could be saved by the gift of christian civilisation.

It was the central tenet embodied in the Native Trust Ordinance enacted by Governor Fitzroy in 1844, four years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, which described a policy of rapid assimilation in its preamble. According to Barrington and Beaglehole (1974), it was not gazetted due to public pressure, however its assimilation ideology was retained and appeared in Governor Grey's 1847 Education Ordinance veiled by the promotion of education for all youth in New Zealand. This did not please Pakeha parents who would not entertain the idea of their children going to school with natives. The Southern Cross, a Wellington Newspaper of that era, described it as absurd and did not believe that Pakeha parents would at that time send their children to the same school with natives. This apathy was appeased when Pakeha education became a provincial responsibility while Maori Schools remained under the Governor and Central Government. In retrospect, Grey's 1847 Education Ordinance proved to be a more subtle way of pursuing the ideological position described by the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance:

Whereas the native people of New Zealand are the natural endowments apt for the acquirement of the arts and habits of civilised life, and are capable of great moral and social advancement, and whereas large numbers of the people are already desirous of being instructed in the English language and in English arts and usages, and whereas great disasters have fallen upon uncivilised nations on being brought into contact with colonists from the nations of Europe, and in undertaking the colonisation of New Zealand Her Majesty's Government have recognised the duty of endeavouring by all practical means to avert the like disasters from the native people of these islands which object may best be attained by assimilation as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population... (N.Z. Statute, 104-53 No1x, Native Trust Ordinance 1844:141-144, cited in Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974:39)

The Ordinance provided subsidies to three Mission groups on the condition that *"boarding rather than day schools became the central feature of the Mission school system"* (Barrington, 1966). It was Grey's intention to isolate Maori children from what he believed was the *'demoralising influence of the Maori villages'*. The expected outcome was an acceleration of the process. Industrial training and instruction in English were seen as priorities. The lack of reinforcement to Maori Culture was deliberate. The purpose was to ensure that Maori people took on board *'the ways and usages of the European'* (Barrington, 1966).

Grey used the political machine to enforce this object. He recognised that the missions were already established and with their assistance he hoped that speedy results would eventuate. However, there was some reluctance by Maori parents to separate from their children. As Piddington (1972) noted, kinship was the most important structural element conducive to the Maori community spirit. The introduction of an isolation clause into government education policy for Maori successfully created cracks in Maori social organisations which effectively compromised their way of life.

The Ordinance had set the precedent. Policy was now quite clear in terms of education for Maori. Assimilation was acceptable to the Missions and the Government alike. This was further advanced by the Native Schools Act 1867 and its Amendment of 1871. It was characterised by the abandonment of teaching Maori and the directive that all teaching was to be done in English. Because Maori language use was hindering the Europeanising of the Maori, an education policy was introduced which made this communication medium unacceptable.

Between 1880-1939, Native Schools gradually began to arrest the Maori mind as the roll of these schools increased. Educational changes for Maori during this period were cosmetic as there was no real commitment to modifying the assimilation functions of schools. In 1907, a manual labour emphasis was introduced to Native schools. In this way, the Maori life style was changed and by 1909 all Education Act provisions regarding the attendance of Pakeha children were also made applicable to Maori children.

Harker (1985:95) says that the agricultural developments in Rural England and France were cited as examples for this emphasis. Its main objective appeared to be the production of a rural based peasantry. Maori schools focused on producing good farmers and farmers' wives, although it was altered in the 1930s - 1940s to develop Maori carpenters and carpenters' wives (Harker and McConnochie, 1985). Education and schooling, says Harker (1990), were both instrumental and manipulative, with clear overtones of assimilation, social control and occupational placement. Jackson (1975:36) noted that both mission education and the development of day schools effectively took away the management and control of the education process from whanau, hapu and iwi institutions thereby interfering with Maori cultural continuity.

During this time, teachers were initially required to have some knowledge of Te Reo Maori to assist the teaching of English to Maori children. Eventually, the hardening of Education Authority attitudes soon demanded complete removal of native ways by teachers. This was critical to their professional progress in the education system. Maori children were forbidden to speak Maori and were punished by their teachers for disobeying.

The first 25 years of the 20th century were characterised by such policies and practices. The Waitangi Tribunal (1986) heard evidence that supported this, in particular, the response of Sir James Henare to the Education Department's position about the matter. Sir James replied to the Tribunal *"The facts are incontrovertible. If there was no such policy there was an extremely effective gentleman's agreement!"*. It was clear to the Tribunal that it was a practice widely followed. Essentially, schooling provided a means by which colonist ideals and values could be promoted and ensured that their aspirations were realised. There can be little doubt that the administrative practices required by teachers were assimilation oriented.

According to Marxist thinking, assimilation is basically an oppressive act by a dominant group that believes its view of the world is the correct one. It imposes terms and conditions upon minority groups which reflect the dominant group's reality, generally, for the purposes of resource acquisition, power and control. Such behaviour is understood to be tyrannical and inhumane by the oppressed, nevertheless, the behaviours are enforced by the colonist regime and professed to be legitimate for everyone. In this case, it advanced the adoption of Education Acts and policies which encouraged the devaluing of Maori cultural imperatives.

Its success is described by Harker (1990:31) who noted that the debate on the 1871 Amendment to the Education Act indicated strong support by the Maori members of Parliament who openly participated with the introduction of Europeanisation policies. It is recorded that Mr Takamoana, the member for Eastern Maori, wanted European children to attend Maori schools as it would facilitate the learning of European ways (Parliamentary Debates 1871:328).

Harker (1990) argues that because Maori people participated in passing this legislation it may have strengthened the beliefs of Pakeha members that what they were doing was in the best interests of all. The comment suggests that Maori participation means agreement when this may not have been the covert intention. Pakeha members may have indeed assumed that participation means support, but given the structure of the parliamentary system it would seem that participation was not necessarily a signal of support but one of interest by default. Therefore, it is just as likely that a *'make the best with what you've got'* approach could have been the order of the day for Maori members such as Mr Takamoana. It cannot be dismissed that Maori members may have deliberately chosen to agree, in the belief that it would advantage their Maori constituents by improving their status and social position within the colonist order. Regardless, the result was a school system that set about the task of Europeanising the Maori.

Successive governments deliberately used education as a social change agent with whanau, hapu and iwi. This was instrumental in providing assurances to a colonist population about their social and economic control of the country. The Maori political, social and economic upheaval was government designed to stimulate the power and control swing required to satisfy the colonist appetite. As a result, many Maori communities began to believe that the Pakeha were right because they were no longer economically, politically or socially endowed as their European counterpart. Ballara (1984) stated that eventually, many Maori accepted the oppressive political and economic situation they had to contend with. These events illustrate the inevitable conclusion of four stages; contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation (Banks, 1981).

There are features about this history which are consistent with Taylorism and Bobbitt education principles. Colonist behaviour demonstrated how assimilation practices dislocated and relocated Maori people in terms of culture and class. For example, the establishment of Native and Provincial schools was not an enhancement of Maori culture but a means of positioning it at the lower end of the new social order. In so doing, it established an arbitrary class distinction based on colonist standards. It follows, that Native schools were not established for colonist children but primarily for uncivilised natives who would be fashioned by the culture and class distinctions of the new social order.

These schools were serviced by teachers who focused on encouraging Maori children to become less Maori by acculturating them to colonist manners and customs. The emphasis on producing farmers and farmers' wives, and carpenters and carpenters' wives suggests that the colonist believed the native was better organised for manual unskilled labour. As a result, the curriculum for natives was driven by colonist leaders who '*knew*' what was best. Administrators identified the skills, believed to be important to produce good farmers and carpenters with obedient wives, then arranged them for teaching purposes. The attitudes toward those that did not accept the *colonist gift* is evident in a 1870s report from an inspector in Hokianga. The extract also indicates how well Native school teachers were doing:

It is an undoubted fact that the native village schools are working great good amongst the Maoris of the North... as a proof of which I may point out the very orderly and law-abiding conduct of the North Island natives in comparison with that of the more ignorant South Island tribes... I believe that this state of things is in a great measure to be attributed to the establishment of native schools, as they have done much to give the Maoris a better knowledge of our manners and customs than they have had hitherto, and which they duly appreciate and are in many ways attempting to imitate (Bird, 1938 cited in Harker and McConnochie 1985:93)

The government assumed minimal responsibility by providing texts books only. There was no other obvious government contribution to this arrangement. In comparison, they expected Maori Communities to donate land as school sites. This did not give Native School Committees any executive powers, but they were required to contribute heavily to the general running and building of Native schools (Ramsay, 1972). The government held on to professional and administrative responsibilities while school maintenance was the responsibility of the Maori Communities. Generally, the school chores were done by the children. Whether by design or convenience it was consistent with the manual labour focus established for these schools.

Until the early 1950s, this was the general trend. The structural features of Native schools were assimilation oriented. School policy and politics were organised for teachers to manage and control a native school population that still had strong whanau, hapu and iwi cultural mores. The corporal punishment practice used on children who spoke Maori illustrates this. Teacher attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and actions were hardened by government demands to quickly assimilate the native population. Teaching styles and strategies were acculturation dominated. The formalised curriculum focused on the skills associated with agriculture and industry. They were packaged and taught to native children in English.

All instructional materials were controlled by the government and provided free to Native schools. On the other hand, the community were expected to provide resources and manual labour. They had little if any involvement in the day to day administration of the school. The language medium was restricted to English, although Te Reo Maori was used for a short period to stimulate a speedy acquisition of the English language. The learning styles of Maori children were not considered important. The school culture and hidden curriculum denied all Maori cultural imperatives. Only those Maori children who demonstrated good European manners and customs received intrinsic and extrinsic reinforcement.

In Ritchie's work from the 1950's (cited in Ballara, 1984) some of the negative side effects are described. He uncovered evidence of both community acculturation and individual psychological disturbance, a result of confusion of identity owing to the clash of Maori values with internalised Pakeha expectations. Another researcher, Vaughan (1964, cited in Walker 1973:114) showed that by the age of six years, more than half the Maori children he studied thought they looked like pakehas. Walker (1973) argued that some Maori children even denied any knowledge of Te Reo Maori to their teacher as a way of disassociating from minority-group status. Walker believed the identity conflict for the Maori child was deepened by the insensitivity of teachers. He argued that even though Maori children may deny knowledge of Maori culture, they still feel a deep sense of shame (whakama) and betrayal when their cultural inheritance is ridiculed by teachers. According to Whitehead (1973), little attempt had been made to alter this situation since the Native Trust Ordinance of 1844. Changes were largely rhetorical and with no substance because the assimilation ideology that underpinned Maori education remained intact.

The work of Judith Simon (cited in National Education, Sept. 1984:133) showed that even in the 1980's this type of school environment was still acceptable. She argued that the viewpoints commonly held by Pakeha teachers operated against the interests of Maori children. She concluded that this seemed to be caused by the fact that the teachers concerned either ignored or failed to understand the meaning and significance of culture, and furthermore failed to take account of the asymmetry in the power relations of Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand Society. Her work, in this regard, illuminated the assimilation practices of Pakeha teachers, the deficit views they held, and their denial of cultural differences.

The Native School experience is not unique to Maori people. The same mistakes, based upon the same dogma, are documented by the studies in Maori and Aboriginal Education completed by Harker and McConnochie (1985). They argued that assimilation was central to the imposed overall settlement policy for New Zealand and Australia.

Their comparisons with Dumont and Wax's work (1971 cited in Harker and McConnochie, 1985:119-120) in Native American education has features that resemble the Maori position. Firstly, they were all thrust into a transformation of their traditional cultures and a total reorganisation of society, consistent with colonist expectations. Secondly, the indigenous culture was only entertained, if at all, to speed up the assimilation process. In any case, it was not embodied into any significant aspects of school operations. Thirdly, the *Native School* established an authority structure, a spatial and temporal organisation, and values which conformed to colonist constructs. This effectively reorganised the lives of the indigenous school aged population and contributed significantly to the disintegration of the traditional social structures.

Beyond The Native School Experience

In 1961, a policy of conformity by integration was recommended with the release of the Hunn Report. It described assimilation as a desirable process and aimed at achieving racial equality by the imposition of conformity. One of its contributions was the statistical data about Maori people in a broad range of areas. This included educational data which noted significant differences between Maori and non-Maori. For the first time, empirical research about Maori people had been disclosed in this manner. These statistics were translated into arguments which, for all intents and purposes, served only to refine the acculturation process. Successive governments accepted the report with enthusiasm because it armed them with new arguments to confront Maori leaders demanding bi-culturalism in race relations. In spite of this, the entrenchment of assimilation policies and practices into institutions of administrative authority continued (Ballara, 1986:137).

A number of empirical data collections followed, each providing a similar set of conclusions to that of the Hunn Report. Education Department Statistics, over the years, have continued to indicate that the disparity highlighted by the Hunn Report had not improved dramatically. The retention and educational achievement gap was still significant. For example, Harker and McConnochie (1985) noted that the gap between Maori and non-Maori school leavers with University Entrance increased from 14.0% in 1963 to 27.7% in 1982. Such results were often rationalised by *deficit thinkers* to be the result of factors that Maori people were responsible for. Explanations of this kind were based on the assumption that Maori people have the same opportunities as Pakeha. In this way, blame could be apportioned to the children, the parents even the culture itself.

From this emerged the deficit theory debate which questioned the intelligence of Maori children, the state of the Maori home and the parenting skills of Maori people. This diverted attention away from the education system and its poor performance for Maori. Whilst the results from empirical measuring instruments such as the Otis test, TOSCA, School Certificate and University Entrance were interpreted in ways to strengthen the deficit theory claims, questions about cultural bias and test item relevance were also being raised.

Archer, Oppenheim, Karetu and St. George challenged the IQ test proponents with a satirical article in 1971 which questioned the relevance of such tests. It was given a more public forum by Pamela Stirling in her article "The White Warp", published in the Listener in 1983. The TOSCA test used to stream students was taken to task by Nash (1983), (1984). He objected to the test on the grounds that it reflected a specifically European-New Zealand conception of knowledge and not a Maori-Aotearoa conception of knowledge. Secondly, he questioned the test's validity and reliability to measure the cognitive capacity of a student objectively. The underlying positivist assumptions associated with the IQ testing tradition were not considered beyond rigorous scrutiny.

Psychological studies which focused on deprivation were commonplace during this period. At that time, a number of prominent overseas experts were also commissioned to research the *Maori problem*. Harker (1973:57) noted that all the researchers who tested lower intellectual functioning (genetic) as a determinant of Maori educational achievement; Ausubel (1961), Lovegrove (1965), Butterworth (1967), Edwards (1969), Dept. of Education (1962) and Hunn (1961), did not accept it as a causal factor. The deficit theory was not sustainable.

Harker (1973:57) produced a diagram of educational research completed between 1945-69 on Maori educational achievement. It pointed out that of the 13 social determinant propositions and the 7 cultural determinant propositions, four of them are favoured by at least 10 of the 23 studies. The most favoured social factors were the inadequacy of the school system and the low level of parent education. The most favoured cultural factors were the difference of cultural background and language difficulties. Language difficulties were agreed to by 15 of the 23 studies as the primary factor. However, Harker (1973) raised three issues about this review. Firstly, that the school based research on Maori school attainment was inadequate. Secondly, that the term intelligence was used in an extremely loose way. Thirdly, that the complex interaction of the researched factors had not been systematically explored.

This was followed by a similar review which covered the period 1971-79. In this work, Harker (1979) reviewed historical, language and scholastic achievement studies. He synthesised the common themes in each area and commented on matters that deserved further attention. In his review of the historical studies he agreed with Bray (1973-4) about the need for more material from Maori sources, such as autobiographies. Referring to Fitzgerald (1977), Harker argued that oral histories about how Maori view aspects of the education system that seem routine and unproblematic to Pakeha, yet are major barriers to Maori, are required. He urged for a comprehensive social history of the relationships between Maori, Pakeha and the education system.

The language studies completed by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research highlighted for Harker (1979) the urgency and importance of Benton's bilingual education arguments. While he noted the work completed by Hawkins (1972), Devlin (1974), McDonald (1977), Cullum (1978) and St George (1980), it is Benton's (1979) statement about the policy implications of taking the bilingual option seriously which is important here. Benton argued that this would be immense and require a major political initiative. Essentially, decision makers would need to be resolute and translate rhetoric into action. Moorfield's (1987 cited in Hirsh, 1990:22) viewpoint is similar to Benton's to the extent that he requests educators and policy makers to take heed of the lessons learnt from overseas research so that many Maori children and the children of New Zealand's minority groups will benefit. Moorfield is adamant that a bilingual education system is required. According to him, if this had been introduced 150 years ago, many issues being raised now would not exist. There are other writers who advocate a similar position, however, the matter is clear enough. In addition, there is sufficient literature available, by authors such as Spolsky (1987), Holmes (1979), Cummins (1986), Holm and Holm (1984, 1990), Skutnabb-Kongas (1990), about the overseas experience.

It is fair to say that there is considerable literary support for a Bilingual Education System for this country. Furthermore, it is noted by proponents as a necessity for Maori and non-Maori alike, not a luxury. Given the increasing demands on the Ministry of Education to establish Kura Kaupapa Maori and Bilingual Units, it would seem that this is particularly favoured by Maori Communities.

The scholastic studies of this period (1971-79) did not advance our understanding to any great extent. However, from the work of Kinloch (1979), McDonald (1975) and others, it seemed likely that cultural difference was an independent causal factor in the lower achievement of Maori children in New Zealand schools. It suggested that the difference between the culture of the child's home and community, and the culture of the school was a major contributor to the poor Maori achievement.

The attitudinal studies of teachers completed by Nightingale (1977), St George (1978), Harker (1978) and Nicholls and Barnett (1977) advanced the argument that there may be a marked ignorance of Maori culture by teachers but there is little evidence of discrimination in classroom practices. However, St George (1978) highlighted that teachers held different expectations for and perceptions of Polynesian and Pakeha students which reflected achievement differences. Simon (1984) accentuates this in her work which has been mentioned already.

Despite the lack of evidence regarding discrimination practices, there is no doubt that the assimilation ideology is at the core of school life thereby disadvantaging the Maori child. There is little need to pro-actively advance the cause when all the symbols, practices and school structures do not accept Maori oriented contributions. Havighurst (1973) indicated this situation. He argued that 'getting on' for Maori means becoming increasingly like middle class Pakeha, which is the purpose of an education system organised to assimilate Maori people. The education system is designed to ensure that it is impossible to succeed by any other means.

There are a wide range of studies completed on the school environment. These studies concentrated on cultural difference, institutional racism and discrimination. St George (1972) found in her review of racial tolerance studies that racial prejudice toward Maori by Pakeha was consistently reported. Likewise, in Spoonley's (1979) advocacy for a policy based on affirmative action, he acknowledged the existence of structural inequalities that work against Maori. He argued that ethnic pluralism exists, therefore, it should be reflected in the organisation of social institutions.

This is given some weight by Cleave (1976), who concluded from his study of St. Stephen's school that its success was due to the structural features of the institution and the more formal aspects of the curriculum being perceived by the students to be Maori. There is a host of literature by Gregory (1974), Blank (1974), Smith (1974), Johnson (1974) and more recently May (1992) which describes the success of various principals to develop school environments that reinforce Maori culture and treat it positively. These studies generally reflect a transformation of the school environment which values the culture of the Maori child. It is also suggested that if the school principal actively encourages this, then it is more likely to succeed.

The major area of school research about Maori has been the curriculum. This has raised questions about what is valued knowledge, higher and lower status knowledge, basics versus frills, and knowledge as a social construct. In New Zealand, these debates contributed to the introduction of Maori cultural aspects into school curriculum programmes, although in varying degrees depending on factors such as willingness, teacher expertise, Maori community support, time constraints and resources.

Royal (1975) contributed to this debate with his work on the administrative implications of introducing Maori language and culture in the curriculum. His views on accountability to the multicultural community also raised key questions for Educational Administrators. According to Royal (1983), there are no understandable and acceptable educational objectives of multicultural education which are set in operational terms. Secondly, ways had not been found to encourage Maori to share in the power structure of the local educational institutions. More important to Royal (1975) was the search for ways of increasing the degree of equality of achievement. In his conclusion he signalled that:

Schools need to constantly review its aims and objectives as well as its practices in order to respond to new perceived needs of the community. The only way that they can do so according to new voices in the wind is to be more accountable. This means not only to evaluate, but to accept the moral obligation to communicate and to assume some liability to make good that which is considered a gap in the service (Royal, 1975).

Perhaps, the most pronounced curriculum debates in Maori Education today are the Taha Maori programme, Maori Language Factor Funding, Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Maori Teacher Training. The 1984 Core Curriculum proposals stated that Taha Maori had official recognition in the work of the school, however, Cameron (1984) argued that it was an appendage rather than a structural element. Ennis (1987) came to the same conclusions in his study three years later.

Taha Maori is criticised by Smith (cited in Codd, Harker & Nash 1990:190) because it is shaped and controlled by dominant Pakeha interests with a priority concern for the norms, values and expectations of Pakeha society. Furthermore, he argued that where consultation has occurred with Maori people, gate-keeping practices have been available to ensure that the interests of the dominant group are preserved.

Interestingly, this has been somewhat duplicated by the Maori Language Factor Funding Policy which originally provided a financial resource to schools, to enable Maori children to learn Te Reo Maori. The policy is loose enough for all groups to attach meaning, in a way that appeals to them. The shift in responsibility and the pre-occupation of Boards with spending options obscures the ethical commitment embodied in this policy. The likely effect is a high degree of distortion between policy and practice resulting in a change of focus away from Maori language proficiency to the more trivial outcomes of Taha Maori as described by Smith (1990).

Distortion of this policy at the school level seems to be the result of manipulating Maori who are consulted, restrictions placed on resource development, methods of appointment to decision making positions and so on (Smith, 1990:191). School community discussions about the needs of Maori children and resources tend to reflect the jostling of the various groups who are seeking to have their knowledge, ideologies and meanings acknowledged in tangible ways. This is the ideological struggle at the school level.

Both the Taha Maori and the Maori Language Factor Funding debates highlight the unequal distribution of power within Boards of Trustees. The powerlessness of Maori Communities is demonstrated by their lack of control over the means, methods and material resources. Educational Administrators and Boards of Trustees may further marginalise Maori participation by using their discretion to control the implementation of this policy. In both cases, policy potency at the school level and ultimately the benefit to the Maori child is weakened. It could be argued that educational administration, in this regard, is flawed.

Following the arguments of Penetito (1988), Irwin (1990) and Smith (1990), the reliance of the Maori child on the combined efforts of politicians, administrators, and the wider community to deliver substantial benefits is unacceptable to many Maori Communities. Educational management and administration reforms coupled with the curriculum reforms have excited Maori Communities who have waited in earnest for the establishment of educational institutions that will accept Maori cultural capital and allow for continued returns on this investment (Bourdieu, 1974).

Maori Communities are demanding that an education system with a suitable curriculum, pedagogy and assessment procedure be implemented that reflects their culture (See Bernstein 1977 for an elaboration of these concepts). While the flexibility and time taken to respond to Maori educational aspirations will be an important yardstick along the way, in the final analysis, it will be the results that count.

By expanding upon the notion of excellence in education and service to the client which embody central elements of the new-right ideology (Lauder, 1990), a major contradiction emerges when applied to Maori education. If the notion of equity is to be realised then future Maori Education Policies should ensure that Maori people are empowered in real ways to achieve their educational aspirations. Basically, this concerns access, power, authority and resources. It includes clarifying what is meant by Maori Education Policy. Irwin (1990) argues a similar position. She believes that a debate about the politics of left-wing radicals and right-wing conservatives is empty rhetoric as far as Maori people are concerned: Pakeha still have the power to veto Maori decisions and thus to exercise control over Maori interests.

In this area, Penetito (1988:100-2) points out that the designers of *Policies for Maori Education*, still conceive of the Maori child (or her family or the way she was raised, or his culture) as being central to the definition of the problem. Such policies follow the principle of gradualism where the goal is multiculturalism through biculturalism. In essence a revamped version of assimilation using a more subtle approach to achieve conformity. He further notes that *Maori Education Policies* define their problems initially at the level of the iwi because their concern is for the social location of Maoridom as a whole. Suggested policies such as those related to the creation of Maori Education Authorities are concerned to provide an infrastructure where the life chances of young Maori people are enhanced.

It follows, that confrontation is unavoidable when those trying to promote Maori Education Policies must tackle proponents of Policies for Maori Education. Until issues of power, access, resources and authority are negotiated, Maori people must contend with Pakeha power and control within the system. Therefore, such policies will continue to be subverted at all levels (adapted from Simon, 1986:42).

These arguments, while not new, have moved Maori Communities to seek control of their education options. The increasing number of *whanau* establishing Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa, with or without government participation, is a major feature on the New Zealand education landscape. It has broken the mould and demanded that new questions be answered.

The establishment of Pukeatua Te Kohanga Reo, Te Wananga o Raukawa, Hoani Waititi Kura Kaupapa Maori and more recently, Rangakura Teacher Training Programme are milestones that illustrate the urgency given to this situation. Viewed in this light, the question is not whether Maori Communities are capable of meeting the challenge, it is whether or not New Zealand Education reforms can keep pace with whanau, hapu and iwi development.

Smith (1990) has noted the ideological threats to the Kura Kaupapa Maori movement. His response is to clarify what the characteristics of this movement are and why they are important. His explanation is capable of maintaining its *fit* with the other milestones mentioned here also. In summary, Smith states that Kura Kaupapa Maori represents a conscious resistance initiative to the inhibiting structural impediments embedded within state schooling and reflected in the poor general performance of that system. Second, Kura Kaupapa Maori represent a positive and radical initiative seeking to bring about fundamental structural change within schooling by altering the power relations (Maori is the *norm* in Kura Kaupapa Maori), and by changing the ideological dimensions (Maori language and culture are valid and legitimate as of right).

These school sites are a direct challenge to the efficacy of many mainstream options, says Smith (1990:193), such as *Taha Maori*, bilingual units in mainstream schools and even bilingual schools. *Kura Kaupapa Maori* has exposed the underlying assimilation trend that pervades state schooling, despite the resistance efforts of committed teachers and personnel. It also illuminates the lack of continuity provided for the pioneering *Kohanga Reo* graduates at the primary and now secondary level.

The issue of power and control consistently referred to by these educationists is considered to be at the crux of Maori education debates. In the report on issues and factors relating to Maori achievement in the education system, Hirsh (1990) stated that the power relationship and control of resources are very much at the heart of relationships between Maori and Pakeha today. He qualifies this with a reference to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal's position on this matter;

The education system in New Zealand is operating unsuccessfully because too many Maori children are not reaching an acceptable level of education. For some reason they do not or cannot take full advantage of it. Their language is not protected and their scholastic achievements fall far short of what they should be. The promises of the Treaty of Waitangi of equality of education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system's own standards Maori children are not successfully taught, and for that reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Maori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty (Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

The resilience of the Treaty is only matched by the history of rejection and challenge it has generated within the New Zealand consciousness. It has been given room to breathe, at a time when this country is attempting to address educational disparities between Maori and non-Maori, as it manages its economic transformation toward the year 2000. Its relevance amidst the more recent education reforms has not gone unquestioned as status quo thinkers reshuffle the deck in their favour. However, Smith and Smith (1989) believe that it will be more difficult for institutions to deny its presence because they are now being forced to face an unpleasant truth: the Treaty of Waitangi has reached out across time and a history of denial and there it is amongst all the changes which will take New Zealand into the 21st Century.

Getting Past the School Gate

Although educational research is able to provide us with useful insights, getting past the school gate for many Maori children is still an arduous task. They must trust in the goodwill of decision makers to look after their educational interests. Given the research cited here, there are important considerations emerging. However, it is somewhat alarming that despite the visibility of these matters they continue to be pandered to by educational administrators while another generation of Maori school warriors must defend their cultural baggage without an assurance that the *taua* are coming. It is perhaps suffice to mention that, in the past, numerous scouts had gone off in search of the *taua* to no avail.

The research clearly shows that assimilation is still a driving force in New Zealand's education system. Its influence is characterised by the continued reinforcement of policies for Maori education as opposed to Maori education policies. At the local community level, the school unit is still used to maintain the dominance of Pakeha culture and to resist challenges for structural changes that encourage the maintenance and further evolution of Maori cultural imperatives.

Statistical data describes an unenviable Maori achievement record which essentially indicates how unsuccessful schooling has been for Maori. Furthermore, the New Zealand obsession with Maori conformity to Pakeha reality has been noted in studies on teacher expectations and attitudes toward Maori children. From the 1945-69 studies we know that the inadequacy of the school system, the low level of parent education, cultural difference and language difficulties were favoured as key determinants of poor Maori educational achievement.

Arguments about the inadequacy of the school system were further advanced in the 1970's. The gap between the child's home and community culture and the school culture was considered a major contributor to Maori underachievement.

The 1971-79 studies tell us that there is a need for more oral histories about a Maori perspective of the education system. Considerable literary support was also evident for the establishment of a bilingual education system. Issues of institutional racism and discrimination were found to be relevant, while studies about schools being transformed to value the culture of the Maori child were noted. These studies suggest that if the principal wants this to happen, then it is more likely to succeed. The power structure of educational institutions was also questioned because ways had not been developed to encourage Maori to share in them.

In more recent research data, we find that issues of power and control are cited as critical factors to Maori education advancement. It is argued that Pakeha still continue to maintain the power to not accept Maori decisions and essentially control Maori interests, thereby increasing Maori dissatisfaction, frustration and anger. With this in mind, the demand for an education system that provides a suitable curriculum, pedagogies and assessment procedures has begun to impact upon New Zealand curriculum developments in more recent years. As Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, and other Maori education initiatives continue to stretch the comfort zone of a regime intent on gradualism, it appears timely to also challenge the *fitness* of training courses offered to teachers and educational administrators, and to question their relevance to Maori education.

Such scrutiny is unavoidable given that this education system has resisted and clearly failed to produce successful outcomes for Maori education. The inadequacy of the system also reflects upon its teacher education institutions. In the studies completed by Bray and Jordan (1973) and Willis (1981) the ethnocentric attitudes of teachers were also found to be evident in the behaviour of teacher trainees. Trainees, according to these studies, thought Maori children lacked intellectual ability and application (cited in Benton, 1987).

Solution seekers have advocated options such as requiring all teachers to speak Maori fluently and be comfortable in both cultures, with Te Reo Maori and culture as core requirements in the school curriculum (Ennis, 1987). According to Ennis (cited in Benton, 1987), teachers colleges should play an important part in making this happen.

Indeed, the programmes now offered at Waikato and Auckland Colleges of Education are attempting to address this, however, it has not reached out far enough to become a recognisable nationwide trend. Despite this, there is a need for caution. Middleton (1982) pointed out that trainees are capable of avoiding courses and experiences that focus on cultural differences between Maori and non-Maori.

Mitchell (1970), however, alerted us to the dangers of being too narrowly focused on the more visible cultural differences when developing programmes. At the same time, he advocated a mindshift for trainees away from an Anglo-Saxon middle class position. No doubt, there are Maori who would argue that this is unacceptable because it is exceptionally time consuming and detracts from securing control of their education agenda. The alternative is to establish courses designed specifically for Maori education needs.

Atakura, is considered to be such a course. It was introduced to increase the number of Maori language teachers in secondary schools. Its effectiveness has not been examined in detail, however, it has encouraged competent Te Reo Maori speakers to enter the teaching profession.

There have been a number of similar developments elsewhere. Hamilton Teachers College introduced a Diploma in Bilingual Teaching which focused on up-skilling Maori speaking teachers before returning them to lead bilingual developments with their communities. A similar course is being offered at the Wairarapa Polytechnic.

In Auckland, a Kura Kaupapa Teacher Training course has been established to support the Kura Kaupapa movement and its need for competent Maori speaking teachers who are capable of functioning effectively in a Kura Kaupapa Maori. More recent additions to this trend have been the accreditation of Te Kohanga Reo Whakapakari Kaiako course and the Te Rangakura bilingual/bicultural teacher training course.

At the University level, Te Wananga o Raukawa offers an innovative Degree in Maori Administration which has essential Te Reo Maori and tikanga requirements. Waikato University, on the other hand has introduced a degree programme which is taught in Te Reo Maori. These innovations are at the frontline of Maori education advancement as they strive to accomplish what has not been achievable to date. They indicate clearly that essential Maori knowledge, skills and possibly quality gaps do exist in the education of teachers and administrators.

Wagner (1985), highlighted the extent of this discrepancy, when he described the collapse of an innovative approach to teaching through Te Reo Maori in an urban school, which he attributed in part to the absence of any specific knowledge by teaching staff and administrators of organisation, practice and language learning theory. Many educationists believe that a lack of resources has also contributed to this situation. While the inadequacy of present in-service and pre-service provisions in Maori education has been acknowledged by the Department of Education (1987), the restructuring and redistribution of resources has not yet provided sustainable benefits.

Getting to the Chalkface

In discussing the state of educational administration the 1965 Royal Commission Report (Curry) acknowledged that centralised control was not necessarily inconsistent with a large measure of local administration and the maintenance of local interest in education. In addition, the Commission viewed educational administration as an evolving system. The report provides a detailed historical account of administration development in New Zealand.

There were frequent comments made about the structures that control the size and distribution of educational resources with particular emphasis on the tension between Education Boards and the Department of Education. This is evidenced by the Commission's assertion that:

...there is no possible future for education administration in New Zealand (at that time) than the endeavour to find some point of balance between central and local authority which will allow both to function without frustration or waste and which will not be unsatisfactory to both sides (cited in Royal Commission Report on Education, 1965:94).

The Commission was seeking to minimise if not remove the organisational dysfunction that was known to exist. Nevertheless, it accepted that this tension was unavoidable if administration was to be taut and responsive to changing opinion and need. Furthermore, it argued that this was consistent with educational administration trends in most parts of the world. The balance sought was a maintenance of a centralised administration (due to centralised financing) with educational administrators being required to devise procedures which would balance this tendency and foster local endeavour. One of the hallmarks of education administration at that time was the community commitment to educational action. It accounted for the unusual character of the New Zealand system of educational administration which encouraged local participation in spite of a centralised department. It is reported that the experiences of inequality between board districts and economic depression provided a catalyst for encouraging a caring public position:

...educational provision should operate in the same way for all members of the community, so that the development of the individual should not be at the mercy of his personal economic situation or depend upon the chance of birth in one part of the country rather than another (Royal Commission Report on Education, 1965:71).

During the period between 1920-29, debates about the abolition of boards were common. Issues of financial mismanagement and increasing costs at a local level underlined most of the rhetoric. In contrast, the support for local control of education was argued to be an assertion of democracy. Interestingly, the Department shared the belief that important democratic values are safeguarded when responsibility for decisions is shared and not constrained by a central and normally distant authority.

The dependency of the state education system on the high degree of local participation at no financial cost to the government could not be pushed aside in the Commission's deliberation. In fact, the Commission more or less accepted that this view of the world was significant.

The Commission openly accepted the democratic nature of New Zealand's education institutions and envisaged that its contribution would set in motion a further evolution which would seek to maintain a balance between central and local responsibility. The division of professional and administrative functions was critical to the cooperative conduct of the whole educational system. Professional matters of curricula, teaching methods, and the internal organisation of schools were the domain of the Department. The Boards were responsible for business administration matters, that is, the supply of services, buildings, equipment, and other goods necessary to enable a teacher to teach. However, there was some overlap, in particular, the District Senior Inspector, who as the senior professional officer was required to deal with professional matters and decisions, but also contributed to board administration functions because DSI responsibilities were inextricably linked. Professional matters were nonetheless excluded from local administrative control. This meant that schools were serviced by their Board for resource matters and by the Department, via its field officers, for professional matters.

Concerns were raised about the recruitment of professional officers, in particular for inspectorate positions from whose ranks the most senior departmental officers were appointed. It was argued that these positions were not attracting well qualified personnel. As a result, some key points were presented as necessary criteria in the appointment of professional officers.

A reasonable period of teaching service was viewed as an absolute pre-requisite. Furthermore, there was an expectation that the officer be a leader in an area of teaching method or a subject field. An emphasis on well qualified personnel from both the primary and secondary services meant that, in general, principals (secondary) and headmasters (primary) were prime candidates.

To achieve this, the Commission believed that it was necessary to provide additional training to teachers appointed to professional-administrative positions. Inspectors needed to be expert classroom practitioners but also have a wide knowledge of education in general, in particular, the New Zealand education system. The Commission argued that there was a strong case for some form of pre-entry training which universities would offer. A diploma in educational administration was considered appropriate.

Twenty or so years later, the findings of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration (Administering for Excellence, 1988) indicated similar concerns to those mentioned by the 1965 Commission. According to the Taskforce, the administrative structure was over-centralised and plagued with too many decision points. Concerns were raised about the lack of effective management practices, poor information sharing mechanisms for quality decision making, and the feeling of powerlessness that many groups appeared to share.

The old structure was described as a creaky, cumbersome affair that was shaped more by increments and accretion. This is explicitly referred to as a collection of administrative arrangements which were incapable of facilitating rapid changes. In a similar way to the 1965 Commission, the 1987 Taskforce argued for a balance between central and local responsibility. In their opinion, this meant centralising fund allocations and localising control over how an institution spent what funds it received. The establishment of National education objectives meant that delivery decisions were a local level responsibility, but had to reflect the national interest.

The learning institution was the basic building block of the education administration reform. It was structured as a partnership between the professionals and its community: the board of trustees being the partnership mechanism. The board, in consultation and with advice from professionals were required to prepare a charter which acted as a contract between the community and the institution, and the institution and the state. The role of the educational administrator in Tomorrow's Schools, as described by Ballard and Duncan (1989), is to contribute and complement board policy (the Charter), to lead staff in the implementation of school programmes and to report achievements. Accordingly, the educational administrator at this level is expected to manage change, be the school leader and act as custodian of the school culture.

Hirsh (1990) reported the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Charter document and the challenge that ensues from this for principals and teachers alike. He argued that it will impact upon their professional development and require the school leader to value the Maori dimension as a norm, parallel to the Pakeha dimension. As the custodian of the school culture, the educational administrator, at this level, would require a more in depth Maori knowledge and skill base outside the normal basic greetings and hangi fanfare.

Hirsh (1990) also mentioned that the appointment of Maori teachers into educational administration positions was a concern. According to his informants, the sustainability of school based programmes would not be secure if this limited human resource continues to be captured by such offers. He reported this to be a disturbing trend, particularly, when the chances of these people being swallowed up by the system is high, unless institutions are transformed dramatically.

Tomorrow's Schools has been criticised by Codd, Gordon, and Harker (1990). They argued that it is a strategic response to the fiscal crisis of the New Zealand state. Public information would tend to support this, given the increasing deficit the country is faced with. According to them, this has encouraged the devolution of decision making for a wide range of administrative areas to the school level, but ensure that control is maintained at the state level through the Ministry of Education and the Education and Review Office. This relationship is a central feature of the change. According to Codd, Gordon and Harker (1990) it has effectively removed the means by which claims could be lodged for qualitative improvements at a state level. It serves only to compound the inequalities, in this case, administrative skills which are critical to school communities faring well in the new-right education environment. A reliance on the school professionals and skilled administrative community members is characteristic of this transformation. Where school communities have limited human resources to call upon, the educational administrator is heavily relied on. For many Maori Communities this has been inescapable. Codd, Gordon and Harker (1990) bring this situation into sharp relief. Using a Gramscian analysis they question the social effects of this change:

...Tomorrow's Schools which shifts certain aspects of administration of schools from the central agencies of the state to small organisational units within civil society in the form of Boards of Trustees. The declaration that each board should 'properly reflect the composition of its community' is based upon assumptions that are contradicted by social realities. The fact is that in an unequal society particular kinds of competence, including administrative skills, are distributed unequally among individuals and between communities (Codd, Gordon, Harker, 1990:29).

Where a Maori community has limited administrative resource personnel, their board of trustees will have difficulty trying to function effectively. In this situation, the board is vulnerable to making poor decisions. Requests for assistance from professionals with administration knowledge and skills is a predictable response. While their administration skills are important, there maybe other reasons which encourage requests for their assistance.

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital highlights this. Maori Educational Administrators, whether by choice or coercion, are often expected to take a leading role in their whanau, hapu and iwi education development. According to Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, they need to possess relevant cultural resources and competence to achieve this.

In particular, their understanding of the Treaty and its implications for Maori education policy conception and execution will be critical. The tension between state interests and Maori interests will require a clear response because the history of state imposition (*kawanatanga*) and Maori aspirations for independence (*tino rangatiratanga*) cannot be ignored in this context or any other. How these matters are marshalled and dealt with requires some caution. There is always the potential for administrators to abuse the resulting social power and become the oppressor. In this regard, the importance of affirming culturally relevant imperatives should not be underestimated. It could be argued that all educational administrators should consider these issues, however, it is not my intention to debate the issue here.

Using the Blackboard

When all the rhetoric is done, the most crippling feature about educational administration in New Zealand for Maori is the damage caused by the *Pakeha veto* (Benton, 1987). It is still difficult for a Pakeha majority to allow Maori people with the appropriate cultural resources and competence, and the leadership potential to assume authority. The fact that non-Maori are able to make decisions for Maori, is a *hakihaki* which cannot be healed easily. No matter how it is phrased the situation is still basically about power and control. Winiata (1985) described it as:

...the non-Maori majority in Aotearoa having the power to veto major decisions affecting Maori people, and this veto is exercised largely by senior decision makers (including teachers) who do not have knowledge of and sophistication in the "tanga" of the runanga or in Maoritanga in general (Winiata, 1985).

Having said this, it should not cast a shadow over the administrative considerations raised by others. Penetito (1984) and Cameron (1984) told us that a respect for and responsiveness to Maori concerns and interests is a significant structural element in school organisation and administration. Solomon (1980) and Curtis (1980) identified administrative characteristics which appeared to create a good learning environment for Maori students. Solomon reported that a service ethic to community, good communication sharing, and good listening skills are important, while Curtis attributed the success of Boarding schools to the close relationship between home, marae and school. It would be useful to understand how these characteristics are applied.

Ramsay, Sneddon, Grenfell, and Ford (1987) outlined key administrative features of successful ethnically mixed schools; a clearly articulated philosophy, clear communication patterns between staff, consultative decision making, carefully maintained pupil records, the use of community resources, and access to and frequent use of school resources. These features are probably just as important for all schools, however, it cannot be assumed that this will readily deliver what Maori Communities are seeking. It may provide good schooling consistent with the national interest, but this may not necessarily be what Maori Communities want. It would be worthwhile asking Maori Communities what they believe makes a successful school and how an Educational Administrator should contribute to that. In this way, the demand by Maori for control over their own education may be made more visible.

Maori Leadership in Educational Administration

Traditional Maori Social Organisation

A historical review of Maori Leadership reveals the antecedents of traditional models and the accumulation of leadership ideas by successive generations of Maori. These matters are significant because a study of Maori Educational Administrators is about Maori Leadership.

Traditional leadership was expressed in a social, political and economic context. Winiata (1967) extended this by including administrative and ritual roles. He argues that these were performed by different classes of leaders who complement the characteristics of the group and its activities. Writers such as Firth (1959), Buck (1966), Best (1941) provide substantial accounts of these social groupings and their purposes. They all described classes of leadership within a distinct set of traditional social groupings. Traditional leadership, according to these writers, is inextricably connected with traditional Maori social organisations. Their accepted traditional groupings were Waka, Iwi, Hapu and Whanau.

The Waka was the largest accepted traditional social organisation which consists of a group of tribes related by genealogical connection to one or more of the waka crew. The waka name was used by those iwi groups that were known to be direct descendants. Descent from the captain was considered particularly significant. This social group was maintained by matters of war and marriage among persons of senior lineage. Leadership at this level remained within the most senior line among the related iwi groups and was referred to as ariki. Generally, the iwi that excited the affair provided the leadership required. However, the purposes for regrouping on a waka basis were not frequent or numerous, and were rarely unified for lengthy periods. Such characteristics meant that the waka grouping was generally not visible unless the livelihood of the descendants was threatened.

Iwi was the recognised socio-political grouping of all the traditional Maori social organisations. Relationships were determined by descent through either parent. This grouping was a loose arrangement which allowed its members to act cooperatively for political purposes. This impacted upon their economic and social well being. Leadership at this level was from the direct senior line of the tribe. These leaders were of two classes. The highest class being ariki who lead the iwi, while rangatira lead their hapu and contributed to the iwi decision making process. Rangatira were related to the ariki usually along a junior line. Political, social and economic matters were essential affairs of this leadership.

Hapu were lead by a rangatira who along with all its members had kinship ties with a common ancestor usually a junior to the eponymous ancestor of the iwi. However, some hapu and iwi have been named after a significant historical event. The other noted leader was the tohunga who held a knowledge base that sustained particular activities of the social group. Firth (1959) describes the hapu as the largest economic unit of the traditional Maori social organisations. The hapu was the most useful forum for uniting kinship families for purposes of work and defence. It was particularly cohesive and capable of executing social and economic tasks.

The hapu managed and controlled the tribal land they lived on. This was recognised by the other hapu of the tribe. A hapu was capable of owning various natural resources, including forested areas, swamps and fishing grounds. Resource ownership or claims were addressed by the practice of *ahi ka*, that is, ensuring that occupation was maintained. Tawhai (1987) reveals the importance of the marae, the pataka and the whare runanga as community assets. The symbolism attached to these institutions depicted, among other things, social position, economic wealth and by inference, effective leadership. For the hapu, social and economic positions were transparent indicators of effective leadership. It is important to note that some hapu also had a whare wananga institution which was cared for and owned by them. Most iwi had at least one such institution within their iwi boundaries.

Whanau was the basic sub-group of a hapu. It consisted of individuals with very close family kinship ties. It consisted of several generations, usually three or four, including grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren. A whanau occupied an area set aside for their use. They collectively managed and controlled these areas and other resources such as canoes, fishing equipment and such like. While most resources were shared there were personal items which may have been more closely associated with certain whanau members. Cloaks, weapons and prized implements were good examples.

The whanau was a natural human organisation which immersed its members within accepted cultural imperatives. It was a convenient work unit. The work ethic included the sharing of some tasks by both men and women while other tasks were completed by only men or only women. Matters of practicality, *tapu* and security were key principles for division of labour decisions.

Leadership at this level was legitimated by the whanau collective. The whanau was also a leadership building unit capable of sustaining a platform for leadership opportunities at both hapu and iwi level. The whanau maintained the basic leadership support unit for work and advocacy purposes. The kaumatua was the recognised leader of a whanau. This person would represent the whanau at hapu and iwi discussions. A kaumatua was not necessarily a rangatira, but it was certainly possible for this to be the case.

Within the parameters of these social groups, leaders were organised. However, it was not uncommon for a person to hold a number of the traditional leadership roles. For example an ariki was the leader of a waka but also of an iwi. In addition, this person was likely to be the rangatira of a hapu and the kaumatua of a whanau. Likewise, a tohunga was also a kaumatua and capable of being a rangatira and an ariki. Winiata (1967) points out that:

...it must be borne in mind that in practice, positions often overlapped, so that the statuses and roles attached to each leadership position were not always clearly definable. (Winiata, 1967:31)

At this time, it is worthwhile noting Ngapare Hopa's (1967) review of Winiata's work. She argues that his work only confirmed long-held assumptions of the feudalistic nature of traditional leadership. In her opinion, more recent studies tend to refute this, indicating that the system was more complex than we have been led to believe. Hopa argued that this type of study requires as accurate a picture as possible. This means drawing upon wider data outside of the ethnographic tradition of Best, Buck and Firth. Her arguments are held together with references to data about Maori Leadership which do not support a feudalistic society description¹¹.

Hopa refers to traditional leadership practices that reflect equal power between leaders of a tribal group and the independence of hapu leaders. It is her contention that Maori political relations were expressed in terms of a balance of power maintained by competition. She postulated that Maori Leadership was characterised by tension, strain and a certain flexibility within a context of on-going struggles for power, and changing circumstances both internally and externally. For example, movement toward centralised control within tribal groups was largely influenced by the arrival of firearms.

Traditional Leadership

Best (1941), Firth (1959) and Buck (1966) produced descriptions about the inherited prerequisites and the associated characteristics of traditional leadership. In a similar way, Winiata (1967) argues that the bases of this leadership were primogeniture, the male sex, and acquired skills and prowess. These are part of a cultural system which, according to him, is infused with strong religious ideas, practices, ceremonies and a magical factor which is referred to as the sacred aspect. The sacred aspect is conceptualised in the terms mana and tapu which are inherent and essential qualities of traditional leadership. Winiata (1967) says that charisma depicted these qualities. Leadership was also dependent on success and effectiveness because results determined whether these inherent leadership qualities were enhanced or diminished.

¹¹Hopa referenced Elder's *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, Wade's *A Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand* and White's *The History and Doings of the Maori*.

Tapu empowered a leader to undertake specific activity, however, mana gave power, control and validity to requests and actions. The maintenance of these qualities was essential to retain authority, confidence and strength of leadership. Loyalty was maintained by kinship ties to revered ancestors. By its very nature, it required direct senior lineage to generate and retain leadership status.

According to Buck (1966), an ariki inherited tapu at birthright. The tapu nature of an ariki was intensified by the fact that the senior line (aho ariki) was descended more directly from the Gods (The coming of the Maori, 1966:347). Nonetheless, Buck (1966:345) qualifies this. He stated that while seniority of birth remained paramount, leadership may be removed due to physical or mental incapacity which prevented an otherwise probable leader from carrying out the duties of the position. In such circumstances the whanau, hapu or iwi would seek a more suitable person, from the senior line, to provide the administrative ability and energy required. Poor leadership could not be tolerated by the whanau, hapu or iwi. Mediocrity lowered the prestige of the social group which affected its influence in social, economic and political matters.

Marsden (1977:143-148) describes tapu as the sacred state or condition in which a person, place or thing is set aside by the dedication to the gods and thereby removed from profane use. He argued that tapu is secured by sanction with the gods and reinforced by endowment with mana. It is apparent that these descriptions personify how some Maori conceptualised their environment and established leadership expectations. Manihera (1977) described tapu as a protection from the temptations of the modern world. It implies that traditional leaders needed to possess this sacred aspect in order to guard against participation with profane activity. Pewhairangi (1977) mentions that tapu was so strict that unless a person proved able and suitable, learning opportunities were not provided. A strict selection process was followed.

Matters of lineage were of prime importance. Therefore, *evidence of breeding and greatness* (Williams, 1971:323), was paramount. A person who possessed these credentials was believed to have inherited particular talents as a consequence. These talents were expected to be present as an affirmation of appropriate lineage and the sacred aspect that was inherited. Knowledge and skills related to significant whanau, hapu and iwi developments, and management and administration of iwi affairs were essential requirements but notably of secondary importance to the qualities of tapu and mana possessed by birthright.

Winiata (1967), acknowledges the mana and tapu prerequisites but also emphasised the administrative skills needed by a leader at all levels of Maori social organisation. Management and administration expertise is a key aspect to Winiata's analysis. An earlier reference is cited in Firth's (1959) work:

...But birth alone did not suffice for chieftainship. Personality and executive capacity were also required to maintain rank and authority. An incapable ariki, as we know, would be set aside in practical affairs, and only called upon to perform certain religious rites (Firth, 1959:132).

Traditional leadership was in the main male dominated, according to commenters such as Buck (1947), although Mahuika (1977) points out that women featured prominently and often were of ariki status in Ngati Porou affairs. He added that while these women had their own leadership qualities the expectations of them were no different from the men. Mahuika (1977) offers accounts of Ngati Porou history which support his contention that Ngati Porou women were and still are significant leaders to their whanau, hapu and iwi. While it would be unfair to generalise his contribution as a commonly held position by all other iwi, it is important to note that other iwi histories hold accounts about leadership roles of their men and women. Mahuika (1977) is one of a few, who have written about it in these terms. However, other writers have produced descriptions of both men and women, highlighting their roles within their iwi groups and wider contexts.

In addition to Mahuika's (1977) comments on Ngati Porou leadership and women, he also makes a distinction between traditional (inherited) and achieved leadership features which are consistent with Firth's (1959:132) and Buck's (1966:345) views. According to him, leadership is given as the result of demonstrating knowledge and skills that benefit whanau, hapu and iwi. According to Mahuika, the distinction between traditional and achieved leadership is revealed by chieftainship being a birthright and the sum of whakapapa. Leadership, however, being the political functioning of chieftainship (1977:66). In most cases, according to Mahuika (1977:67), chieftainship and leadership went together. However, a chief may forfeit the right to lead while maintaining his chieftainship intact, to be passed on to his descendants with its rights and privileges.

In Metge's work (1967:200), the continuity of leadership positions is reported on. She states that traditional titles are still used, but there has been significant changes in the range of persons to whom they are applied, in the qualifications required, and in the holders' duties and power. Importantly, Metge identified that traditional leadership is not an artifact, even though it may be perceived in this way. This perception is unfortunate and based on flawed assumptions which essentially relegate ideas about Maori Leadership to the realms of yesterday; a quaint curiosity. In general, this was a commonly held view according to Metge (1967:44).

She argued that most Pakeha viewed Maori culture as belonging to the past rather than the present, and to the private, leisure-time sector rather than the whole of life: in short as a collection of bits and pieces surviving from what once but is no longer an integrated system. However, further references by Metge (1967) indicate that sustained Maori realities about so called traditional leadership positions were still evident.

She (1967:45) states that for Maori, their culture is a matter of present experience, a living and lived-in reality either for themselves or for others well known to them. It encompasses a wide range of behaviour, including everyday practices as well as ceremonial. Most importantly, it includes not only outward visible forms but also deep inward feelings and values, which are relevant to and expressed in all they do. This is supported by Cox's (1992) reference to the Waitangi Tribunal's report on the Orakei claim about the transmission of leadership roles.

The Tribunal report concluded that unlike the feudal hereditary right to rule relied upon by Europeans, heredity among Maori merely conferred upon a potential leader, the chiefly traits of his forebears. Descent, while an important factor, must be coloured by a display of the appropriate attributes of leadership. Importantly, these qualities must be identified by the kin group who, will eventually confirm that leader's position (Cox, 1992:27).

In another recent publication, Ranginui's (1992:22) view about the National Congress of tribes is also consistent with this. He argued that Congress is organised by the surviving repositories of chiefly and tribal mana. Their mandate is tino rangatiratanga, guaranteed by the Crown in article two of the Treaty of Waitangi. According to Cox (1992), National Maori Congress was established on an iwi basis and the need to protect and enhance rangatiratanga. Definition of what an iwi is, along with its accompanying leadership issues, remained outside the jurisdiction of National Maori Congress. This was viewed to be an iwi prerogative. Cox's (1992) description of the situation implies that Maori peoples still maintain feelings and values, associated with their reality, which are expressed in how they think and what they do.

The related issue of how Congress defined iwi was also deemed appropriate for discussion by that committee. Congress had not at that time, and indeed still has not, issued a clear unequivocal statement on what constitutes an iwi. While it may seem unusual that an iwi based organisation does not define exactly what an iwi is, the position is defensible. Congress itself is defined and empowered by iwi to advance and assist iwi development. The matter of how iwi organise themselves and chose to express their iwitanga has always been an internal issue. What right would an external body or collective body have to intrude upon this essential freedom? (Cox,1992:181-2).

It is, therefore, useful to further consider Mahuika's position (1977) about inherited and achieved leadership because his approach captures the importance and influence of evolving leadership ideas that are supported within present day Maori realities. The aspect of time associated with the terminology of traditional and contemporary leadership tends to overshadow the dynamic and changing nature of Maori Leadership ideas.

Leadership positions like kaumatua and their related characteristics are generally placed in the traditional category with connotations of old-fashioned, out-dated and irrelevant, while contemporary leadership implies modern, up-to-date and relevant. It may be argued that leadership positions such as kaumatua are both traditional and contemporary but this type of distinction fails to clarify Maori relevance and value positions. Mahuika's (1977) explanation of inherited and achieved leadership provides a way for these distinctions to be made.

Leadership: Inherited and Achieved

The literature about chieftainship is generally focused on the observations of leadership in specific whanau, hapu and iwi groups. These accounts consistently noted common, inherent requirements and their potency. This is borne out in references by Grove (1985) to Te Rangikaheke (1850) and Tikitu contributions which further confirm the evidence about whakapapa being the most important aspect of chieftainship and a leader's authority. Te Rangikaheke maintained that a chief was produced from the union of parents of high birth. This was understood to be the most important requirement of the leader's authority. The acknowledgement given to chiefly birth credentials is well documented. Suffice to say, that inherited leadership is conditional upon this critical aspect.

Mahuika's (1992) comments refer to this as a traditional determinant of chieftainship and leadership. This perspective does not rule out the possibility of traditional determinants being transported and maintained in different time periods and contexts. Mahuika (1992:61) maintains that these aspects are just as significant today as they were in pre-European times. He argued that Pakeha education, religion and law, and the money economy have altered the leadership disposition. However, these influences have not made inherent leadership requirements irrelevant or valueless. He described the portability of traditional determinants in this way;

This would suggest that the traditional determinants of leadership are still relevant and important today, together with the changes wrought by the need to adjust to the wider community and the demands of modern life. Also, as in traditional times, where a rangatira lacks ability, his leadership role will be filled by another (1992:61).

The relevance and value of both inherited determinants and achieved leadership are expressed by many writers. Interestingly, most Maori Leadership commenters acknowledge that achieved leadership is fundamentally related to knowledge, skills and qualities which are valued and considered relevant to those who ultimately consent to be lead. The key to achieved leadership is the expert knowledge that the holder brings to the collective. Remembering that a chief has the necessary inherent prerequisites but needs to display the attributes of a leader, it follows that having chiefly descent does not guarantee this. However, it may certainly advantage the holder to acquire more readily, the knowledge and skills valued by the collective.

Mahuika (1992:61) states that in Ngati Porou there is an expectation that certain families will display the leadership required for the iwi. Therefore, the provision of a sound education for family members is critical to their leadership role and position within the iwi. Institutions such as whare wananga, whare runanga and marae provided the training ground for young chiefs. Today, schools and tertiary institutions play an important role in the development of Maori Leadership. Winiata (1967), Grove (1985) and others provide accounts of such matters which emphasise the changing nature of Maori Leadership resulting from both internal and external forces.

Grove (1985:6-7) notes the accounts by Tikitu and Te Rangikaheke which are indicative of this changing role. Tikitu's list was given to Elsdon Best at a time when ownership and entitlements to land were a high priority and the land wars had ended. Nga Tuara: Te Puni Kokiri (1992) claim that the circumstances demanded leaders who could represent an iwi effectively in the Maori Land Court. A sound knowledge of tribal boundaries, historical events, sacred and significant places was needed. In comparison, Te Rangikaheke's 1850 view of leadership demanded expertise in warfare, strategic planning and management. The expertise required was consistent with the strength of traditional values enjoyed at that time but also a need to be prepared for physical confrontation and the 1860s land wars¹².

In addition to the whakapapa prerequisite and the acquired talents of a leader, the acceptance by the group was necessary. These Maori Leadership qualities were weighted to fulfil birthright obligations and responsibilities. The skill was knowing when and how to summon these aspects. Quality leadership was acknowledged by others beside the collective that a leader belonged to. Nga Tuara (1992) emphasised this point. They stated that a rangatira is not a surprise who appears from nowhere but is a person who is known to be a leader and whose name is associated over time with a specific group of people from a recognised tribal territory.

The Pakeha Influence

With Pakeha contact came ideas, values and beliefs which attracted the attention and concern of Maori social organisations and their leaders. Historical records indicate that changes to the Maori Leadership disposition were inevitable. Early colonial activity indirectly undermined the fabric of the Maori social system. This affected the mana and tapu aspects of Maori Leadership and its potency. As the Pakeha appetite for land increased (McClellan, 1967), so did the blatant activities to further weaken the status and authority of Maori leaders.

¹² A discussion about this is noted in Nga Toka Tu Moana:Maori leadership and Decision Making which was published in 1992 by Te Puni Kokiri; The Ministry of Maori Development. The document received public criticism from Tipene O'Regan and others.

Consequently, the mana of Maori leaders was diminished as the state structure and its armed force gradually increased their power and control over the country. The details of these matters are well documented in historical accounts about the land wars and the subsequent confiscations.

Walker (1990) notes several examples of Maori Leadership being marginalised as Pakeha belief systems were accepted by Maori people. Sinclair (1972:43) explains that christianity neutralised the tapu nature of chiefs, which effectively weakened their authority. Missionary influence eroded the social fabric of traditional Maori social order and replaced it with another. Maori resistance leaders were excluded from this power structure while others were elevated to subordinate positions within Pakeha controlled organisations. This strategy characterised the dominant Pakeha - subordinate Maori relationship identified by writers such as Simon (1986), Belich (1989), Piddington (1972), Ballara (1986) and others.

As a result, a new breed of Maori leader emerged. These leaders maintained some sense of continuity with whakapapa qualifications and consent by their tribal group. Nevertheless, they developed talents, which at that time, appeared relevant and valuable for fulfilling their leadership roles. The warfare prowess of Titokowaru, the intellectual talents of Te Rangihiroa and the charismatic nature of Ratana illustrate this well.

As Pakeha norms became more entrenched so did the need for new Maori Leadership strategies. Apirana Ngata advanced this with the formation of the 28 Maori Battalion which provided a new platform for Maori Leadership to emerge within the ranks of fighting units. The recognition of full and equal citizenship sought by Ngata was not realised, although some Maori returned servicemen gained employment as public servants. According to Mahuika (1992:60), educated rangatira such as Ngata provided the bridge between the traditional society and the new Pakeha one. Mahuika claims that such leaders were tenacious in holding on to old Maori values while taking up the tools offered them by Pakeha knowledge and technology. The effective leader, according to Winiata's (1967:8) observations, did not only gain success according to Pakeha standards of achievement but also maintained the esteem of his or her own people. The affects of social change upon Maori society stimulated adaptation, yet resistance to complete assimilation into Western thinking was still evident. Cultural imperatives were sustained and important institutions adapted to survive in Pakeha dominated contexts.

In terms of the changing role of the Maori leader, Hopa (1967) criticised Winiata (1967) for the limited range of leadership categories he examined. She extends this to include marae and tribal committee leaders, whose positions reflect new ideas and a new distribution of power. Regardless of Hopa's review, Winiata's work is not irrelevant to this work. His study, although not based on systematic field work, is grounded in his personal participation. Winiata's subjective-disciplined approach gives value to his study within these limits, no more and certainly no less. His personal analysis of, what was then, modern day Maori Leadership dynamics and complexities are considered here.

Winiata (1967) identifies three broad categories of Maori Leadership and describes the interconnections, not only between leaders with specific roles but the varied contexts that a leader is often required to perform in. In addition, the tension between fulfilling the leadership roles based on Maori expectations and those required by Pakeha structures is discussed. Winiata describes the issue in this way;

The Maori leader in this wider context lives, moves and has his being in two worlds, and he moves from one to the other within the framework provided by these institutions. He also operates within two distinct and often conflicting systems of value. Differences in sentiments, attitudes and beliefs provide a second approach to analysis of the dual frame of organisation (Winiata, 1967:10).

Winiata (1967:8) found an increased specialisation of institutions which is reflected in the corresponding appearance of additional classes of leaders. Beside his description of the changing roles of traditional leadership positions, he also claimed that roles for Maori women were adapting to the conditions around them. Since Winiata observed these behaviours, it would be fair to say that specialisation is being superseded. In general, New Zealanders are being encouraged to pursue a broader approach, as multi-skilled individuals are sought after¹³. The implication for Maori Leadership becomes apparent when one considers the multiplicity of contexts in which Maori leaders are required to perform effectively. Consequently, the interface between Maori and Pakeha forums demands a high standard of cognitive flexibility and versatility which should be evident in an individual and collective skill mix.

Winiata (1967:10) argues that Maori people function in a dual framework of organisation where Maori traditionalist society is a sub-system of the wider New Zealand society. Describing this as a sub-system suggests it is smaller and less important, therefore subordinate to the wider New Zealand society.

This view would not be readily accepted by Maori opponents who refuse to accept Pakeha dominance and demand a partnership as expressed by their Treaty of Waitangi perspective¹⁴. Any view of the world that marginalises Maori social structures within New Zealand's social fabric is, therefore, considered unacceptable. Simon (1986:6), in discussing the views of Herbert Adam, provides a perspective about this resistance.

¹³ New Zealand's social and economic reforms have stimulated the upskilling of the country's workforce. The introduction of the National Curriculum Framework and the National Qualifications Framework are organisational constructs for encouraging the nation's education institutions and users to focus their attention on educational credentials which are flexible and portable. Multi-skills are encouraged by these educational reforms.

¹⁴ The April Report vol II (1988) 41, written by the Royal Commission on Social Policy argues that the Treaty of Waitangi is always a speaking document. They disagree with Treasury's, *Briefing to the in coming Government vol I (1987) 348*, which argues that in respect of employment, incomes and economic development there would be no special claim to partnership or power sharing other than as provided under article III.

Ethnic identification, according to Adam (1972), can be viewed as the result of underprivileged group efforts to improve their lot through collective mobilization, or alternatively, as the efforts of the superordinate group to maintain the privileges it already enjoys through exploiting the other groups. It raises ethical issues about the relationship between Maori and non-Maori, in particular, the variance with issues of self-determination, Maori resource management and control, and iwi nationhood¹⁵.

Racial tensions arise when members of a traditionally subordinate racial group become politicized and aware of discriminatory practices. Conflicts tend to result from the dominant group's feeling that the former subordinates are beginning to compete in areas where they have prior and superior claims. In addition the rigidity of prejudiced attitudes, or their resistance to change, is intimately related to the degree to which they have become integrated into the life-styles of individuals as a legitimation for behaviour that protects their material interests (Adam, 1972:22).

Winiata's (1967:145) remarks about leadership and race relations in New Zealand society are indicative of Adam's viewpoint. He quotes Te Rangihiroa who did not believe that a complete change over to Pakeha character structure is desirable as a racial policy. He says:

We know only too well that in some parts of Europe, Pakeha culture sank to lower depths than that of any native race living in a state of primitive savagery. We know also that the culture of our own Pakehas is far from perfect and is undergoing drastic revision. The standard of lower class or middle class Pakeha culture is not attractive enough to induce us to give up all that we cherish. Maybe we have some qualities that might improve Pakeha culture which is so obsessed with the urge to hoard up money to buy social status. I feel that we should retain our tribal loyalty, the marae, the meeting house, and the tangi, as measures of our self-respect. Since I left in 1927, I have visited New Zealand twice. On each occasion, the things I looked forward to with the deepest feelings were meeting my tribe on the marae before our meeting house and weeping with them over our dead. Yet, feeling what I feel, I have been able to adjust myself fairly satisfactorily to Pakeha culture. I have faith that the younger generation, if guided sympathetically, will be able to make their adjustments without sacrificing all their racial heritage¹⁶.

¹⁵ These are associated with the tino rangatiratanga revolution. They are ideologically opposed to the notion of governance. The tension between governance and tino rangatiratanga demonstrates the on-going ideological conflict about power and control between Maori and Pakeha social structures. This tension is accentuated by Winiata's duality description.

¹⁶ This is referenced by Winiata (1967:144-5). It is an extract from the foreword in Beaglehole E and P's book, *Modern Maoris (1946)*

If this is accepted then leadership determinants would reflect a desire to address such issues. Many commenters refer to a commitment to improve the position of Maori peoples as a key leadership quality. Metge (1967:211) concurs, saying that above all other qualifications, leaders need to identify with the Maori group and show themselves in tune with Maori ways and ideals.

The adjustments of behaviour, resulting from these circumstances, are illustrated by Winiata's observations. He points to the greater social responsibility of kuia and the redefinition of positions as tohunga and kaumatua. He also identified the breakdown of knowledge transmission and skills acquisition from one generation to the next. As the importance of education institutions in Maori society lessened so the training for a younger generation became more ad hoc and dependant on observation without systematic experience and instruction (Winiata, 1967:87). This leaves rangatahi to learn important skills by trial and error. It is likely that the maintenance and training in essential Maori Leadership skills has been affected by this.

Winiata (1967) argues that the rangatahi and the educated leader provide the link between traditionalist society and the wider society of New Zealand. The educated leader is referred to as the eye (te kanohi) of traditionalist society which looks to the Pakeha. This is supported by the views of Mahuika (1992), Metge (1967) and others. On the other hand, Duff (1993) disregards traditional society completely. He believes that it hinders new leadership based on individual quality. Furthermore, he argues that we need a younger people, equally of both sexes, of education, and/or business or management skills and experience. Duff believes that traditional leaders are redundant and responsible for limiting the level of leadership likely to emerge within their strict traditional views.

His viewpoint is illustrated by personal experience which reflects on who a tribal group accepts and acknowledges as a leader. Duff says that being more articulate and more understanding of the wider world than most kaumatua does not give him any standing in their eyes. For him, Maoridom should be rid of this tribe-obsessed leadership. In his words, it has to be overturned.

Duff's opinions are perhaps indicative of Maori who do not consider the whakapapa prerequisite to be important or interconnected to an individual's qualities. However, it should be remembered that while Western tradition may be captivating for some Maori, there are Maori who still value whakapapa, tribal acceptance and individual expertise¹⁷.

¹⁷ The Dominion (9 September 1993) included an article by Kamiria Mullen about Alan Duff's perspective. She challenged him to become more informed about his culture and cast doubt on his motives for presenting such a viewpoint.

In clarifying the matter, Winiata (1967:179) concludes that superior kinship is now only rarely a significant qualification for leadership, and is relevant mainly within traditionalist society. The movement from a specific whakapapa connection to a more general connection even by ethnic group is, according to Winiata, becoming more acceptable provided that one has specialist skills.

Duff's views appear to be more suited to mainstream situations which have a non-tribal appearance. The attitude captured by Duff's sentiments illustrates the challenge to leadership determinants from both Maori and non-Maori, but perhaps for different reasons. Then again, they may be similar. Duff may not agree with tribal groups maintaining their sense of cultural integrity by resisting assimilative advances, but his focus on improving Maori achievement is probably shared by kaumatua and kuia. How they wish 'educated'¹⁸ Maori leaders to improve Maori achievement rates may be very different though.

Changing Maori Realities: The Impact on Maori Leadership

Commenters like Mahuika (1992), Walker (1992) and Duff (1993) present Maori Leadership perspectives which in turn generate public debate and sustain interest. The availability of opinions, through various media options, increases awareness of the issues, thereby offering opportunities to identify points of agreement whilst at the same time clarifying points of non-agreement. For example, few commenters, if any, would disregard the need to improve Maori achievement.

However, the statements made by various commenters suggest that agreement about what this means and how to achieve it, is probably more difficult to accomplish. Likewise, there are differing Maori views about the state of Maori Leadership and what it should look like.

It can be argued that Maori viewpoints reflect a diversity of Maori realities which need to be considered in all matters that affect their social and economic well being. Mason Durie's presentation to the Conference for Successfully Implementing Maori Health Policy Objectives titled Government Objectives for Maori Health (6 September 1993), focuses the issue. He argues:

...the government need to consider the wider arenas of Maori development, socio-economic reform, and the diversity of Maori realities. Indeed, it would be misleading to suppose that improved health status could be seriously considered in isolation from other key factors which play a part in determining the Maori position (Durie, 1993).

¹⁸ What an educated person is, may differ between ethnic groups and within these groups. Given the analysis of what knowledge, skills and qualities are expected by Maori, according to the writers mentioned in this study, the difference of opinion between different sectors of Maori society may reflect the different realities that presently exist about this matter.

In advocating the presence of this phenomenon, those of Durie's ilk, continue the ideological struggle to have the Maori position imprinted into the New Zealand consciousness. The open opposition of the settlers to the Treaty in 1852¹⁹, illustrates how long this has been maintained. If the history of Maori-Pakeha relations is a reasonable yardstick, then Pakeha realities will not be easily appeased by the persuasive rhetoric of educated Maori leaders.

To illuminate the situation more vividly, Durie (1989:281) reports the tension statistically²⁰. The results reinforce the position held by the settlers in 1852. According to his account, submissions to the Royal Commission on Social Policy showed a similar trend. Maori submissions accorded greater significance to the Treaty as a blueprint for national development, yet others saw no value in the Treaty for guiding social policies. Some Maori may argue that while the Treaty remains marginalised by the state and its supporters, New Zealand's democracy will continue to disadvantage their position.

It should be little wonder that Maori Leadership adjustments have historically been about survival strategies, while at the same time trying to encourage the advancement of partnership. The leadership distinctions presented by Winiata reflect the influence of changing Maori realities as Maori collectives and their leaders adapt to new situations. He says-

The coming of the European has introduced new interests, values and institutions into Maori communities, and, as a result, these communities have become more differentiated. New associational formations, arising from specialized interests, provide a background for Maori Leadership. Further, Maori Communities are now merging with the wider New Zealand society. With this intimate relationship it is inevitable that they should continue to draw upon European institutions, value systems and resources, and this affects the basic structure of Maori Leadership (Winiata, 1967:178).

Social change has significantly affected traditional leadership patterns. Winiata (1967:179), reports the decline of the ariki, the gradual disappearance of the rangatira and the spasmodic existence of the tohunga.

¹⁹ See Durie, M. *The Treaty of Waitangi Perspectives* pp. 280-299, in *Waitangi: Maori & Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (1989), edited by I. H. Kawharu.

²⁰ In his contribution to *Waitangi: Maori & Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, (1989) edited by I.H.Kawharu, Durie presents statistics from a social policy survey (p.281) which indicated that 62% of respondents were not satisfied with the Treaty. The ethnic mix of the sample group was not stated.

The most resilient of these traditional leadership classes is the kaumatua. In 1993, however, the behaviour of some kaumatua raised questions about their ability to meet the high expectations of the people²¹.

In addition, Winiata (1967) argues that with the increase of associational formations there is a corresponding increase of specialised leaders. Changing contexts has, therefore, become a critical factor in the type of leadership required. For example, in strictly tribal forums the traditional leadership positions remain intact. The educated leader, however, may act in an advisory capacity to traditional leaders in one context and lead in forums involving Pakeha institutions, while traditional leaders provide the tribal presence by virtue of their position. This multiplication of leadership classes stems from an increasing involvement in a wide array of forums that impact upon the Maori position.

The realities revealed by Winiata are indicative of a minority group functioning in two frames of reference, trying to develop an improved model while maintaining the quality of Maori cultural imperatives. Winiata (1967) accepted Malinowski's (1945) three interlocking aspects as the contexts for his study of Maori Leadership. Namely, Maori society, Pakeha society and the organisations which stem from both Maori and Pakeha.

It follows that leaders emerge from within these contexts. Interestingly, Durie's (1993) comments support Winiata's views. He argues that while tribal organisations have flourished since 1984 and increased cultural activity has improve the opportunities for Maori to participate, not all Maori shared or were well informed about such developments. It is, therefore, unacceptable to assume that there is only one view of what Maori prefer. From his arguments can be deduced the futility of trying to locate a single Maori identity because the Maori population is as diverse as any other, and differing strategies may be necessary to meet different situations²².

The realities offered by Durie can be summarised as follows; Maori who are successful in Pakeha mainstream, Maori who are successful in Maori mainstream, and Maori who are successful in both. There is certainly one other possibility which typifies the impact of assimilation practices, that is, Maori who are unsuccessful in both Pakeha and Maori mainstream.

²¹ In August, September 1993, the offenses of kaumatua were scrutinized by the media. This was essentially about the marae as a judicial forum for addressing the offenses of such kaumatua. However, the matter impacts upon the role of kaumatua. More importantly, it raises issues about who and what decides a person is a kaumatua. It would seem unwise to continue accepting persons for this leadership role if the offenses are substantiated. In this case, their right to speak as a kaumatua was taken from them for a defined period of time. They are unable to represent the group on the paepae. Age is not a strong enough indicator of kaumatua potential. Wisdom and ethics are critical determinants of a kaumatua.

²² See Durie, M. *The Treaty of Waitangi Perspectives* pp. 280-299, in *Waitangi: Maori & Pakeha Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (1989), edited by I. H. Kawharu.

Winiata's descriptions of these realities has similarities to Durie's contribution. He says that the main function of traditionalist leaders is to maintain a sense of continuity with Maori values and ideals. They protect the *tahuhu* of Maori theory and practice, thereby ensuring the beacon of cultural integrity beams across the distance. They remain important symbols of nationhood, management and control, and ownership. These leaders are conservative of the values of tribal society. The Maori mainstream reality is characterised by this leadership platform. This reality is primarily focused on self-determination.

There are leaders who are concerned with the transmission of Pakeha ideals and values into the Maori consciousness. These leaders do not usually have close associations with their tribal group nor do they participate with Maori cultural activities as a normal state of affairs. Ranginui Walker (1993:3) refers to this leader as the 'subaltern'²³, who perform subordinate roles to the ruling class of society. The Pakeha mainstream reality is characterised by this leadership platform. More often than not the ideological position of these leaders is in conflict with Maori mainstream. This reality is primarily focused on assimilation.

There are also leaders who mediate between the two societies. Although, these leaders live in two worlds, they are nonetheless swayed more toward their interests in either Pakeha or Maori mainstream. This largely reflects their ideological orientation. Where Maori values and ideals are strongest, a Maori orientation is evident. Likewise for a Pakeha orientation. The educated leader is more likely to hold this sense of reality, where functioning in either Maori or Pakeha contexts is commonplace. This reality is primarily focused on biculturalism with a bias toward either Maori or Pakeha mainstream.

There is also a leadership group in tune with beliefs and values that do not 'fit' the norm. These leaders provide the glue for Maori collectives who cannot identify with the leadership groups aforementioned. Being Maori may be important, but what that means is not likely to be compatible with a traditional view of the world. In the main, the Maori who function best in this reality are those that have not tasted success in either Maori or Pakeha mainstream. This generalisation is tempered by the possibility of those who, although successful, are dissatisfied with either Maori or Pakeha mainstream. This reality is primarily focused on rebellion.

²³ The ruling class appoint intellectuals as their deputies who exercise subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government.

Developing a Maori Leadership Framework.

Giving due regard to the literature cited, the structural make up of a Maori Leadership framework must account for the history of Maori-Pakeha relations before deciding the relevance and value of traditional leadership and its functions. Therefore, the assimilation challenge cannot be ignored and requires a resolute response. So called traditional roles should not be sidelined too easily, yet they may certainly require substantial adaptation without losing their importance to a Maori social order. At the same time, there are traditional leadership positions that no longer reflect the thinking and expectations of Maori people. This may differ between Maori social groups but the outcome will basically be the same, that is, the dismissal of leadership positions which are no longer relevant and valued by them. This conclusion is derived from the proposition that there does exist a diversity of Maori realities; characterised by a wide range of contexts with significant variations between them. In these realities, socio-economic and cultural variations are particularly transparent.

The distinctions noted herein are essentially generalisations about Maori Leadership reality positions. They may provide an identikit which is open to challenge and begins to unravel the complexities that are Maori Leadership. The literature review has illuminated critical aspects which give shape and size to the matter.

It has been argued that using the categories of traditional and contemporary leadership to understand Maori Leadership determinants is limiting. These concepts have a fixed-time relationship which do not capture the dynamic and changing nature of Maori Leadership ideas. Mahuika's (1992) descriptions are considered more useful because his approach reflects the importance and influence of leadership ideas that are supported in modern day realities. With this in mind, inherited and achieved leadership have been identified as more appropriate parameters.

Within these parameters, Maori Leaders with the *right stuff*²⁴ emerge. According to the literature, Maori Leadership ideas do not completely ignore traditional determinants, although, it is possible that some Maori do not value these aspects at all. The inherited leadership condition relates to a philosophical position which is more closely associated with a tribal orientation. In this context, tapu and mana still have relevance and value amongst those who consent to this view of the world. The determinants may be important to Maori collectives, other than tribal groups, but maintenance is usually difficult within contexts that do not place a premium on these attributes.

In general, the importance of kinship as a leadership determinant has sharply diminished, although, good leaders are said to be the result of inherited talents. A connection is still made between leadership talents and whakapapa. Accounting for this, is more likely to occur as the leadership qualities of individuals are witnessed.

²⁴ The *right stuff* refers to the leadership talents required to function effectively in different contexts.

While inheritance suggests potential, actual performance indicates its realisation. In summary, the extent to which inherited leadership determinants are valued is often demonstrated by the retrospective reasoning given to an individual's actual performance.

Notwithstanding the whakapapa prerequisite, the acquired talents of a leader are considered essential leadership requirements. Achieved leadership stems from the knowledge, skills and qualities valued by the collective. A key to achieved leadership is the expertise that the holder brings to the group. Gaining success according to Pakeha standards may be insufficient but in some contexts it may be all that is sought. It is noted by the literature that the effective Maori leader is able to maintain the esteem of the people. This implies a commitment to improve the Maori position. It follows, that effective Maori leaders identify with the people and show themselves in tune with Maori ways and ideals. In some ways, this may be perceived as a resistance strategy against assimilative advances but it more importantly seeks to improve the life chances of Maori peoples. Accordingly, the skilled leader is able to balance the impact of sharp adjustments without sacrificing their Maori identity.

The educated leader is very much at the forefront of leadership change. They have a critical role to ensure the survival and quality of Maori Leadership. With the increasing number of contexts that Maori are participating in, the multiplication of leadership classes is inevitable. While the state of traditional leadership may differ from iwi to iwi, educated leaders, are expected to acknowledge their whanau, hapu and iwi responsibilities while performing roles which, according to Winiata (1967), involve a variety of contexts and specialised knowledge and skills. A continuity of Maori Leadership ideas appears to still exist, however, the ad hoc approach to its sustainability noted by Winiata (1967) is an important signal. A more systematic transmission of essential Maori knowledge and skills may be the means for ensuring that cultural integrity is maintained in contexts where no immediate relevance or value is acknowledged. The potential contribution relies heavily on the cognitive flexibility and versatility of the individual. Nevertheless, the opportunity is certainly there to express new ideas and a new distribution of power.

The literature often refers to acceptance by the group as an essential requirement. This is perhaps understated, as this binds the other aspects into a responsive leadership position. No matter how strong the whakapapa or the talents, it is collective acceptance which gives strength to the leader and provides a verifiable mandate for make decisions for specific purposes as a recognised representative of the group. Mead (1992:12) points out that it requires a continued validation by the people and demands that the people be called together to discuss issues where an iwi position is required. The acceptance requirement is not easily attained and is even more difficult to maintain. In this regard, a leader must not only be seen by the people but seen to be with the people.

An Educational Leadership Focus

The implications of this review are couched in questions about the relationship between these Maori Leadership variables and what Maori Educational Administrators do, or perhaps should do. This is coupled with the leadership expectations of Maori collectives, whether they be tribally based or otherwise. Considered against the literature backdrop of administrative theory development and its influence on Maori Education, a view of the Maori Educational Administrator's world may be uncovered. The relevance and value of these Maori Leadership ideas can be understood within the Maori Educational Administrator's world, not only as they see it but also how Maori collectives view this.

It is difficult to find research that considers the impact of Maori Leadership ideas upon the Maori Educational Administrator. The literature searches completed for this study did not reveal meaningful evidence about this. While leadership is spoken about there is no explicit references to this matter. The present literature on educational leadership does not provide information about the situations faced by Maori Educational Administrators.

More importantly, the Maori knowledge, skills and qualities demanded of Maori Educational Administrators is not clearly identified. Given the information presented here, there appears to be a reasonable case for acknowledging that the Maori Educational Administrators world may not always 'fit' the shape and size documented about educational leadership, in general. This questions what a Maori Educational Administrator looks like or perhaps should look like.

Maori Educational Administrators work in different contexts which influence what leadership requirements are considered important. For the purpose of this study, the Maori mainstream, Pakeha mainstream, Maori/Pakeha mainstream, neither Maori/Pakeha mainstream have been identified as broad distinctions. Within these contexts, Maori Educational Administrators work in a variety of educational institutions, alongside Maori Communities who have wide-ranging expectations.

In the Maori mainstream, protocols are strict and conservative. The marae is probably the central institution. Education is not prescribed as elsewhere, it arises from the people. Maori Leadership is more likely to value both inherited and achieved leadership aspects. A strong unwillingness to accept much of what is associated with the Pakeha mainstream may be evident. For example, Marae based Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are likely to be indicative of this description.

In the Pakeha mainstream, there is no identifiable Maori component. Again, protocols are strict and conservative. Education is prescribed and features policy compliance mechanisms, at the school level, to reduce Maori cultural reproduction to a gradualism state. Maori Leadership in this context, is more likely to emphasise Pakeha knowledge, skills and qualities. Mainstream primary and secondary schools are likely to be indicative of this description.

These differ from the Maori/Pakeha (bicultural) arrangement. In this context, there is likely to be a bias toward one of these positions. Maori Leadership would be influenced by this. In any event, the less emphasised position is reflected in activities which entertain but do not impact on the total school environment²⁵ in ways that may upset the locus of control. While a bicultural vision is advocated, what it means in practical terms may differ between those who are involved. However, there is a definite attempt to have some form of biculturalism.

In this context, Maori Leadership may necessarily involve a combination of variables, with some being given more emphasis than others. In a bicultural education place, a combination of both Pakeha and Maori credentials may be valued. Striking the right balance would largely rest upon the context bias. Urban based Kohanga Reo, Bilingual Units and Schools are likely to be indicative of this description.

Finally, there is the context where both Maori and Pakeha mainstreams are not valued. Conservatism is not appreciated, therefore, Maori Leadership may display signs of both Maori and Pakeha norms but never conforming to either. A different sense of collectiveness is likely to be displayed, altering the variables that are significant here. It is hard to say what kind of educational places would fall into this description. It could be argued that this cannot be discussed in this way because this context is characterised by a deschooling proposition. Remaining consistent with this argument, the complete withdrawal from any recognised formal education place may be indicative of this description.

²⁵ This concept can be found in Banks .J (1981), *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice* , Allyn and Bacon Inc. The total school environment is conceptualised as a system consisting of a number of major identifiable variables and factors such as the school culture. In the idealised multiethnic school, each of the variables would reflect ethnic pluralism.

Within these broad contexts, a set of Maori Leadership variables can be studied further. These do not represent the full extent of the debate, however, they do provide a foundation from which to formulate a reasonable proposition. The identified variables are noted in the table below.

Variables	Maori Mainstream	Pakeha Mainstream	Maori/Pakeha (biculturalism)	neither Maori/Pakeha
(a) inherited	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	x	•	x
(b) achieved	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(c) personal qualities (e.g. charisma)	•	•	•	•
(d) group acceptance	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(e) commitment to improve Maori position	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	x	•	x
(f) loyalty to group	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(g) Maori knowledge and skills	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	x	•	•
(h) International knowledge and skills	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	•
(i) Maori cultural integrity	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	x	•	x
(j) Maori ethical/moral discipline	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	x	•	x
(k) results orientation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	•

Table 2: Importance of variables in broad education contexts (The ticks denote important, the crosses not important and the dots identify may be important but this is not guaranteed.)

By using these parameters, drawn from the literature, we can discern the importance of the variables within each of the contexts. In the *Maori mainstream*, it would appear that these are important but in other contexts this is not the case. Based on the context descriptions herein, some of the variables are not important in *Pakeha mainstream* and *neither Maori/Pakeha* education places. In the *Maori/Pakeha (bicultural)* context their importance may be influenced by power and control factors. For example, where Maori control the decision-making processes for Maori education in the school, then these variables may be very important. On the other hand, where dominant Pakeha community control is evident then the situation might be reversed.

The problem of providing a multi-disciplined proposition about Maori Leadership in Education Administration which may have some explanatory power relates to the significance of these variables or lack thereof within broad education contexts, and whether or not they are performed well. This can be tested by analysing feedback from focus group interviews with Maori educationists and Maori community groups. Then, it can be checked against the results of a survey questionnaire completed with a much wider sample group.

Clearly, the variables identified so far, are not valued in every educational context. By examining this phenomenon we may improve our understanding of Maori educational leadership dynamics and reveal the leadership qualities that may be required by Maori teachers and communities for dealing with the complexities of their world. In turn, this may uncover specific considerations for Maori teacher training and personal development. Therefore, by analysing a sample of views from Maori Educationists and Maori groups, it may be possible (1) to determine whether these variables are significant to Maori Leadership in Education; and (2) to determine whether these variables are being performed well; and (3) to identify specific implications for teacher training.

These assumptions, concepts and data have been interwoven to produce a mosaic of the Maori Educational Administrator's environment, so as to establish what we know or do not know, at the moment, before attempting to contribute significantly to this. The proposition, offered here, weaves a whariki (woven mat) in an attempt to accentuate the connections between the weft and the warp, as the key points from the previous chapters are accounted for:

- By default, Pakeha mainstream educational administration theory development has significantly influenced the direction of Maori Education in Aotearoa.
- Within the historical accounts about the tension between the ideological positions of tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga, there is sufficient evidence about dominant group attempts to systematically disintegrate Maori social orders.

- In the light of this, assimilative practices couched in mainstream rhetoric for the nineties will not improve the Maori position according to Maori expectations.
- As a result, a diversity of Maori realities has emerged. They can be described as broad education contexts which represent different Maori perspectives of the world. This impacts on the dynamics and evolutionary nature of Maori Leadership ideas.
- The Pakeha veto continues to interfere with Maori Development overall, as a Pakeha majority still finds it difficult to enable Maori peoples with the appropriate cultural resources, competence and Maori Leadership potential to pursue self-determination goals.
- Therefore, Pakeha ideals for Maori remain an imposition. The increasing demand by Maori peoples to control their own education is blatantly obvious as they continue the ideological struggle to have the Maori position imprinted into the New Zealand consciousness.
- Given the research cited here, Maori Education requires a leadership that befits the nature of the transformation required.
- It can be argued, therefore, that gaps exist in the education of Maori teachers and administrators.
- The Maori Educationist's perception of this may differ substantially from the views of Maori Communities, nevertheless, there is a need to understand this better.
- There are leadership variables which seem to be particularly significant to Maori peoples, however, it is not known how well these are performed or whether they represent a full complement.

Maori Leadership in Educational Administration functions in a diversity of Maori realities. Within these contexts, exists a number of Maori Leadership variables but their significance and relative performance is influenced by the balance of power and control between Maori and Pakeha. This situation is the result of historical events accentuated by a tension between the ideological positions of tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga which in turn affects Maori Education outcomes. A marked transformation is necessary and requires quality Maori Leadership. It follows, that gaps may exist in teacher training and personal development. These gaps can be addressed with Maori Education specific courses which undertake to improve Maori Leadership within the diversity of Maori realities.

Research Results

The focus group interviews and questionnaire survey returns are analyzed here. There were twelve focus group interviews completed, involving 74 people. A gender mix of 42 men and 32 women, who identify themselves as Maori, was achieved. It was not necessary to control interview group numbers and gender balance strictly because the group mix depended on who chose to be present and participate rather than strict predetermination. The age ranges of the participants were not requested, however, observations suggest that the majority were over 35 years old. Interviews took place on marae, at workplaces and homes. A tape recorder was used on two occasions. For the other interviews, written accounts were taken. Some respondents, in particular, the principals provided other documentation for my information. Where necessary, respondents were contacted individually and collectively to ensure the integrity of the content analysis was maintained.

An important aspect about group behaviour was learned during these interviews and consequently guided the techniques used to check the sample responses. While group interviews were conducted, the provision of one to one discussions, either immediately after the group interview or on another occasion was included. This resulted from individuals wanting to discuss matters they did not wish to raise during the group interviews. This form of data collection did not affect their group interview contribution. Instead it provided data which would not have been offered otherwise. It suggests that a group forum is more likely to encourage discussion insofar as participants feel comfortable with each other, including the researcher. Furthermore, there was a need to understand that respondents may choose to contribute in ways other than what had been preplanned. Essentially, the researcher requires a variety of communication strategies for situations like this. Suffice to say, that this approach is consistent with the research design and ethics of this study.

On the other hand, the questionnaire survey was controlled. Returns were checked to ensure that procedures had been followed and each section had been completed according to the instructions. The questionnaire was trialled before being administered. Based on the feedback received, an example for section B and C was included. In spite of this, there were returns completed incorrectly. These returns are not included in the data collection and analysis. The reasons given for these difficulties with section B and C were; *'did not read instructions properly'*, *'did not understand the instructions'*, *'did not bother to read the instructions'*, and *'sick of filling out forms'*. It was decided to facilitate the completion of the questionnaire in groups and provide assistance, as required. This intervention significantly improved the number of correctly filled returns.

Focus Group Interviews

Sample One

Description

This group consisted of graduates from an Iwi oriented Teacher Training Programme. Most of the graduates are teaching in their tribal areas. One of them has been supported through the programme by a pan-Maori group and has returned to teach in that community.

Most of the group are parents. They are known education people within their whanau, hapu and the wider Maori Community. Because of their experiences, they were able to comment on leadership issues within their whanau and hapu but also consider the implications for educational leaders in their respective communities. There were nine (9) respondents in this sample.

Interview process

Matters of Maori leadership were discussed and questions were raised by them. As a consequence, their concerns and positions regarding the state of Maori leadership in their educational circles were debated. The information shared by the respondents was recorded and confirmed by the group. Interestingly, this confirmation process included discussions with respondents separately also. While this was a focus group interview there were matters which individuals would not express (for whatever reason) in the group. It highlighted that there are occasions, whether by intuition or observational skill, the researcher can sense the need for some respondents to be heard in their own space, rather than as part of the group. Consequently, this became an important part of the interview process. In essence, a participant may have been spoken to informally afterwards (not necessarily on the same occasion as the focus group interview) so s/he could extend on or introduce matters on a one to one basis. In any event, matters which did not relate directly to the focus group data were not considered. In most cases, it did not affect the reporting of the data but did give both peace of mind and recognised the need for some respondents to share and confirm their interest in the focus group account in their own way.

Data

The data was organised under three headings. The group was satisfied that it fairly represented their views. These are; What are Maori Educational Administrators doing?, what are they not doing?, and what should they be doing?

What are Maori Educational Administrators doing?

Positive Comments:

Based on their experiences, some Maori Educationists are relaxed and demonstrate good tikanga. This was noted by the way that Maori Principals (they knew) tend to extend their hospitality naturally, without being overbearing. It was also emphasised that feeling welcomed and warm in a school is an important criterion for Maori Community satisfaction in a school.

The facilitation skills displayed by some Maori Educationists are considered to be a favourable point. It was mentioned that Maori Educationists who are skilled in their tikanga are more likely to consult with whanau, hapu and the wider Maori Community in ways that are acceptable to those groups. The quality of communication skills was raised here. According to these respondents, good Maori Educationists are also good communicators, especially with Maori people.

Some respondents were full of praise for Maori Educationists who contribute whatever they can offer to the school's Maori Community. This is considered important because Maori Communities cannot participate effectively unless they are well informed about school matters and the associated complexities.

An ability to encourage support for a Maori perspective, in particular, the inclusion of te reo me nga tikanga was an area of concern for these respondents. Te reo competency is considered an essential knowledge and skill area for Maori educational leaders. Respondents believe that Maori Educationists who are competent Maori speakers do have an advantage in bilingual education matters. Being from the hapu or tribal group of the area is also considered a plus but can carry unreasonable expectations.

These respondents have a high regard for Maori educational leaders who are effective in debates about Maori education issues, particularly with Pakeha teachers and community. A stirrer, is defined as a Maori who is able to confront negative Pakeha reactionaries and debate the issues competently. The stirrer causes awareness within pakeha communities and acts as a Maori Education advocate. A stirrer is also capable of increasing awareness within Maori Communities also. They provoke Maori people to be more aware and involved in Maori Education issues.

In respect of financial matters, respondents have observed Maori educational leaders who are skilled at getting the school community participating in fundraising efforts. These respondents also respect Maori Educationists who acknowledge the implications of tikanga when organising the school budget.

A significant point for these respondents was the ability of some Maori Educational Administrators (known to them) to motivate tamariki Maori to do well. The presence of a Maori Educational Administrator is considered to be a positive influence on tamariki Maori. A welcoming disposition is important here.

Negative comments:

Talking about themselves, is considered to be an arrogant characteristic, as is pretending to know everything. This was raised because it reflects the character of a Maori educationist who is either very self-assured yet naive about behaviours such as whakaiti, or has recently returned home on a mission that the Maori Community refuse to share because the administrator has not earned their respect. An education career ambition which does not benefit the Maori Community is scorned by this group.

Respondents were critical of Maori Educationists who choose to isolate themselves from what the group termed the real issues. According to them, this is revealed by the behaviour of Maori Educationists who think like a pakeha, pass on Maori knowledge and skills to pakeha while Maori people are left with nothing, avoid getting involved with Maori Community education issues, put management and administration rules before the education needs of Maori people, and try to maintain the status quo rather than encourage change which will improve the education options for tamariki Maori.

What are Maori Educational Administrators not doing?

According to this group, the major gaps relate to matters of effective communication, getting results and facilitating an advancement in Maori Education.

Communication:

In regard to communication issues, the respondents argued that the weaknesses of some Maori educational leaders is reflected in what seems to be a lack of empathy for how Maori Communities view their world. The distance between these educationists and Maori Communities is argued to be a critical barrier to improving the education environment for tamariki Maori. For some of the respondents, a Maori educationist must carry Maori Community aspirations and demonstrate that they are doing so.

When a Maori Educationist is not seen around the people (Maori) then that person is likely to be treated with suspicion. The importance of being able to communicate with Maori people in ways that are relevant to them was well noted. Maori Educationists should share knowledge, not readily available to Maori Communities with them. These respondents were particularly strong about the need for Maori Educationists to be whanau, hapu and iwi oriented.

This was intensified by an expectation that educationists from their whanau, hapu or iwi groups are expected to be available and remain loyal. Essentially, they are seen as a resource that can assist the Maori Community to achieve their education agenda. They believe that only in this way will a Maori educational leader be capable of working along side and effectively on their behalf. It was mentioned that Maori Educationists do find themselves stuck between a rock and a hard thing when anti-Maori lobby groups confront them at the same time. Nevertheless, they are still expected to find ways to deal with it.

Maori Educationists, according to this group, need to improve their listening skills with Maori people. In their opinion, too many Maori Educational Administrators do not listen and take note. Nor are they capable of hearing the message. Some respondents suggested that they (Maori Educationists) tend to just hear the words without catching the message being conveyed. There is an expectation that Maori Educational Administrators, particularly those from their (the respondents) tribal groups, will keep good contact and provide a stream of advice and feedback to them. According to the group, such demands are discussed in an ad hoc manner. Formal requests or clarification of these expectations does not happen enough. Some respondents argued that they (Maori Educational Administrators) are expected to know anyway.

Getting Results:

Some Maori Educationists are politically naive which, according to this group, works against Maori Communities. It is argued that Maori Educational Administrators who lack politicisation are likely to inadvertently support pakeha positions regarding the educational needs of Maori Communities.

Comments were also made about the lack of Maori knowledge and skills of some Maori Educational Administrators. Te Reo Maori, Tikanga Maori and local Maori knowledge is considered a prerequisite for these professionals. When Maori Communities are confronted by know-it-all Maori Educationists who are not competent in Te Reo, tikanga and local knowledge areas, then their willingness to listen is acutely impaired. Keeping your word is an ethical expectation and any compromise of this code is unacceptable to these respondents. An inability to maintain consistency, in this regard, is viewed as a major mistake.

According to this group, administrative skills are considered to be a serious skill gap. From their experiences, Maori Educationists who focus on keeping good contact with Maori Communities usually place administrative duties at the lower end of their priority list. These respondents mentioned the importance of good managerial and administrative skills because their observations suggest that paper work and financial matters are not consistently dealt with, in a timely and effective way. There are few Maori Educationists (known to them) they consider capable in this area.

Facilitating Maori Education Development:

The group was adamant that Maori Educationists must have a close relationship with whanau, hapu and iwi. An unwillingness to contribute significantly to a whanau, hapu or iwi education agenda, would place them outside the circle of influence regarding whanau, hapu and iwi education matters. According to this group, these social organisations need assurances about the Maori educationist's commitment, loyalty, honesty and ability to deliver before they consider giving consent to their school leadership.

What should they be doing ?

Tino rangatiratanga is considered a central thread here. When asked to consider what it is, the respondents replied that its about Maori doing it for themselves, without pakeha interference, valuing what whanau, hapu and iwi have to offer and access to knowledge that will advance their education agenda. These comments focused on relationships between Maori educational leaders and Boards' of Trustees, teachers, the school community, the school Maori Community and the wider Maori Community.

Board of Trustees:

According to this group, Maori Educationists must know everything there is to know about Board of Trustee matters and how to deal with them. This is necessary because they will be expected to be the backbone of the Board for management and administration matters. In rural Maori Communities the Principal is relied upon heavily to do this for them. These respondents believe that Maori Educationists should guide and advise the whanau, not dictate to them.

Respondents continually highlighted the need for Maori Educationists to be a good communicators. With regard to the Board of Trustees, being able to assist members to learn about Board of Trustee work was mentioned. The group argued that Maori Educationists should share information often. They are also expected to provide effective financial and overall school management. Keeping good documentation and easily understood records with simple explanations was suggested. Leadership in all education matters is expected.

The group stated that Maori members of Boards need learning and sharing time together. Maori Educationists are considered to be the most likely group to organise this for them. The respondents know these expectations are very demanding, nevertheless, they believe it is not likely to happen otherwise. They are not convinced that Maori members of Boards of Trustees can organise their own training hui. It is their contention that without the support of respected Maori Educationists it will not happen.

Teachers:

The Maori Principal is expected to be the liaison point between teachers and the Maori Community. The group suggested that sometimes the Maori Principal may be asked to present the Maori Community view to the teachers. This would require a good rapport with Maori parents and teachers alike. The maintenance of a good relationship with the wider Maori Community is considered necessary also. While the local Maori Community is of primary importance, the wider Maori Community are likely to support or advise them in their endeavours if requested. These relationships need to be communicated to teachers who are otherwise ignorant of such matters. According to this group, the Maori Educational Administrator should direct teachers to self-evaluate their teaching style/s and the affect on tamariki Maori.

Maori Community:

The Maori Principal should know the Maori parents and their children well. Being available and willing to listening to their concerns and facilitate ways of meeting their educational needs and aspirations was mentioned on a number of occasions. Maori Educationists are expected to remember who they are. This was mentioned as a criticism of those who appear too stuck up at times. Image and identity are critical matters which this group believes must be dealt with.

The acceptance of whanau, hapu and iwi expectations is demanded of Maori Educationists. These terms and conditions are always difficult for Maori Educationists. They are confronted with occupational responsibilities of kawanatanga and the inherited responsibilities of tino rangatiratanga (which they are continually reminded of). The group indicated that this tension has caused them personal concern and frustration because they are not satisfied with the way that some schools, their Principals, teachers and school communities are responding to the issues raised by them.

One of the interesting points mentioned here was their argument that Maori Educationists should return to their tribal area. This was one of the selection criteria for these graduates of Te Rangakura. It is, therefore, not surprising for them to comment in this way. They also argued that their kaumatua should be listened to and where appropriate advise on te reo Maori developments across the school curriculum. The difficulty, highlighted by this discussion, is recognising who hold kaumatua status and why they do.

Sample Two

Description

This discussion was with a Maori who holds a G4 Primary School Principal position. This person has close family connections with the hapu in this area. The Principal is highly qualified but has only recently returned to the region after teaching overseas. This person has researched educational leadership literature and recently had an independent personal appraisal completed to evaluate leadership performance as a Principal. In addition, members of the community were interviewed. Their comments are noted here also. There were five (5) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

The Principal provided a general overview of educational experience before discussing some of the issues which are significant to the school community and staff regarding Maori leadership in education. Notes were taken of the key points highlighted and checked with the Principal before departing. In respect of the community respondents, notes were taken and discussed with them on another occasion informally. In both cases, there were no significant changes to the accounts reported here.

Data

To begin with the respondent pointed out that tikanga and te reo Maori are more visible in school matters which was not the case in the past. However, the changes have annoyed Pakeha staff and the Pakeha community. There is a resistance and visible signs of unrest within these ranks. The Maori Community are very satisfied and have demonstrated this by their support to the Principal and to the school overall. Maori Community participation in Board of Trustee matters and day-to-day affairs of the school has increased substantially since the Principal's arrival. A once non-active Maori school community are now very involved and displaying competence in their participation. (This was confirmed by Maori parents who I spoke to). The tension in the staffroom was pointed out to me.

Management Requirements

The Principal pointed out that the shift of emphasis for an Educational Administrator has demanded more managerial, administrative and even (according to this person) commercial knowledge and skills. This has forced an extremely heavy workload as these management requirements are balanced with the Principal's role as curriculum leader of the school. This person contends that instructional leadership matters are being further removed from the Principal's role and placed in the second tier of the school staffing complement. According to the Principal of this school, curriculum matters cannot be sustained at the Principal level and will surely be moved (for most primary schools) to the assistant Principal positions.

It was noted that from his experience the management demands on Principals are creating a situation where staff expectations cannot be met. According to this person, teacher expectations have not shifted with the changes that Principals must now address. Many of the staff still look toward the Principal to be the curriculum leader. For this Principal, this position has become more difficult to fulfil. The Board of Trustees has also questioned the Principal's performance. The Principal has responded by instigating an independent review of performance.

According to the Principal, the evaluation draft indicates that while there are some matters to be addressed, there are more questions about the Board of Trustees and other staff members (names not mentioned) to be thought about. Consequently, the strategy employed by this Principal has meant that the performance of staff and the Board of Trustees will be assessed as a matter of course. The fact that there is considerable conflict in this situation is having an affect on the performance of the school in general.

Because there are varying expectations of what the Principal is doing or should be doing, the Principal has decided to seek further information and advice about the school's charter responsibilities in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. Based on the issues outlined by the Principal, it does seem as if there is some concern by a Pakeha faction of the community about the improved Maori Community participation with the school (at least that's the impression being suggested). This is being hidden behind criticisms of poor management and administrative leadership from the Principal. Interestingly, the chairperson and some of the teachers are leading this assault.

Maori Leadership

This Principal remarked that every Maori Principal should have a kaumatua and/or kuia mentor. In a sense, a monitoring forum for assessing their performance continually. The concept is valued because it has assisted this person to make the adjustments in behaviour which are characterised by a quiet confidence as opposed to a know-all, over confident intellectual. The Principal's relationship with a Nga Puhi kaumatua relative has (according to this person) encouraged a shift in thinking and behaviour about matauranga Maori and its relevance.

This Principal's shift to become a listener at the feet of a kaumatua has taken some adjustment. Nevertheless, it has encouraged this person to discuss the quality of *whakaiti* (humbleness). It was pointed out that one of the reasons for returning home was to learn Te Reo Maori and *Tikanga Maori*. The opportunity to achieve this (according to this Principal) was provided by returning to New Zealand.

The Principal is pleased about the improved Maori Community relationships with the school but noted the reaction of others to this well organised Maori Community involvement. The school community has not (according to this Principal) seen such involvement from Maori parents in the past. The Principal noted that Maori parents do not hesitate to enter the school now. They are more forthright and have successfully ensured that their presence is not marginalised when their interests are tabled at Board of Trustee meetings. The relationship between the Principal and the Maori Community is argued to be a critical factor by this person.

Community Expectations as Perceived by the Principal

The Principal argued that community expectations are not easily understood. The expectations held by the school community factions do differ. The Principal believes that Maori Community expectations and Pakeha community expectations are about getting the best deal for their children but what that means is certainly not the same, nor is what and how they believe the Principal should contribute to this. What is valued and to what extent is constantly contested at the school community level. Ultimately, these issues find their way to Board of Trustee meetings.

The tension between the Principal's kinship relationship with the local hapu and the unsettled nature of the Pakeha community to this has been noted. The Principal pointed out that when the Pakeha community found out about the kinship links and then about the extent of Maori land ownership held (by this person) in the area, it had an unsettling reaction within the Pakeha community.

A Maori Community Comment

As a follow up to my discussion with the Principal, I also spoke to some of the Maori parents to capture their perception of the situation. In more recent years, a handful of parents have been actively involved in rallying other Maori parents, upskilling them in school matters and educating them about school administrative protocols. They have worked hard to have a more substantial te reo Maori programme for their children, which was extended to the rest of the school. Since that time, a Te Rangakura graduate has been appointed to the school but does not yet have a class of her own. The numbers of Maori parents participating with school affairs has increased markedly. In particular, Maori parents who would normally say nothing or more likely not attend too many school meetings, are attending regularly and having their say about the school's activities. Furthermore, the Maori parents are displaying their improved knowledge about Board of Trustee responsibilities and meeting procedures. According to the people I spoke to, this has enabled them to participate more effectively in school matters.

Their first impressions of the Maori Principal was mixed. For some, a Principal who is Maori was a welcomed sight. However, the Maori Principal's personality did cause them some concern. The outspoken and very self-assured Principal raised eyebrows amidst Maori and Pakeha parents alike, but for different reasons. It was, according to some, a personality that did not attract an immediate following. While the Principal's personal style is, at best, considered different by the Maori Community, they are working well together. This cannot be readily said about some of the Pakeha community (according to a Maori Community viewpoint). It was pointed out that some Pakeha parents are very supportive of the te reo Maori programme at the school.

One of the small handful of Maori parents, who continues to encourage greater Maori Community involvement with the school, does credit the Principal with a more open-door approach to their concerns and aspirations for their children. They feel more comfortable ringing or going to see this Principal than in the past. There is a rapport which is, according to them, difficult to describe. However, it is there and they know it exists. This support has encouraged Maori parents to establish a Maori parents group. These parents are always represented at Board of Trustee meetings and are usually well prepared.

The Maori Community are very supportive of the Principal's initiatives to encourage further te reo Maori development toward total immersion units for the school. But they are also aware of the Pakeha community rumbling about the Principal's support. These community members also pointed out that this has caused a negative reaction from some Pakeha teachers and parents alike. The concerns being raised about the Principal's management and administrative performance is viewed as a smoke screen for more covert reasons which these respondents believe is more to do with their increased involvement and more visible te reo Maori agenda in the school's short term development plans.

It was suggested that the Principal's personality may be one of the reasons for the negative response from Pakeha teachers and parents alike. According to them, the Principal's delegation style may also be a touchy point for some of the teachers. Although, they believe that some teachers are not really interested in taking on such duties and have an expectation that the Principal should be doing it. These respondents expected to see their te reo Maori teacher in a full-time position by next year. They want her to be in charge of the total immersion unit to be set up for 1994. The Principal has been openly saying that this is a short term priority, however, it is still not possible to determine when it will be established at this stage.

The Maori parents are organising themselves to achieve their goal by the new year. They are lobbying hard with the Board of Trustees and are confident of a favourable result. In spite of their present attitude, they have also pointed out that they know it will not be easy getting the Pakeha Board members to accept this as a school priority. Increasing Board of Trustee and wider community support is a major task for them.

The Maori Community are very supportive of the Principal. They believe that this Principal will open the way for them to establish total immersion units at the school. Because of this and perhaps to some degree the attitude of some Pakeha parents, they will stand beside the Principal. It was mentioned that this may be another reason, why others are feeling a little uncomfortable.

Sample Three

Description

This group included two teacher trainees who have been placed at a local primary school. They are in their last year of training and have become very involved in local school/community politics. This has been a difficult time for them, the teachers and the local marae people who send most of their primary aged children to the school. The disagreement appears to be about the funding of the bilingual unit in the school and the kura kaupapa Maori on the local marae which is officially attached to the school.

These trainees have openly questioned the matter and supported the bilingual unit teacher's position in debates with the Principal and their relatives. Consequently, these students are somewhat captured by matters which detract their attention from meeting the Teacher Training learning outcomes. These experiences have influenced their views about Maori leadership in Education. Throughout their training they have continually challenged the course tutors because they believe that they have met all the courses learning outcomes. Conflict and disagreement are prevalent in their actions at present. Nonetheless, they have very strong views about Maori leadership in Education. There were five (5) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

Questions were asked of the participants which they answered readily. They tended to treat the situation as a question and answer session at first but did elaborate without prompting near the end of the interview.

Data

The data collected were organised under three headings. These are; what are Maori Educational Administrators doing?, what are they not doing?, and what should they be doing? The respondents were satisfied with the notes taken as a fair representation of their views.

According to these respondents, there are Maori Educational Administrators who are considered leaders because they have a good working knowledge of te reo Maori. Some of them are good motivators and facilitators. Others are *humaire* (gentle and welcoming). This is considered a strength. A positive image is thought to be very important also. This group noted that Maori Educational Administrators who have this quality are more forthright in their dealings and the decisions they make. The most important aspect for this group was honesty.

The experiences of this group highlighted the dishonesty of some Maori Educational Administrators. They believe this occurs with Maori males who get caught up in power games, become very ambitious and forget who they are suppose to be there for. Communication skills were noted as a very weak point. The ability to consult, direct, and negotiate were areas that they believe are lacking in Maori Educationists they know.

These respondents argued that Maori Educational Administrators need to be more visible amidst Maori people and to stop playing Pakeha games at the expense of others. They believe that Maori Educational Administrators should work for the people, which for them means whanau, hapu and iwi. Interestingly, they expect Maori Educational Administrators to do what they were taught were the right things during their childhood. This has been forgotten, according to these respondents. In summarising their views on this matter, they described the concepts of honesty, integrity and commitment as essential pre requisites for Maori Educational Administrators. For the situation to improve they believe that more women should be at the top because their connection with the *whare tangata* is more likely to enhance the learning environment for tamariki Maori. The nurturing qualities of womanhood was expressed to be an inherent aspect which the male is incapable of fulfilling. It is their contention that women are more likely to understand the emotions and states of being that tamariki Maori bring with them to school.

Sample Four

Description

These people are involved in education policy development agencies in Wellington. They hold very senior positions now but have a wide practical experience of primary, secondary and tertiary education institutions and the issues that impact on Maori Educational Administrators. They highlighted matters that relate to their work environment and the goals they want to achieve. There were four (4) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

This information is the result of informal discussions and letters. The feedback has been summarised here.

Data

According to these respondents, if there is a underlying theme about Maori educational policy development, it could be described as a national policy development perspective which entertains Maori needs and aspirations, occasionally accommodating them in some small way. Whether the face be brown or white the policy approach is not Maori. These respondents do not believe that present educational policy development sets out to empower the disadvantaged. It continues to empower the elite, thereby ensuring the continued existence of the status quo. This is compounded by the capture of policy discourse which supports the current political position.

For Maori in these positions, it is fraught with tensions that are, more often than not, unavoidable as Maori Educational Administrators continually seek ways to navigate around the Pakeha veto. This tends to lurk around Maori inspired ideas as a means of subordinating them to mainstream education policy developments. It forces Maori Educational Administrators who want transformation to present a hardline approach and demonstrate a fair and just perception in their activities. The redistribution of resources to enable Maori education policy developments to occur is a critical point. A substantial resource base with clear Maori education policy requirements improves the likelihood of a Maori Educational Administrator getting it right, according to these respondents.

There is a desire by these Maori Administrators to take giant leaps within a structure that will only allow them to crawl. These respondents also stated that while many Pakeha find their comments very hardline, they also have this nice guy perception of their activities. It is suggested that Pakeha people have difficulty trying to reconcile this because their perception is pushed by their hardline position which seems contradictory to their gentle manner which Pakeha say is visible. Being a nice guy with a hardline position is considered incongruent.

It concerns these respondents that you only need to change your spots if you are Maori. The trick, according to one of these respondents, is being able to change your spots but still be a Maori. It is argued by this person that relationships with others is an important leadership matter which for Maori Educational Administrators is important. Being aware of and enhancing your knowledge and understanding of others is considered an essential requirement. In this respect, it was mentioned that despite the assurance audits we have in place there are still no assurance mechanisms (relationships mutually agreed) in schools which reflect the relationship between the crown and the student, and between Iwi and Boards of Trustees. The Waitara High School situation was noted because it produced a set of agreements between the Board of Trustees and the Iwi. According to this respondent, this was an exciting development which had not been considered by any other school. Another model mentioned involved the whanau forming their own group for collective strength and to nominate who will represent them on the Board of Trustees. This model was described as a sharp departure from present election policies for Boards of Trustees. These approaches are said to improve Maori participation in school affairs.

Sample Five

Description

These people live on their marae land and are very involved with education matters including Kura Kaupapa Maori, Te Kohanga Reo and te reo o Whanganui. They are necessarily involved in a wide range of issues ranging from hapu economic development to social welfare concerns. They have an extremely strong religious background which is visible in their activities and practices. There were seventeen (17) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

I attended an AGM hui for the marae within this particular tupuna rohe (Whanganui). In the late afternoon we were able to informally discuss issues related to education and Maori leadership. After the hui we had kai and discuss education issues further on into the night. Some of the people who participated with the afternoon session were not present at the evening discussion. There were also additional people present during the evening discussion.

Data

The earlier discussion was dominated by questions and comments about the Te Rangakura Teacher Training Course. The main concern was with the poor communication between the course tutors and themselves. They are not clear about how their young people are supposed to complete the course requirements and have not seen what their students have achieved to date. The student learning outcomes booklet has not been shown to them yet. They expected the course tutors to ensure that their students are looked after, so they complete the course requirements. At the same time, they know their young people are not meeting the expectations of their whanau and would like to address this.

They argued that the Te Rangakura Tutors should ask Iwi what they will guarantee to form the basis of a relationship between the course and its people. According to them, this discussion has not yet taken place but should. They are interested in seeing items such as Maori language fluency, understanding of Maori concepts and experience, Iwi history and tikanga, understanding of Maori structures and processes, ability to differentiate between Maori and western education models and being able to keep abreast of Maori issues.

The evening discussion focused on Maori leadership. Respondents recalled the way the old people guided them and the hardcase things they did. They talked about the differences in their te reo o Whanganui in comparison to Maori being spoken today. As a consequence, they noted the importance of ensuring their young people have a way to learn their mita o Whanganui, their tikanga and their history. According to them, all the things which are not in books.

There is an expectation that all their hapu and iwi people will adhere to their tikanga and be available to assist the collective development. However, the challenges from a younger generation are of concern to them because of outside influences which are (according to them) contrary to their ways. There is an unwillingness by some of their young people, in particular, their young women to accept the leadership within the hapu or iwi. The respondents stated that it is not so much the challenge which concerns them but the manner in which it is done. Their tikanga provides commonsense approaches to dealing with conflict and seeking ways to resolve the issues. However, outside influences tend to impose ideas outside their accepted tikanga. In essence, they expect to work through such issues themselves not to have them debated outside the marae forum. Some of their young people do not necessarily subscribe to this view.

What is evident, according to this group, is a lack of knowledge and understanding of tikanga. In some cases, a lack of respect for tikanga Maori. This situation is likely to be compounded when their people enter into professions such as education and expect their hapu or iwi to listen when they do not listen to tikanga. These respondents believe that the way to deal with this is through their reo (te reo Maori). These hapu leaders are concerned with their hapu members who have good skills and knowledge in such areas as education and expect to lead the people on these matters, yet do not acknowledge the relationships that already exist at home. This is described as *takahia mana*, that is, to tread upon the esteem of another. In this case, to challenge hapu or iwi leadership outside the bounds of acceptable protocol. In their opinion, no matter how bright you may be, if the people will not follow you then things will not happen.

The education developments on the marae have been the result of collective decision making and collective acceptance about who will lead the initiatives. They have a kura kaupapa and a kohanga reo on the marae. The marae children attend these learning places and participate in most, if not all, marae activities. Some of the marae children attend the bilingual unit at the local primary school. The parents of these children and some of the teachers have challenged the establishment of the kura kaupapa because it appears to be at the expense of the bilingual unit, at least that is their impression (I spoke with these parents and to the Principal of the school). This appears to be a context in which the challenge to the present hapu leadership is happening.

These respondents discussed the need to find ways to educate but also maintain their tikanga within the forums of leadership and decision making. The tension created between the platforms of lore and law continues to be a concern in their hapu matters. These respondents stated their disappointment about young people who display behaviours which are contrary to the standards expressed in their tikanga.

Sample Six

Description

These people are educationists who work in various parts of the country. Because they could not meet with me, their comments were compiled from phone conversations and notes they sent to me. They were involved in the network sample but were unable to respond at that time. Their working experience in education ranges from pre-school to tertiary education, national policy work within government education agencies and hapu and iwi education developments. They were asked to focus on their experiences and respond accordingly. There were six (6) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

Telephone conversations and notes they sent to me are reported here. These respondents reflected on their work experiences and knowledge of Maori Educationists who, in their opinion, have demonstrated outstanding leadership in education or are emerging as leaders in this field with iwi and/or mainstream.

Data

These respondents provided comments about the knowledge, skills and qualities that, in their opinion, describes why Maori Educationists they know are exceptional at what they do. Interestingly, there are common aspects raised by them even though their responses were as individuals not as a group.

A bicultural/ bilingual knowledge base was mentioned often. For some of the respondents this referred to Maori knowledge and skills (te ao Maori) while pursuing western knowledge (te ao Pakeha) and what it offers. For others, this was described as a knowledge of Pakeha systems and being well versed in tikanga, te reo, including nga korero a nga tupuna.

Pakeha systems referred to the way that Pakeha people do things, while nga korero a nga tupuna referred to the beacon that guides the behaviour of Maori Educationists. *Kaupapa* was mentioned as a reference to an all pervasive purpose which demanded absolute commitment. This was raised when the need to improve the position of Maori education was mentioned. This tended to be the meaning emphasised when the term kaupapa was used.

Maori women respondents made references to mana wahine. This was expressed as a knowledge base which contributes to the effectiveness of exceptional Maori women educationists. According to these respondents, this is indicative of a commitment to supporting Maori women and their contributions to whanau, hapu and iwi well being. An understanding of mana wahine and its implications in all areas that Maori people are involved with is considered important.

Mana wahine was not viewed as a competing element to mana tane but a complement which requires balance and harmony if the position for Maori people is to be dramatically improved. One woman commented on the need for more Maori women in key education decision making positions. There were comments made about the need for a strong Maori knowledge base to be acquired if Maori Educationists are to make things happen for Maori Communities.

In terms of skills, an ability to articulate a Maori position and communicate effectively with both Maori and Pakeha was clearly a priority for these respondents. Communication mediums such as facilitation, advocacy, negotiation, and mediation were mentioned by these people. Written skills were also mentioned as an important medium both in Maori and English. An assertive nature was viewed by some of these respondents as a skill that Maori Educationists need to learn how to use and when, while for others this was described as a personality trait.

Without a doubt the notion of charisma seemed to be a unconditional aspect of effective leadership in education. In most cases this was mentioned, it appeared to mean the ability to capture and hold the attention and consent of others. Most of the respondents described the charismatic delivery of information as a useful quality. This was tied to a dedication/commitment to ensuring quality educational outcomes for Maori. The concepts of *whakaiti* and *aroha ki te tangata* were frequently mentioned. These concepts captured ideas of humbleness, earthy, tikanga focused, honesty and integrity. Ideas about being innovative, intuitive, with flair were mentioned in this respect along with a positive and optimistic attitude to life. The qualities of *aroha*, *manaakitanga* and *tiakitanga* to all people was highlighted also. These concepts, in the way they were discussed, leaned toward a humanist approach to relationships with others. A willingness to be guided and to accept advice from non-Maori circles was stated. However, an acknowledgement of the guidance that can be gained from Maori elders and resource people was expressed strongly. Having a global view of what is possible for Maori is considered an important quality by some of these respondents also.

During these discussions it was clear that a demonstrated life commitment to social justice and equity in education and *mana motuhake* for te iwi Maori was paramount for Maori involved in education. This contribution by one of the respondents summarised the tenure of the comments noted here.

Sample Seven

Description

This group consisted of government Senior Managers who are Maori. They are all graduates and many of them are either postgraduates or are completing postgraduate study. Most of them are working in their tribal areas, but service all Maori peoples within their agency's brief. There were fifteen (15) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

In June 1992, these Managers met to discuss a range of issues which included matters of leadership. The hui was facilitated by a consultant and recorded. The hui minutes were used as a basis for comparing the notes taken by me as a participant at this gathering. The consultant and I also spoke about the contributions afterwards and on two other occasions. The other participants were also spoken to informally on a number of occasions following this hui. In addition, notes were taken about issues raised at hui, held in May and October 1993. The data reflects their ideas and personal experience in respect of leadership issues.

Data

The situation faced by Maori who work for government agencies yet have very strong ideas about Maori development which are not politically correct was raised as a central dilemma. It encouraged a discussion about what Maori Senior Managers must acknowledge and respond to when working in a government agency, in particular, the tension between Iwi expectations and crown agent responsibilities. Most participants believe that most non-Maori government employees view them as working for Maori peoples not the government. Another assumed generalisation is that Maori government workers continually seek to subvert government policies. With a little humour, some participants believe there is an element of truth in this, therefore, should not be discounted.

These Managers acknowledge that they are employees of the government and are required to provide services accordingly. But this was qualified with a conditional statement; a desire to improve Maori achievement and promote increased Maori development. Seemingly idealistic in nature (a comment raised by one of the participants), it begins to uncover the complexities of being a government employee and trying to meet Maori expectations which are not necessarily consistent with a government's agenda for Maori peoples. In turn, the participants believe that many Maori peoples expect Maori government employees to do their bidding. Interestingly, comments were raised about how Maori tend to personalise their criticisms at Maori employees more so than at their non-Maori colleagues. This did not receive group acceptance. Some were of the opinion that non-Maori were just as exposed to such criticisms. According to some of the respondents, the personalised criticism maybe an indicator of the close relationship that Maori believe they have, as of right, with certain government agents.

It was acknowledged that whanau, hapu and iwi have recognised persons who speak on their behalf. However, this support is usually subject to specific conditions which may differ depending on the kaupapa. Time limitation, context and extent of authority are but a few of the conditions that may be applied. It was argued that sometimes it is difficult to determine who has been given authority and why, let alone under what conditions the authority is considered legitimate. How government employees discern the authorised voice, and confirm authority is often not immediately transparent.

Likewise, the role of Maori government employees in these circumstances is not clearly understood due to the differing expectations of both the government employer and the Maori recipient of their services. The participants noted that Maori tend to concentrate on people's failings which generally inhibits leadership potential. Furthermore, they believe that Maori tend to understate the ability for leaders to be extraordinary.

A list of ideas about leadership was generated from the discussions:

1. the development and affirmation of Maori cultural structures
2. being a good follower as a step to being a good leader
3. empowering others
4. adding value to the Maori position
5. ability to negotiate and influence
6. competence
7. sufficient Iwi/ Maori support
8. effective communication with others
9. ability to mobilise people
10. ability to advocate, facilitate, read situations and people, guide, persuade, influence, and analyze
11. strong vision and commitment to that vision
12. humility with exceptional knowledge and skills
13. willingness to pass knowledge on to others
14. ability to define and prioritise what is important
15. go after positive results
16. have an appetite to learn new things
17. make critical distinctions and clarify issues by assisting others to locate meaning in what is happening around them
18. able to present information clearly in Maori and English
19. function effectively in Maori and Pakeha contexts
20. understand Maori social organisations

In addition to these ideas, the following points were made;

1. there is a need for new leadership platforms which enhance the position of Maori, socially, economically, politically, culturally, and educationally
2. there are some Iwi groups where the survival of the fittest still determines who holds the leadership
3. crisis was a key element for the appearance of new leadership
4. tikanga Maori is important to how Maori government employees behave and delivery services to Maori peoples
5. Maori who hold senior positions are always in danger of being marginalised as they try to met the needs of Maori within the constraints of government.

Sample Eight

Description

This was an interview with two Senior Managers who have worked in various education positions. One of them has been involved with national working groups on education matters.

Interview Process

Over a period of time (August 1992 - July 1993), I met with these persons on five occasions. On each occasion we discussed an array of issues which included Maori leadership matters. These aspects were recorded during these sessions. As a result, the following notes have been compiled. There were two (2) respondents in this sample.

Data

On the first two occasions, two major aspects emerged. Firstly, a list of leadership variables and secondly a definition of a leader. These are noted herein;

Leadership Variables:

1. useful knowledge and skills
2. able to shift power
3. can produce outcomes
4. appropriate delivery of information
5. culturally relevant qualities
6. understanding of mana whenua
7. can display leadership in different arenas

A Definition:

Someone who has and still is gaining knowledge from practical experience and is able to share it in a manner that can be described as wisdom.

On the other occasions, the respondents considered what leadership looked like in their tribal areas. They noted that there are more challenges to the present leadership by younger tribal members who do not share their experiences. While the younger ones are challenging those who presently hold leadership positions and the basis of decision making, they are failing to recognise that they do not have the institutional memory of their iwi, presently held by the leaders that are there now.

Government initiatives have affected this, according to them, creating new leadership platforms which allow different kinds of leadership to emerge whether it be good or bad. Maori leadership ideas are not necessarily considered relevant here. They say that Maori leadership is disintegrated, providing opportunities for an unknown leadership quantity to appear.

In this way, the experiences of an old leadership world are being marginalised without really knowing if it still has a place. In effect, the present knowledge, skills and qualities of Maori leadership are being questioned. In some cases, they are being pushed aside without rhyme or reason.

Sample Nine

Description

This discussion was with a Maori who is the Principal of a rural primary school. The respondent is very involved with Hato Hohepa Girls College and Hato Paora Boys College also. This person has close family connections with the hapu in this area. The Principal has a secondary school background but decided to return home a few years ago. The hapu were pleased about this and have advanced their education agenda considerably as a result. Prior to the respondent's return, the school roll was very low and the possibility of closure was imminent. Since this person's return the roll has increased dramatically with many of the associated whanau groups in town sending their children to school by bus. The community's desire to transform the school is demonstrated by the bilingual movement and the consideration of Kura Kaupapa Maori status. There was one (1) respondent in this sample.

Interview Process

The Principal was interested to hear more about the thesis to begin with. We discussed it for sometime before settling into the interview proper. The respondent mentioned that it provided an opportunity to focus on aspects that would normally be taken for granted. It was suggested that little time is given to reflect on these behaviours because they are treated as being commonsense. Consequently, thinking about what, how and why things are performed in a particular way is often not part of this person's general make up. The respondent described it as *anyway, that's the way I do things*.

Notes were taken throughout the interview. This respondent was happy for me to tape some of our interview, however, I checked immediately afterwards if there were statements that should not be referred to. Consequently, I was able to check the account reported here from a transcript.

Data

According to this respondent, learning about leadership started when living with koro (grandfather). Leadership was described as coming from tupuna (the ancestors). This person's koro was a role model who was firm and persistent. If he got kicked down he was always ready to get back up again.

This approach to life had a marked affect on the respondent who believes that being able to deal with the disappointments by getting on with it, is an important feature of true leadership. The respondent's koro laid the ground rules down clearly, you knew what was allowed and what was not. When being told off, there was always a reason given. This Principal considers this no different from children today who ask why. According to him, they deserve an honest answer and if you do not know, then you should say so. Children are too sharp to be treated otherwise.

The respondent's grandfather is referred to often throughout the interview. He is described as a man of great dignity who always went back to the land (whenua). His conservation ethic is remembered. Much of this Principal's discipline, leadership and responsibility came from an upbringing with the old people. They were the strongest influence on this person's life. The social wellbeing of children is important to this Principal who believes this is often neglected.

Accordingly, this respondent argues that an educational leader must look at the community as a whole, not just the good things or the bad things, but why a person is not doing well or the opposite and find ways to advance them further. The Principal states that experience is a telling factor in educational leadership. Its the history book of successful and unsuccessful leadership strategies. The old people, according to the respondent, knew these things.

Tino rangatiratanga for this person is about how we treat our children and how we can get the best out of them. It demands high standards and lots of positiveness. Leadership, therefore, does not come from the Principal alone. Every teacher has a leadership responsibility. It is a shared matter, not left to the Principal only. For the children to feel good about themselves, the kaiako must feel good first and foremost.

As the Principal, talking openly and supportively to staff allows this to happen. Allowing them to contribute and valuing their contributions is critical. It is the school leader and instructional leadership role that the respondent refers to often.

In summary, good leadership by a tumuaki breeds good leadership at the classroom level in the way that kaiako deal with their children and with the community. Good leadership across the spectrum breeds good attainment by students. Intuition plays an important role. Sometimes, says the Principal, I just know that things are right. Its a self monitoring thing and a metaphysical connection between all things including human beings.

This Principal believes that the school is more a part of the community (hapu) not the other way around. The mistake made by many teachers is assuming that the school is the centre of the community not the marae. The school and the leadership within it is but an extension of the leadership within the hapu. This makes it much easier for the Principal to relate with whanau. It is easier to communicate even when there are differences of opinion. Kaumatua have a valued place in the community, which includes the school. They are asked for their advice because their close connections to all their mokopuna (grandchildren) at the school is respected. The marae is the most important place in this community. The school complements and assists it to care for the mokopuna.

The Principal believes that being from there makes it easier. Land connection is the key. What comes with the whenua is not only physical things but intangible things. It is the platform that allows leadership to come through. This person always refers to things belonging to koro (grandfather) because without him there would be no place for him. Honesty and integrity are mentioned as specific aspects that are derived from this relationship. In saying this, the Principal is willing to relinquish the tumuaki position for someone else who could advance the school further. Positions held by this respondent have generally been about cleaning things up. Taking on jobs in schools where things are not going well and settling them down. The first place this person always starts with is the relationships between everyone who has an interest in what goes on in the school. In comparison, the respondent argues that Tauwi (Pakeha) tend to walk in with the attitude that s/he is the boss, the school is their castle built by him/her for their satisfaction. This is qualified with the argument that for them it is about ownership and control in ways that are foreign and unacceptable to their community. According to the respondent, it reflects an individualism position as opposed to a collective position.

For this Principal, playing it by the book is not always the best way to resolve issues. In the rural situation, things must remain flexible and adaptable to suit the context in which the hapu and school are situated. They do not look for solutions in kawanatanga ideas but from hapu thinking. This is relevant because the children, teachers, Principal and everyone else at the school are related to one another.

If this person is critical of anything, it is in the following viewpoint; there is a school of language and a school of tikanga (protocols) but it is questionable whether there is a school of commonsense. This person does not have a leadership role with te reo Maori but there are those in the school that are capable of guiding this. This respondent argues that the Principal, however, can complement the collective leadership that the hapu has by doing what you are good at. Therefore, leadership encourages interaction between hapu and school. Correct refers to acknowledgement and valuing of whanau and hapu relationships. It is important that the Principal know the community well. This demands empowering leadership not glory hunters.

In addition to these comments the respondents' anecdotal points are summarised here:

1. those who are brilliant lack experience, those with experience have no brains.
2. Maori have a self-determination agenda which is not shared by all New Zealanders.
3. there will always be conflict between those that believe in tino rangatiratanga and those who believe in kawanatanga.
4. many Maori Teachers are forming new relationships which focus on their sense of a tino rangatiratanga agenda.
5. what is expected of a Maori Educational Administrator is not expected of a Pakeha one.
6. Maori members of Boards of Trustees expect Maori Educational Administrators to be available to them readily. Often happens to those who have close whanau, hapu or iwi relationships with them.

Sample Ten

Description

This Maori respondent is a Principal at a G4 primary school in the Whanganui township. The Principal is highly qualified with a Masters degree. This Principal follows the educational literature and reflects upon its implications for the school. From discussions with others, this person is known to be always thinking of ways to improve what the school offers and how.

Interview Process

A formal meeting was arranged with the respondent after school, one evening. During this interview I was given copies of school information and was allowed to take notes from which this account has been compiled. The Principal was satisfied with the outcome of the interview and allowed me to take copies of the Principal's performance agreement and a report completed by students from the local polytechnic about their communication with the community. This additional information has been considered in this account.

Furthermore, I spoke to contributors who work closely with this Principal to consider different perspectives about issues raised. There were six (6) respondents in this sample.

Data

This Principal portrays an image of good management and organisational skills. The documentation presented to me for my perusal was overwhelming and provided a good idea about how this respondent treats the Principal's role in the school. Indeed, it is not taken lightly.

The notion of professionalism is considered extremely important and according to this person should be demonstrated continuously. The significance of this to the respondent is best illustrated by the leadership framework present in the Principal's job description. The three leadership areas referred to are; administrative and organisational, professional and instructional, and staff and pupil personnel. From the information provided, administrative/organisational leadership is about the managerial functions of the today's schools Principal. Professional/instructional leadership refers to curriculum development and implementation focusing on leadership in specific curriculum areas but also a facilitation/guidance role for Senior staff and team building in this area. Staff/Pupil Personnel leadership refers to supervision matters and team building for staff morale and good working relationships. These are subsequently broken down into specific requirements under each heading.

According to this Principal, the facilitator of tension is an important leadership role. From personal experience, staff growth requires this leadership approach especially since the school cannot stop to wait for them to catch up. In the opinion of this respondent, staff need to continually adapt while they are moving along. Doing the job you are paid for is important to this Principal. This expectation is pushed along by a Principal with a strong personality. The leadership style displayed is a *lead from the front approach* which does not go down too well for some staff. This does not bother the Principal because the stance taken is that all staff should be concerned with learning, forget about anything else. The Principal is accountable for the learning in the school. According to this person, continually improving the learning environment for all children should be the ethos that drives all educators.

When asked about the implications for Maori children, the Principal mentioned the following things:

1. the cultural context of this school is different but it has a 47% (1992) Maori school role.
2. socio-economic differences are more significant to this Principal rather than cultural differences.
3. unlike a rural river (Whanganui River) school, this one services a variety of ethnic groups and it is their socio-economic position which needs particular attention.
4. Maori children should be able to go to school to learn. Schools need to excite learning and sustain the excitement.

In the discussion the Principal argued that Maori Educational Administrators need to:

1. be true to themselves and know how and when to use your gut feeling
2. do a full day's work.
3. be visible to children, staff and community.

4. keep good contact and take time out for staff.
5. know when to be a facilitator, neutral, or assertive.
6. keep close to formal and informal leaders in the school.
7. learn to say no.

In the report on Communication with the School (1992), it was concluded that communication was both efficient and effective, with newsletters being the most popular means of achieving this. Personal contact rated very low. Newsletters and notes sent home, according to the survey, proved to be the most appreciated. No mention was made about how parents would prefer to make contact with the Principal or the staff. The survey focused on the school's communication to the parents only.

In discussion with others, there is no doubt that the organisational and managerial skills of this Principal are held in high esteem. Staff may feel pressured by the energy and sharp edged performance expected by this Principal but there is certainly an acceptance that this leadership is clear and strong. The Principal has a no-muck-around, go-and-get-it attitude which is considered too powerful for those who are not used to it. According to these respondents, some staff may find this approach too aggressive but there can be no doubt that the school is humming. The Principal is very sensitive to the staff and will go the extra mile for them. Although very firm, the staff know they can rely on their Principal. In addition, the Principal keeps up to date with educational matters and always informs staff about new trends. The Principal's straight-up-front, blunt approach is, according to these respondents, appreciated by the staff, in particular the honesty that comes with it.

The speed at which things are achieved is noted by people along with the tireless work done to assist staff needs. This questioning nature ensures that the Principal always knows what is going on with the school children. There is an impatient streak in this Principal who demonstrates a fever for speed, tempered by the fact that some staff may find it difficult to keep up with the changes needed.

The Principal's relationships with the community are considered very good. Keeping good contact with parents is a key point, although his manner appears short and abrupt. Nevertheless, the Principal's *no muck around get straight to the point* approach is appreciated. This person is very forthright and not prepared to budge unless you can demonstrate a better argument (likes to have the issues well researched). At the same time, this Principal is extremely helpful and caring of staff, children and parents. External commenters have noted how supportive this person is of Maori and Pacific Island families. The Principal appears to be very aware of character strengths and weaknesses and accepts them.

This Principal has strong views on a wide range of matters. In some ways, this person is intense about scrutinising personal performance; a reflective practitioner that will explore all avenues, collect all data, get feedback, then seek solutions. According to this Principal, only excellence is good enough. This Principal wants to do the best for the children. The results achieved and satisfaction of parents supports this. According to these respondents, this Principal has shown an ability to deliver the goods.

Sample Eleven

Description

This respondent has been a Principal of a number of rural schools, participated with national curriculum development programmes and been a Maori Advisor before establishing an education consultancy based in Whanganui. There was one (1) respondent to this sample.

Interview Process

On three occasions, I attempted to meet with this person. Sheer persistence finally paid off when we organised a time away from the office to tape an interview. The respondent agreed to be recorded on tape. In this case, the respondent wanted a set of key questions to focus the discussion. I provided this prior to the interview and concentrated on teasing out the responses offered. Likewise with sample nine, a transcript was produce for me to check this account with. In addition, the respondent was given an opportunity to withdraw or add to any of the comments made.

Data

This respondent was tentative about being considered an educational leader. The difficulty seemed to be one of definition, assuming that someone else was to provide the definition. The respondent concluded that perhaps this may be so given that as an educational consultant there is some influence and necessity to get things done. In this sense, this person was prepared to accept some form of leadership role in education. According to this respondent, an education leader is really one who leads in terms of educational ideology. That is to say, a person who has an idea and seeks to promote it and obtain the support of others.

In this respondent's opinion, there is a separation between leadership of an idea and leadership of its implementation. Leadership in terms of idea generation is not necessarily the same leadership in terms of taking action. Most Maori are not happy with the present education system. They have already decided what they want and how to do it. However, they think the government is too slow to assist them. So a new Maori Educational Leadership appears outside the system and for a different agenda.

They generate new ideas and achieve wide support from others who want to implement the ideas. From these events, a different type of Educational Leadership emerges.

According to this respondent, when you work with other Maori there are expectations of each other that are largely due to one's Maoriness. However, you cannot assume that your Maoriness is the same as the next person's. Although, there would be a general expectation that you will behave as a Maori and not detract from those parameters (whatever they may look like). For this person, an Educational Leadership role is being a facilitator, being able to do things, to act on people's requirements and expectations, and finally produce the results.

It follows that Maori Educational Leaders should know their capabilities so they can be decisive about what they can actually do rather than what they think they can do. Some Maori Community expectations, however, are very unrealistic. However, its not easy showing them the minefield when all they want to do is get to the other side. Communication is a key, according to this respondent, because it provides the means to inform and provide understanding of situations and their implications. To do this well, you need to be able to keep ahead of the play, that is, to understand what is meant by what different peoples say and do not say. They may talk around it, over it, under it and then sit down. In these situations, says the respondent, there are those that can pick up what is being said. This often happens to Maori Educational Leaders.

According to this respondent, when talking about the role of a Principal, it is not the role of the Principal to hold an ideological position. Their role and responsibility is straight forward. There is a job description with your roles and responsibilities. However, it is not uncommon for this to become a problem in the delivery of education. In Tomorrow's Schools it talks about the Principal being the community leader and instructional leader but one cannot be sure this is okay with a Maori Community given that they may see someone in their group as holding the educational leadership for them.

Maori Communities have historically had specific expectations of Principals whether they be Maori or non-Maori. The expectations of Maori may differ from non-Maori, but there are common expectations of all Principals. In many cases, says this respondent, their expectations are very conservative. Usually about how Principals should behave, react, and do certain things; rather like a throw back from the colonial period. Conservatism is still strong in the Maori Community. Conservatism is described by the respondent as being careful and having fixed notions about what is right. Maori Communities certainly have fixed ideas about what is right or wrong, appropriate and inappropriate.

Sample Twelve

Description

This interview was with Maori Polytechnic Tutors who are involved in the delivery of Teacher Training. They are primary trained teachers who have worked in Senior primary positions such as Itinerant Teachers of Maori, Maori Resource Teachers and Teacher Trainee Recruitment Officers. Two of the tutors are graduates from the Bilingual Teaching Course, Waikato College of Education. The third member has taught in a Maori secondary school. Collectively they are responsible for the learning of trainees sent to the course from whanau, hapu, iwi and pan-Maori educational organisations. There were three (3) respondents in this sample.

Interview Process

An interview was conducted with these participants and recorded on tape. I also spoke to them individually, allowing them to raise other issues. Their contributions were discussed on a number of occasions before inclusion into this account.

Data

In this interview, a wide range of issues were covered with no immediately obvious sequence. Nonetheless, the issues raised did highlight significant aspects of Maori leadership, from their perspective, as it applies in the education context/s they are working in. While the data account may not display some sense of cohesion, there are specific leadership ideas and comments herein that are significant. The connection between the ideas and experiences reported are of secondary importance. The informality of the interview meant that the discussion flowed as the participants responded to each others contributions.

The structural analysis seminar held in 1992 was raised because of the fall-out that resulted. These participants noted that the student outcomes were very mixed, ranging from absolute denial to opportunities of positive self reflection. The disparity of expectations between the tutors, students and the seminar facilitators was obvious, according to these respondents. They believe it probably did more damage than good. The lack of understanding from the facilitators of the realities of the participants showed in their reactions to the students' contributions. The facilitation mode, according to one of the respondents, became very aggressive and imposing. The facilitators expected the students to be receptive (which they were not, by choice) and when this was not the case the situation became very tense.

In comparison, another facilitator was invited to present the issues but used a more nurturing approach which students were more willing to participate with. Rather than dictating what the issues are, she was a more effective communicator because she moved into their space.

Her message was clear and understandable, it suited the language register of the participants. It was argued that this approach made more sense. This facilitator was more empowering; the students wanted to participate. Her message was in a mode that the audience could tune into.

It became obvious that these students needed to learn how to successfully deal with different contexts and the related situations that may arise. It was suggested that analysis of case studies, simulations, role playing and devils advocate games may be useful. According to these respondents, lateral thinking should be encouraged, along with good research skills, ability to read the messages that people send in various forms whether they be verbal or non-verbal. This was considered significant for good leadership also. However, the respondents believe that a good understanding and experience of whanaungatanga (relationships) would improve matters sharply.

They also recognised that there was a tendency for them to negotiate on behalf of the students and feedback the results rather than them being part of the negotiation. It was generally agreed that ways need to be employed to involve them in the negotiation process (in regards to course requirements and the relationships associated with it). In this respect, it raised the training gaps that these respondents believe needs to be addressed by them. Negotiation, advocacy and conflict resolution were accentuated. Shifting the headspace was highlighted as a necessity for these things to become part of the way things are done.

It is believed that a Maori leader carries a collective agenda all the time. Failure to do this means their demise as an effective Maori leader. It is the collective kaupapa that must be focused on. Some leaders may not believe that this exists but, according to these respondents, its there whether you like it or not. Maori leaders, they say, are faced with situations everyday that challenge, contradict and seek to compromise their mandate and the kaupapa they carry. It is essential that Maori understand their contribution to the collective kaupapa and begin to display a sharing of leadership for the many contexts in which it must be displayed. This is considered a critical checkpoint to be cleared before considering the strategies that should be employed.

With regard to leadership strategies, it has been recognised by these respondents that they have different kinds of communication relationships with Principal, trainees, support teachers, whanau and others which impacts on the extent and nature of interaction. These respondents believe that communication strategies are paramount for good Maori leadership in Education. After some discussion, the respondents elaborated by suggesting that this will largely depend on the perceptions held by themselves and the people they communicate with. Their interaction with Principals was raised as an example. According to one respondent, the first criterion that Principals judge them on is professionalism, in terms of, appearance, delivery of message, organisation skills, time management etc.

They prefer to talk face to face, to be told exactly what is happening, and they like to hear it first hand not as a passing comment. In comparison, they believe that for Maori it tends to remain verbal and there is little follow up with written notes. However, kaumatua are important as mediators and final arbitrators of matters. On other occasions, it is their facilitation skills that are required. According to them, it further emphasises that communication proximity and distance is significant to these relationships for the Maori Education Leader. More importantly, that people communicate in different ways.

Most observers, see them as the designers and the decision makers. So the ideas of boss with boss negotiations sits fine with Principals. They know the respondents are the negotiating party to the programme. The respondents, while discussing these matters, realised that they interact with a wide range of people, therefore are faced with a diversity of communication situations which demand that different leadership strategies be employed.

They believe that their students expect them to be professional, have a broad curriculum knowledge, have an ability to advocate and negotiate for them if needed, able to counsel, etc. They also expect that our professionalism is more informal because of the relationships we share as Maori. This caused them to reflect on the complexities of their positions and its leadership image. They explained that an awareness of audience and how to respond to them is vital to this. This can be advanced by an awareness of where their students are at, their backgrounds and skills and the way they operate and view the world.

Tikanga matters were raised also. The constraints and their importance to the order of things. according to them, tikanga is about being who you are and respecting the space of others. They stated that tikanga is different from one group to another, yet there exists a common understanding of key tikanga issues. However, these are not given expression enough. Tikanga was described as the glue that holds the group together. In a sense, the way that things are done and why. A disappointing feature for these respondents is the unwillingness of some to learn and understand tikanga. This may be a commitment issue or a confidence one. Whatever the case may be, it is noted that there is no means of ensuring tikanga is adhered to, not even self-monitoring is accepted. Consequently, no consistency is achieved. Perhaps, there is a taken for granted attitude creeping into the environment ? (raised in the discussion)

The respondents noted that on occasion they need to take leadership in the absence of any leadership being shown, however, they also noted the negative response that sometimes follows. Generally, it is agreed that there appears to be no rhyme or reason to the matter. It highlights that tikanga is not shared and that the mana of positions within the organisation become more important than dealing with the need or crisis too often. It is a fine balancing act, says one of the respondents, knowing when to be *whakaiti* and when to *tu maia*. A good Maori Educational Leader knows how and seeks to bring out the leadership in others.

They identified the importance of knowing their jobs properly, not so much the technical aspects of it, but the more human elements which tend to be less logical and fundamentally about the nature of relationships. Managerial matters are significant but, according to them, should be part of their basic make up as educators. The notion of whenua as a determinant for leadership and respect for tikanga is raised again because its importance tends to be undervalued in the scheme of things. The misunderstandings about tikanga, its application, and appropriateness was noted, leaving questions about tikanga suspended; Is there a collective understanding of tikanga ?, If so, to what level and what depth does this exist ?, How is it given expression in education and is it appropriate ?, Is there a need to review this situation?

Summary of Findings

Four distinct groups were identified from the samples; Education Professionals (Primary School Principals, Polytechnic Tutors, Government Education Officials and Kohanga Reo Kaiako, Maori Community Groups, and Kohanga Reo), Maori Community Members (In the main, Maori parents and elders), Teacher Trainees and Graduates (Te Rangakura Teacher Training Programme), and Maori Senior Managers (for Government Agencies). These categories have been used to illustrate the general spread of respondents to the interview survey.

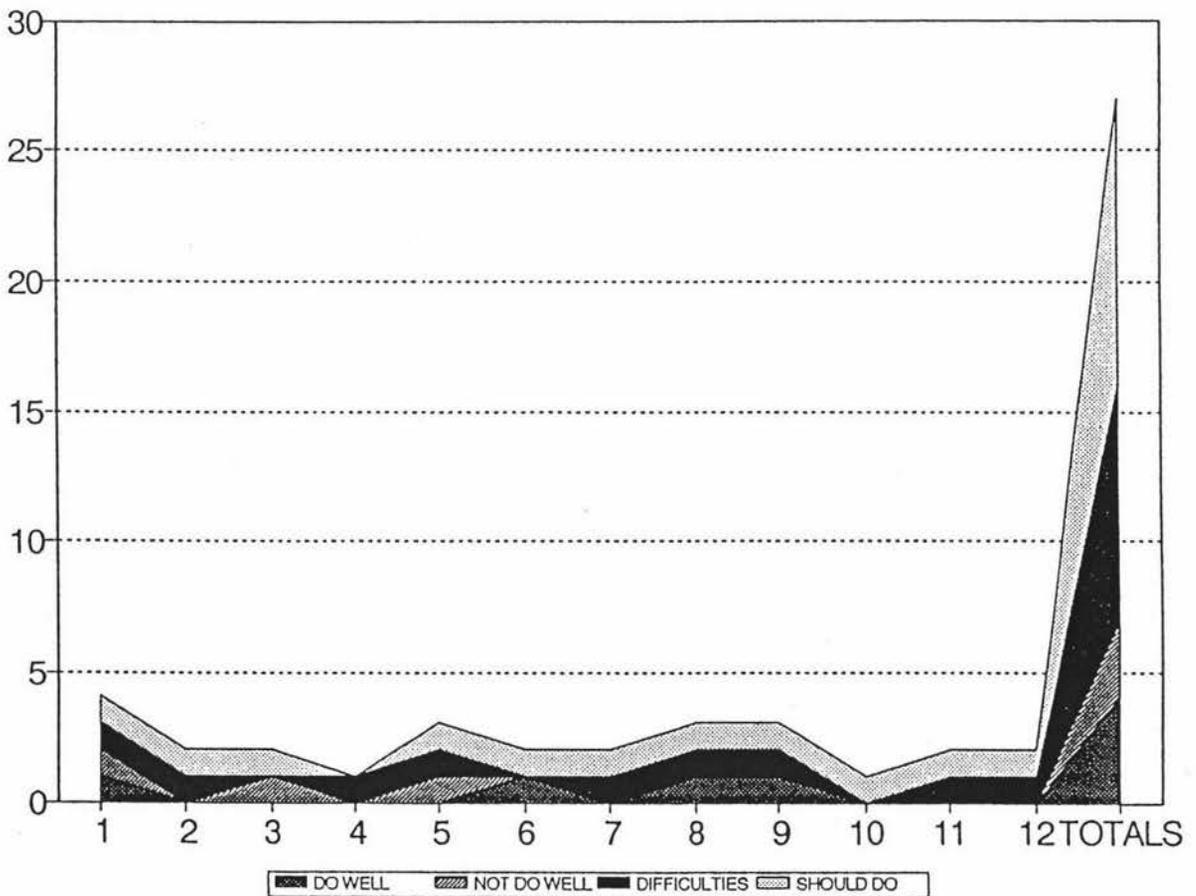
Overall, the number of educationists (the deliverers of formal education) and community participants (the parents and grandparents) interviewed are evenly balanced. The difference in totals between Maori men and women respondents can be attributed, in the main, to sample seven (7). Only sample five (5) displays a similar variance. In this case, there is a higher number of Maori women respondents. Otherwise, the spread is reasonable, as can be seen in table 3:

Sample	Group total	M	F	Community	Education Professionals	Trainees Graduate s	Other Managers
1	9	3	6		2	7	
2	5	2	3	4	1		
3	5		5	1	1	3	
4	4	4			4		
5	17	6	11	17			
6	6	4	2		6		
7	15	13	2		3		12
8	2	1	1				2
9	1	1			1		
10	6	4	2	3	2	1	
11	1	1			1		
12	3	3			3		
totals	74	42	32	25	24	11	14

Table 3: Gender and Interest Group spread

Respondents' comments centred on four key questions; What do Maori Educational Administrators do well? (do well), What are they not doing well? (not do well), What are the difficulties they face? (difficulties), and What knowledge, skills and qualities are important for Maori Educational Administrators? (should do). The interview group responses feature leadership variables with descriptions about their relevance, based on respondents' experiences and expectations.

Interview sessions focused on Maori Education and/or Maori Leadership matters which were important to the participants. In general, participants were particularly interested in discussing the difficulties faced by Maori in these positions and what knowledge, skills and qualities are important for Maori Leadership in Education. There was an exceptional spread of responses about these matters. In comparison, the responses to *what is done well or not so well* were more erratic. This is perhaps understandable as participants focused on their immediate educational issues. Consequently, most of the interviews reflect situations which respondents were attempting to resolve. It is important to acknowledge that these interviews also served as reflection and sharing opportunities. Ironically, these sessions proved to be useful for participants to share experiences and resolution options. The foci of each interview sample is shown in graph 1:



Graph 1: Foci for each interview sample

By itself, this graph suggests that interview participants were primarily focused on identifying the problems and discussing options for improvement. Numerically, the graph illustrates a lack of interest in agonizing with what is already known about the present state of affairs. This is demonstrated with the themes covered by each interview sample, as seen in table 4:

Sample	Interview Group Themes
1	Maori Community expectations, What is Maori Educational Leadership?, differences in perception between Maori Communities and Schools, good Maori Educational Leadership
2	Maori Principal in a Rural Community School, leadership tensions with Staff, BOTs and School Community, support systems for Maori Principals
3	Tensions with and expectations of their tutors, contribution of Maori Women Educationists, concerns about Maori Men Educationists
4	Tension (faced by Maori working for Government Departments) between Maori Community expectations and Government Agency requirements
5	Maori Community expectations of Maori Educationists, Hapu Leadership, tensions between younger generation and present leadership
6	Contribution of Maori Women in Education, Advocacy for a bilingual/bicultural leadership skills base, maintenance of Maori knowledge and skills
7	Difficulties of being a Maori Manager in Government Departments, Maori Leadership mandate, Maori leadership skills
8	Maori leadership skills, Maori leadership shifts, challenges and instability, tensions between younger generation and present Iwi leadership
9	Acquisition of leadership skills and qualities, Being a School Principal for your hapu, sharing leadership, Contribution of hapu experiences toward ideas about Maori Educational Leadership
10	Principal's leadership role/s, Management and Administration, Getting results, Child-centred leadership, Professionalism
11	Leadership distinctions, Maori perceptions and expectations of each other, What is an Educational Leader?, Common leadership expectations between Maori and non-Maori
12	Needs of Te Rangakura Teacher Trainees, ideological conflict, differences in perception and expectations of Te Rangakura Teacher Trainees and Graduates, trainee expectations of tutors

Table 4: Main themes discerned by interview groups

The interview groups identified specific issues about Maori Leadership in Education which describe their perceptions about the tension between a Maori self-determination agenda and a Government conformity agenda. Within these parameters, there are significant comments made about the personal and teamwork responsibilities of Maori Leadership in Education forums. From these comments, communication emerges as a central issue.

Defining Leadership

According to interview responses, whether the participants discussed what Maori Educational Administrators do well or not so well, the difficulties faced by them or what they should do, similar references emerge. Furthermore, respondents primarily commented on specific Maori Leadership issues and similarly about Education issues. In general, this was a precursor to discussing the significance of Maori Leadership in Education.

Both the community and professional education respondents commented on Maori Leadership and Education separately. In their comments, community respondents discussed these matters by expressing positions of Maori autonomy as opposed to government conformity. That is to say, Maori Leadership ideas were not boxed into New Zealand Education System imperatives. A much broader perspective was articulated. In so doing, issues that influence Maori Leadership ideas in a governance environment were raised.

In general, community respondents believe that Maori Leadership is the prerogative of Maori peoples and their communities. In comparison, the educational respondents were of a mixed opinion. Some of them stated that Maori Community responsibilities were important because their tribal or pan-Maori relationships are essential to their make-up. Consequently, this cannot be separated from how they behave as a Maori Education Leader. Others made a distinction between their role as an Educational Leader and being Maori. Maori Educationists who do not have close tribal connections or friendships with local Maori Communities commented in this way. Both community and professional respondents seemed to agree on what the important points are, however, why and how they are significant is not necessarily shared. This exposes differences of meaning and purpose. In turn, the definition and characteristics of Maori Leadership in Education highlighted by interview participants uncovered points of agreement and variance. These aspects are elaborated on in the final chapter.

According to most respondents, Maori Leadership is immediately associated with te reo Maori competency, tikanga knowledge and experience, personal whakapapa, tribal knowledge and relationships, mana, and achievements. Nearly in all cases, te reo Maori me nga tikanga was cited as essential requirements. However, it was communicative competency with te reo Maori and understanding and application of tikanga that were emphasized. For community respondents, tikanga was more important than law.

Personal whakapapa was mentioned on several occasions as a self-actualization requirement for quality Maori Leadership. A tribal knowledge and understanding of tribal relationships is generally discussed as a pre requisite to gaining group consent and support. However, its maintenance is dependant on sustained performance. In this respect, actual achievements remain a critical benchmark. Mana was mentioned in respect to the relationship between Maori men and women. It was argued by one interview group that Maori men need to understand the mana of womanhood. In this example, the respondents were concerned with the way they were being treated by certain Maori men. Some respondents discussed mana in terms of their relationship to whenua.

As a slight departure, political awareness and acumen was noted by several community respondents. Two reasons are inferred. Firstly, the need to understand the dynamics of Maori social organisations and their leadership platforms. Secondly, the need to understand the dynamics of New Zealand wide social organisations and its legitimated leadership platforms. Consequently, thinking globally is described as a necessary Maori Leadership activity.

On the other hand, educational leadership comments focused on organisational matters and unavoidable issues which Maori Education Leaders need strategies for. Nonetheless, these contributions generally detailed what educational administration knowledge and experiences Maori Educationists need to perform competently in New Zealand education places. Good management and administration practices are considered essential, however, a knowledge and experience background in bilingual education is also advocated.

Both managerial and instructional leadership aspects are noted here. In addition, community respondents expect Maori Educationists to be fully conversant with Board of Trustees', processes, procedures and educational responsibilities. This was mentioned by community respondents because the Maori educationist is usually expected to support Maori Communities with such matters.

Interview responses described the conflict that some Maori Educationists have about their tribal relationships and subsequent educational responsibilities, in comparison to their employment responsibilities. The analogy is one of balancing on a tightrope tensed between tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga positions. This requires a strict discipline which, according to most respondents, is generally left to trial and error. Falls are inevitable as the tightrope's tension never remains constant. Whether by consent or coercion, Maori Educationists are expected to balance their dual responsibilities. In so doing, they are supposed to extract resources for a Maori Education agenda. Consequently, they must be capable of dealing with the Pakeha backlash and expectations. Such expectations would require Maori Educationists to be effective strategic planners and communicators.

Personal and Teamwork Responsibilities

In terms of personal responsibilities, the qualities of trust, loyalty, honesty, integrity and commitment are considered essential to good Maori leadership, in general. The ability to deal with the tension between job responsibilities and Maori Community expectations was mentioned by educationists and managers that were interviewed. This was considered a critical skill for Maori leaders, whether they work in education or any other government institution. Likewise a sustained commitment to improve the Maori position was raised by respondents. Other respondents mentioned the qualities of *whakaiti*, *aroha ki te tangata*, *manaaki tangata*, and *tu maia* as important imperatives for Maori Educationists to internalise and demonstrate in their behaviour.

Teamwork responsibilities such as being *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* focused was raised by both the Te Rangakura participants and community respondents. Given that this is central to their educational agenda and mandate, the positions expressed by them are not surprising. Maori Educationists who are working with their tribal groups were more likely to present this position. In comparison, those who are not working in their tribal areas are more likely to marginalise such agendas by emphasizing their responsibilities to all children, including Maori. There is an underlying assumption that being affirmative about a *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* education agenda means that its proponents are advocating no support for the educational aspirations of Maori who are not from the local tribal area. No evidence was found in these interviews to support this. However, some respondents did note an expectation that Maori Educationists, no matter where they are from, would assist with a *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* education agenda. No matter, who the Maori educationist may be, responses suggest that their educational assistance to Maori Communities would gain respect. This was coupled with an ability to motivate others, particularly children. As a consequence, encouraging Maori Community participation by their positive contributions. For this to happen, an understanding of Maori Communities and their views of the world is needed.

Communication

Communication related comments described advocacy, facilitation, information-sharing, listening, effective *te reo* Maori and English, and Maori/Pakeha social etiquette as significant requirements. Being an effective communicator emerged as a principle message from these interviews. Besides competency in Maori and English, comments about the communicative effectiveness of Maori Educationists also referred to the importance of social etiquette, along with an understanding of the dynamics of Maori and Pakeha social groups.

Maintaining good contact with Maori Communities was raised by nearly all the community respondents. This is qualified with the need to be a community educator who can share knowledge that will advance a Maori Community education agenda. It follows that effective communication with Maori Communities demands good listening skills by Maori Educationists.

Community respondents expect the Maori educationist to be an effective advocate for te reo Maori and tikanga. They expect them to know when and to whom they should be assertive with as they advance a Maori Community education agenda. Finally, these community respondents expect the Maori Educationist to know how to facilitate the delivery of their education agenda.

Questionnaire Survey

The set of graphs presented display the questionnaire survey results based on the responses received from Maori women and men, different age groups, Maori Community, and Maori Educationists. Each questionnaire survey return represents one respondent, consequently, it is indicative of their individual perceptions and expectations. While discussion between participants was not discouraged, the questionnaire survey returns were completed individually. It can be argued that each response is characteristic of the respondent's reality, providing an insight into their world. This essentially is an account based on respondents' perceptions and experiences which seeks to uncover the similarities, differences, significant trends and unusual features presented by the results.

Each graph has four quadrants which signal the state of each variable based on performance and importance. Quadrant one (top left) signals variables that are in crisis, quadrant two (top right) identifies variables that require maintenance, quadrant three (bottom left) signifies that the variables are trivial, and quadrant four (bottom right) suggests an overkill approach is occurring with the variables identified. The cross-band identifies where the quadrants fuse with one another. Variables located near this band reflect unsettled perceptions about how well they are performed and how important they are.

The letters in each graph show the placement of variables identified in chapter five (see table one). They are as follows:

- (a) inherited leadership
- (b) achieved leadership
- (c) personal qualities
- (d) group acceptance
- (e) commitment to improve the Maori position
- (f) loyalty to the group
- (g) Maori knowledge and skills
- (h) International knowledge and skills
- (i) Maori cultural integrity
- (j) Maori ethical/moral discipline
- (k) results orientation

The (x,y) co-ordinates for each graph represents the median of each group's results for performance (x) and importance (y) obtained from the questionnaire survey returns (see appendices 3).

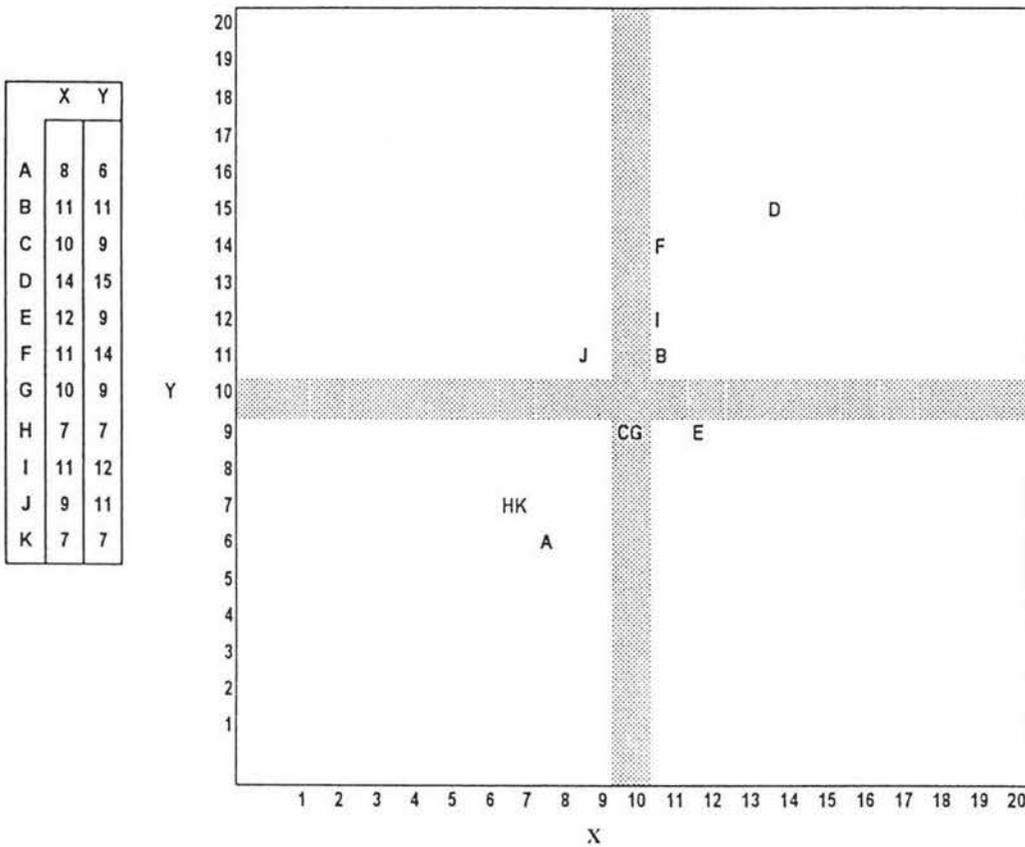
Overall Results

Out of one hundred (100), eighty-one (81) completed questionnaires were received. Sixty-eight (68) were acceptable and thirteen (13) rejected. Rejections were necessary for survey forms that had critical details missing and/or incorrectly completed sections. This represents a 80% response, given that one hundred questionnaires were distributed. However, after excluding the rejected returns, the sample represents a 68% response, ($n = 68$).

According to respondents' feedback, a Maori ethical/moral discipline is important but is not performed well. It is the only variable considered to be at crisis point, although its position suggests this is a mild crisis. International knowledge and skills, a results orientation and inherited leadership are considered meaningless. The positioning of international knowledge and skills in this quadrant is an unusual feature which deserves further attention. First impressions would suggest that these respondents do not believe that international knowledge and skills are important. However, this is speculative and simplistic. It may have been neglected unwittingly, rather than a calculated dismissal. That is to say, respondents may have focused on the state of variables which, according to them, are more closely associated with a Maori Leadership identity in Education. However, it would be difficult to argue that respondents did not deliberately reject this variable. Nonetheless, it does beg the question; why has this occurred?

Following on, the results indicate that loyalty to the group is overstated. It suggests that it does not deserve the respect it receives from Maori Educational Administrators. Likewise, group acceptance and personal qualities are positioned between the trivia and overkill quadrants. Whatever the case, the results imply that these variables are receiving too much attention also.

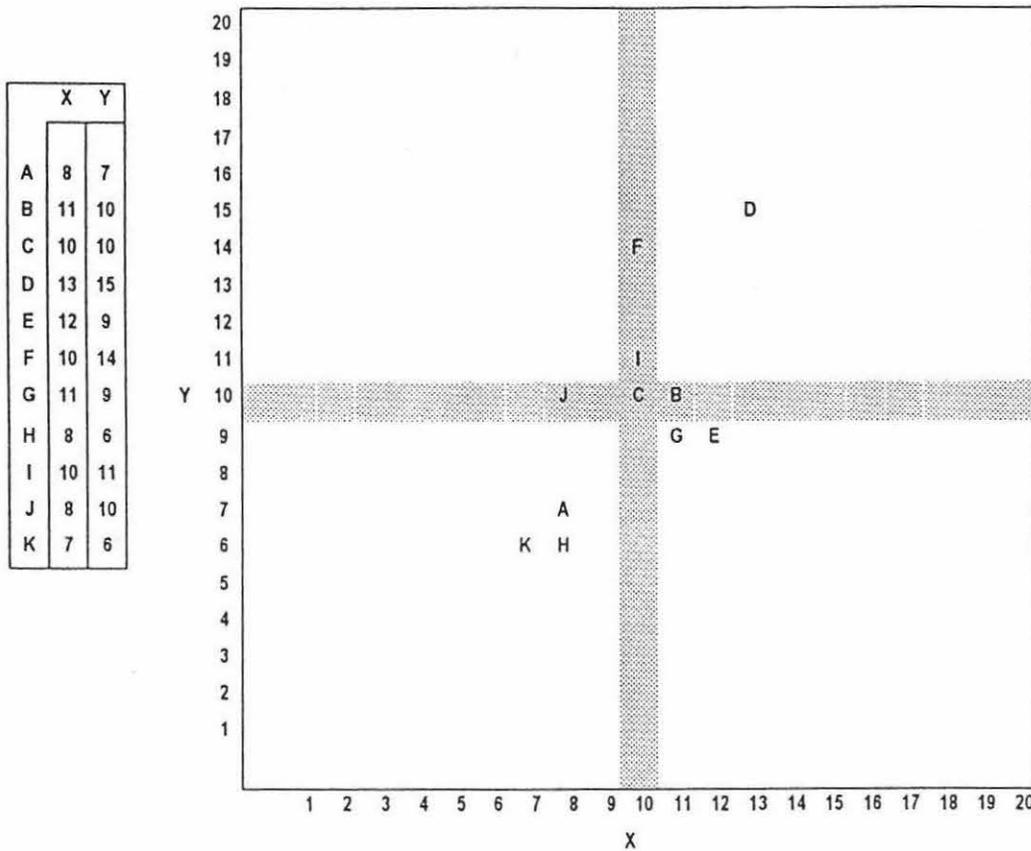
For Maori knowledge and skills, Maori cultural integrity and achieved leadership, the graph illustrates that Maori Educationists' perceived performance, in this respect, is marginal. Furthermore, the position of these variables does make them susceptible to crisis. Being in the maintenance quadrant but so close to the crisis quadrant infers that immediate attention is required. In comparison, a commitment to improve the Maori position is displayed as extremely healthy. Accordingly, respondents seem satisfied that Maori Educational Administrators are doing this well.



Graph 2: Analysis of Results; Overall

Gender Results

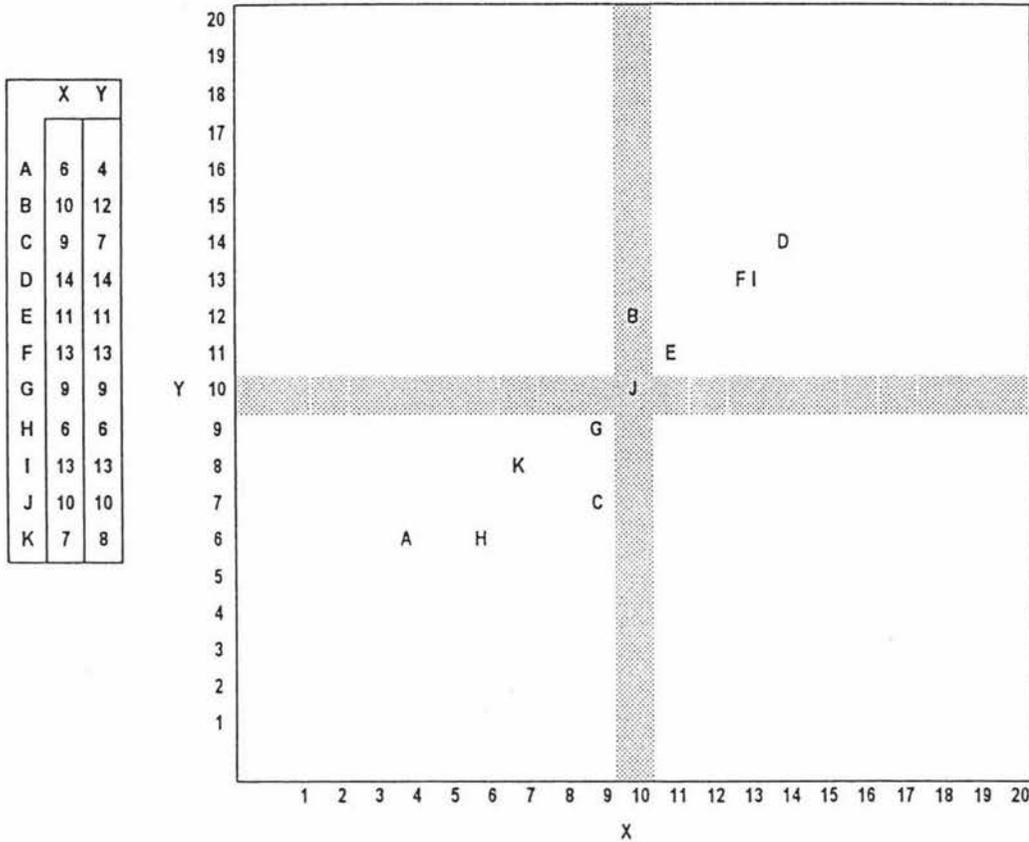
There were significant trends found in the results derived from Maori women and men. According to Maori women respondents, only one variable is positioned comfortably. A commitment to improve the Maori position is similarly placed to the overall results graph. In contrast, Maori women are more sceptical about the state of Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity. Their results illustrate that these variables are near crisis point or in need of some serious maintenance. It further suggests that the variables are not performed well by Maori Educational Administrators. A Maori ethical/moral discipline is another variable positioned between two quadrants. If the overall results are used as a guideline, then its placement leans toward crisis also. The convergence of variables at the centre or between quadrants is visible in these results.



Graph 3: Analysis of Results; Women

If the women's results are used as the yardstick, the variable locations infer that Maori Educational Administrators need to seriously consider whether they are focused on the right things. On first impressions, these results imply that international knowledge and skills, a results orientation and inherited leadership are meaningless to Maori Educational Administrators. However, the phenomenon may be similar to the situation suggested in the overall results section.

In comparison, the Maori mens results agree with the trivia references to international knowledge and skills, a results orientation, and inherited leadership noted by the Maori women's results. A Maori ethical/moral discipline is poised near the crisis quadrant. Whereas, the women's graph dismisses the achieved leadership variable, the men's graph places it between crisis and maintenance. According to the men's results, loyalty to the group and personal qualities are of little consequence and perhaps should be dismissed. The women's results concur with this but suggest that any interest in personal qualities is overrated.



Graph 4: Analysis of Results; Men

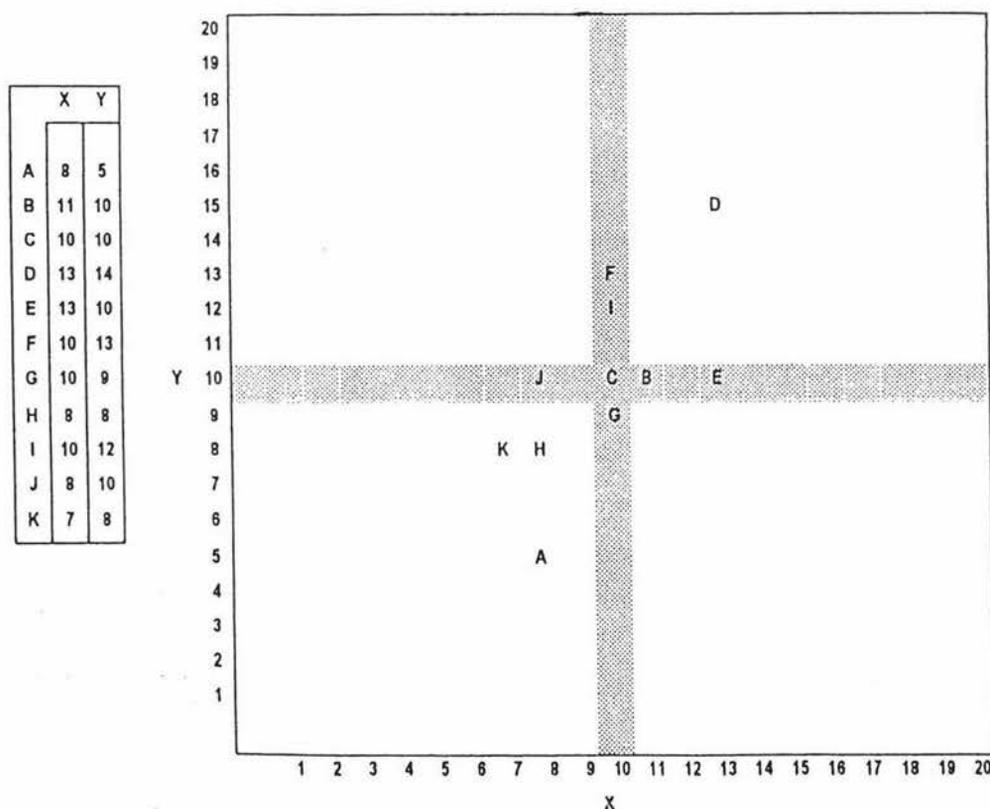
In general, there is clear agreement between the women's and men's results about the state of; a commitment to improve the Maori position, inherited leadership, international knowledge and skills and a results orientation. The women's results are more concerned than the men's results, about the state of Maori knowledge and skills and Maori cultural integrity. A significant trend between the gender and overall results graphs is visible. There are specific variables consistently gravitating toward the centre or between quadrants. This trend is most visible for achieved leadership, group acceptance and personal qualities.

Age Group Results

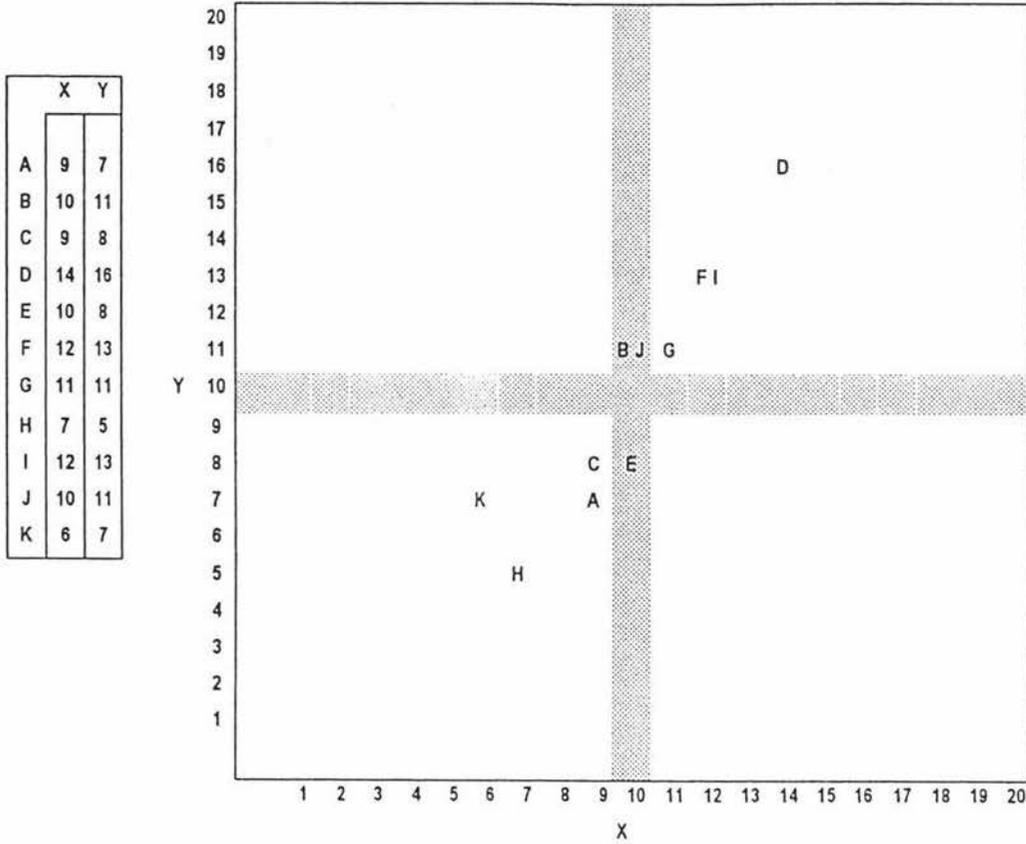
Displaying similar trends to both gender and overall results, the age group results show that a commitment to improve the Maori position is comfortably placed in the maintenance quadrant. For the 35 and under age group, Maori knowledge and skills and Maori cultural integrity border on crisis. Essentially, this group does not appear convinced that these leadership variables are being demonstrated effectively. This was reported by the women's results also. In comparison, the 36-50 and over 50 age groups have positioned them comfortably in the maintenance quadrant. However, the over 50 age group gives more importance to Maori knowledge and skills than the other age groups. Furthermore, they consider that Maori Educational Administrators do display good performances with respect to Maori cultural integrity. Both the under 35 and 36-50 age groups are not so convinced.

In respect of the trivia and overkill quadrants, inherited leadership, a results orientation, and international knowledge and skills are thought to be receiving too much attention or should be completely dismissed. This trend is consistent with the gender and overall results. Borderline variables include personal qualities, loyalty to the group, and group acceptance. They appear to hover between quadrants or are attracted to the centre of the graphs. Generally, they are not considered important, however, they receive significant but perhaps unwarranted attention. The 36-50 age group differ slightly by positioning the personal qualities variable at the periphery of the maintenance quadrant. Even so, the other age groups indicate too much attention is being given to this. With this in mind, its borderline placement in the 36-50 age group graph may be indicative of this general perception.

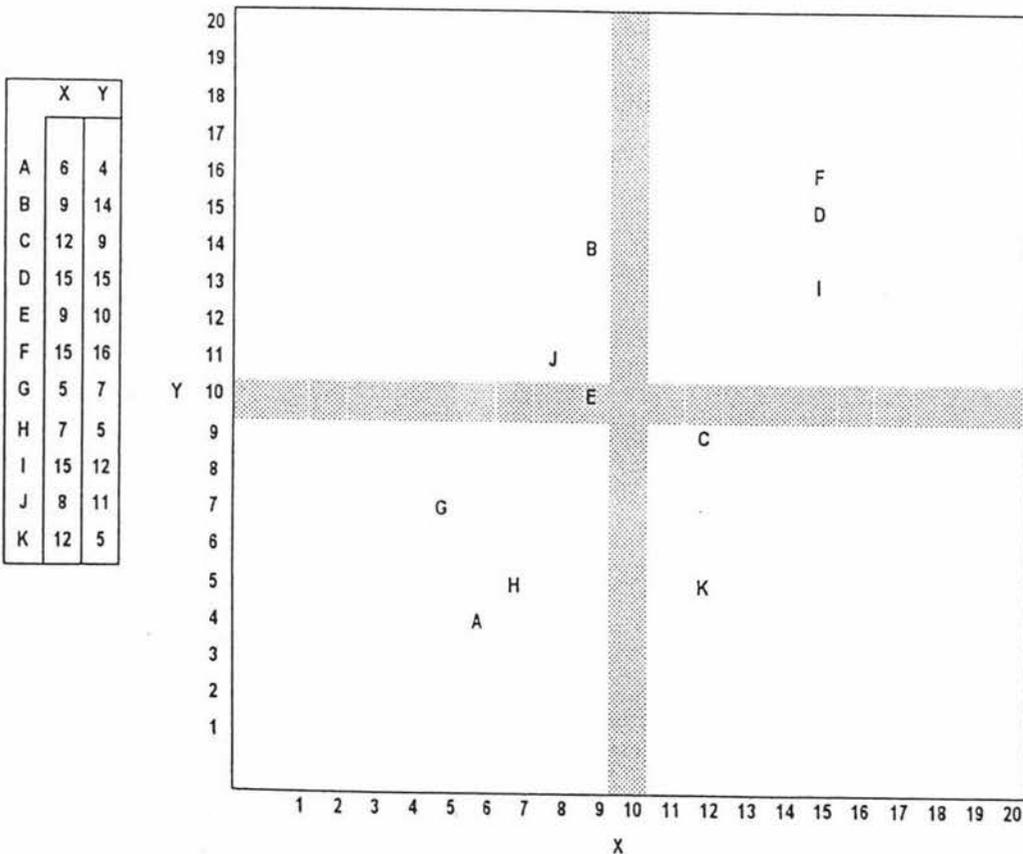
For the 35 and under, and 36-50 age groups, the crisis quadrant has two other variables poised on its boundary. In comparison, the over 50 age group has them well positioned in crisis. Both achieved leadership determinants and a Maori ethical/moral discipline appear unstable. According to the age group results, Maori Educational Administrators should be concerned about their performance in respect of these variables. Generally, the over 50 age group results expect Maori Educational Administrators to significantly improve their performance with achieved leadership and a Maori ethical/moral discipline. This is recognised by the other age group results despite their borderline location. The 36-50 age group believes that Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity are being dealt with effectively. However, the below 35 and under age group is unsettled about the performance of Maori Educational Administrators with these matters.



Graph 5: Analysis of Results; 35 years and under



Graph 6: Analysis of Results; 36 - 50 years

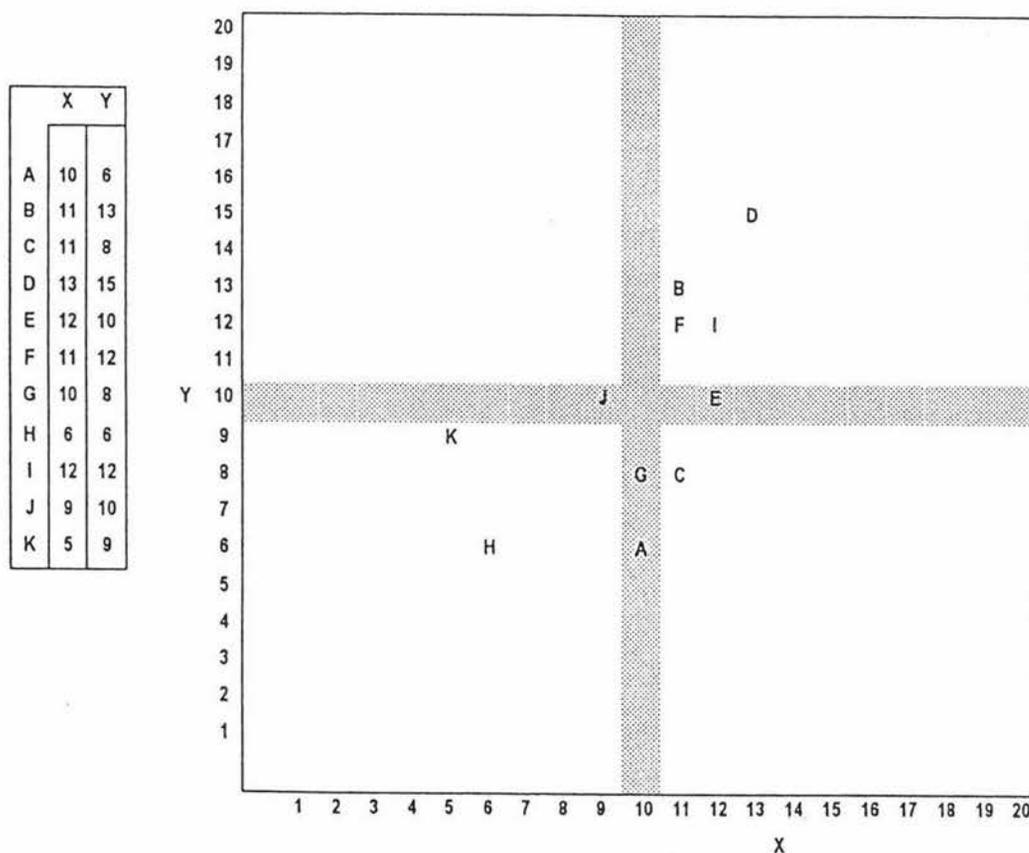


Graph 7: Analysis of Results; 50 years and over

Community Results

Similar to the other results, a commitment to improve the Maori position is expected to be maintained. The Maori cultural integrity variable is also in this situation. The Maori cultural integrity variable is also in this situation. While the Maori knowledge and skills, and achieved leadership variables are in the maintenance quadrant they sit near the crisis quadrant boundary. A sense of urgency about their maintenance is portrayed in here. According to these results, a Maori ethical/moral discipline is on the verge of crisis.

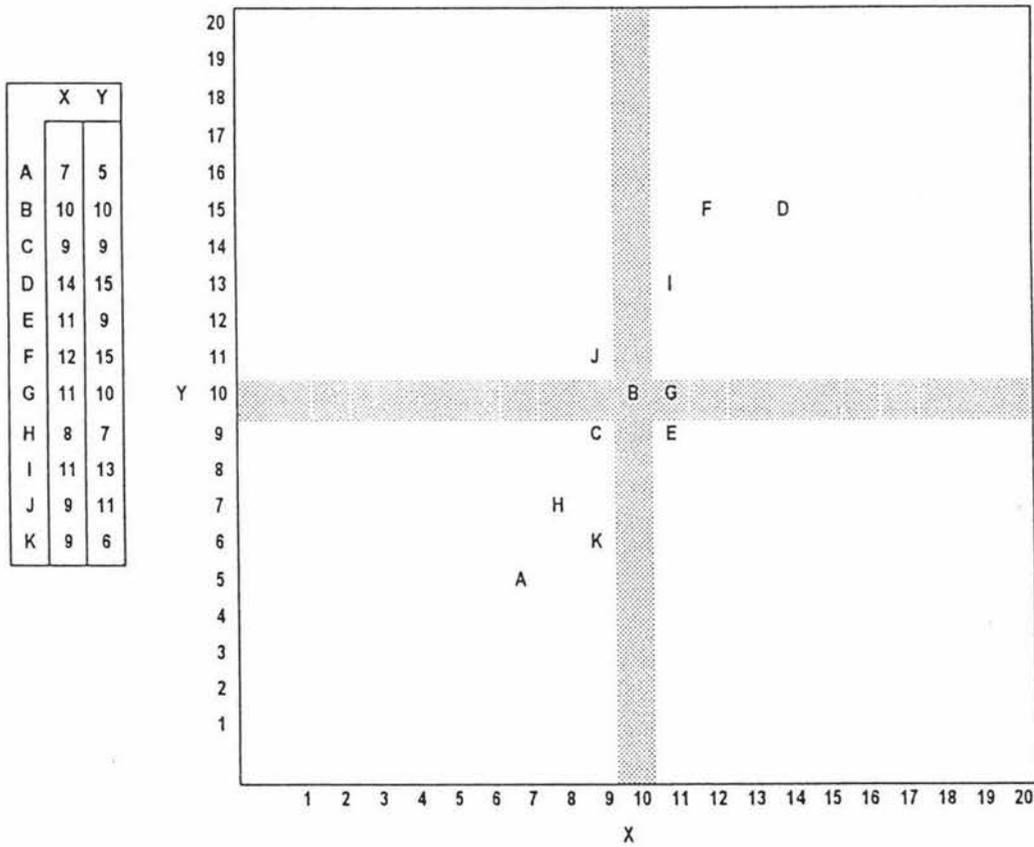
Group acceptance, inherited leadership determinants, results orientation, personal qualities and international knowledge and skills are reported as being trivial or overrated. These variables are considered by community respondents to be unimportant and not performed well by Maori Educational Administrators. Loyalty to the group tends to fall into this category also.



Graph 8: Analysis of Results; Community

Educational Professionals Results

These results further support the status given to a commitment to improve the Maori position by the other groups. According to this group, Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity need to be worked on. The achieved leadership variable is positioned in the centre. Like other variables placed this way, it suggests that its situation is not clear to respondents. A Maori ethical/moral discipline is shown to be in crisis which is similar in some respects to the community results. The trivial and overrated variables are similar to the community results, insofar as, international knowledge and skills, inherited leadership, a results orientation, loyalty to the group, personal qualities and group acceptance are in the same quadrants.



Graph 9: Analysis of Results; Education Professionals

Comparison of Results

There is common agreement among the groups about the general state of these variables, in terms of; their importance and how well Maori Educational Administrators perform them. Similarities are transparent and only minor differences displayed. Differences were generally represented by a just left or right of centre position. Significant trends have emerged from the results along with an unusual feature regarding the international knowledge and skills variable.

In response to similarities, a commitment to improve the Maori position is unquestionably agreed to by respondents to be a significant maintenance variable. There are also similarities in the maintenance category for Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity. The achieved leadership variable is generally positioned on the maintenance borderline or can be found in the crisis quadrant. Both Maori knowledge and skills, and Maori cultural integrity are placed in these peripheral locations. While their importance is generally agreed to, Maori Educational Administrators' performance of these variables is questioned by these results.

The major crisis variable identified is a Maori ethical/moral discipline. It is either clearly located in the crisis quadrant or on the borderline. The other variables that came to rest near this quadrant were; achieved leadership, Maori knowledge and skills and Maori cultural integrity.

The results show that the trivia quadrant is occupied by the international knowledge and skills, results orientation, inherited leadership and group acceptance variables. This feature is consistently found in the results. Essentially, they are considered unimportant and should not be bothered with. However, the position for international knowledge and skills in this quadrant is thought provoking to say the least. In particular, because all groups agreed with this position. Speculatively, it could be argued that respondents focused on variables which respond to their perception of a Maori Leadership identity, more closely associated with Maori cultural imperatives. Further consideration suggests that international knowledge and skills are not perceived to be in crisis or in need of maintenance by Maori Educational Administrators. This may be expected to be a part of their make up anyway, so little attention is given to this by the majority of respondents.

In general, the most overrated variable was loyalty to the group, followed closely by group acceptance. Accordingly, it is believed that too much effort is wasted on these matters.

The hovering phenomenon of variables either left or right of centre is indicative of the minor differences found in the results. This phenomenon suggests a number of possibilities. Firstly, respondents may be unsettled about how well Maori Educational Administrators perform these variables and their importance. Secondly, a dilemma may be emerging which is characterised by uncertainty about the general state of Maori Leadership in Education. Thirdly, the variances displayed by the location of these variables is not polarised, therefore, respondents may accept that something should be done about them but they are unsure what is required.

For example, the variable may appear to need maintenance or urgent attention, however, its importance is not clearly understood which makes it difficult to determine, one way or the other. Similarly, the variable may seem trivial or overrated yet its importance may warrant further consideration. The characteristics of the central area of the graph at its origin is well illustrated by the graphs produced except for the over 50 age group which displays a more decisive spread.

Conclusions: The Face of Maori Leadership in Educational Administration

Recapping on the literature review, it was proposed that Maori Leadership in Educational Administration functions in a diversity of Maori realities. Within these contexts, exists a number of Maori Leadership variables but their significance and relative performance is influenced by the balance of power and control between Maori and Pakeha. This situation is the result of historical events accentuated by a tension between the ideological positions of *tino rangatiratanga* and *kawanatanga* which in turn affects Maori Education outcomes. A marked transformation is necessary and requires quality Maori Leadership. It follows, that gaps may exist in teacher training and personal development. These gaps can be addressed with Maori Education specific courses which undertake to improve Maori Leadership within the diversity of Maori realities.

The research results for the focus group interviews and questionnaire survey highlight a range of matters which can be summarised as follows... If there is one leadership theme constantly raised, it is a sustained commitment to improve the Maori position. This aspect, more so than any other, is offered as a high priority variable based on references in the literature and the research results. While its importance is enhanced by these findings, the research indicates that it is not performed well by Maori Educational Administrators. Similarly, Maori knowledge, skills, cultural integrity, ethical and moral discipline are described as important but performed poorly. One of the features this reveals is the opposition of Maori Educationists towards Maori community expectations which are perceived to be unreasonable. Consequently, it is wrong to assume that all Maori Educationists are committed to improve the Maori education position according to an identified Maori community agenda. Nevertheless, for some Maori Educational Administrators such expectations are unavoidable and require response strategies.

Achieving the objectives of a Maori education agenda is made more difficult by the conformity required of Maori Educational Administrators to a government education agenda which is controlled by a set of rules that are contrary to those of many Maori Communities. This reveals the deep structure interplay in the very nature of power as local narrative tries to find its way in the shadow of the dominant metanarrative. It is characterised by Maori Educational Administrators who find themselves entangled in ideological conflict as they attempt to reconcile local and national demands. Another feature is revealed by Maori Communities resisting the metanarrative and insisting that Maori Educational Administrators operate within their local narrative. The narrative of *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* are understood by these social groups to be significant in their lives, therefore it remains a fundamental source for improving their position.

It legitimates their reality and maintains the integrity of a conceptual framework, they believe will advance their thinking and practices. Consequently, the metanarrative expressed by governance is contested as their local narrative is primarily used to advance their ideas. In this environment, the balancing of dual responsibilities is likely to be an unreasonable expectation. Feedback from Maori Educationists in this study implies that increasing unreasonable demands of both government and Maori Communities are inevitable if the ideological conflict between governance and self-determination intensifies.

In this respect, sustaining a commitment to improve the Maori position according to a Maori community agenda is very trying, to say the least. It follows, that Maori Educational Administrators are prone to errors of judgement in this regard because they fail to recognise, nor were they trained to do so, the existence of this subliminal state and its influence on their thinking. Given this predicament, it should not be surprising that many are ill-equipped to respond effectively to government education policies for Maori and a Maori community self-determination agenda. At best, they may have acquired knowledge and skills through a trial and error process as a consequence of unexpected situations which have challenged their comfort zone.

In the surveys conducted, most respondents primarily associate Maori Leadership (no matter what the context) with birthright, tribal knowledge and relationships, mana and achievements. However, inherited leadership determinants do not rate highly according to the questionnaire survey results. Te Reo Maori competency, tikanga understanding and application are expressed as core requirements of Maori Leadership. Other knowledge, skills and qualities are offered but they are not as pronounced. In a sense, this perception restricts the Maori Leadership debate because its framework does not include other global characteristics. Yet, simple observation reveals that Maori Leadership does not appear in a marae context only nor is it unable to evolve while maintaining a sense of continuity. If something has been learnt from the feedback, it is the uncertainty about the general state of Maori educational leadership demonstrated by the unsettled responses about Maori educationist performance from Maori community respondents. Many believe that something should be done but what and how is considered more difficult to grasp.

However, a need to understand the dynamics of Maori social organisations and their leadership platforms is mentioned. An understanding of Maori Communities and their views of the world, and knowing how to facilitate their education agenda is strongly recommended also. With this in mind, it is not surprising to learn that Maori Leadership is described by Maori Communities to be their prerogative. In addition, extending the matter to include an understanding of the dynamics of New Zealand wide social organisations and their legitimated leadership platforms is pointed out. In a sense, a knowledge and application of Maori and Pakeha social etiquettes is considered necessary to function effectively in Maori and mainstream education forums.

This raises questions about the relevance and application of Educational Administration Theory (Chapter Three) in New Zealand's Education System. International Educational Administration Theory can be described as a metanarrative which overshadows the local narrative of Maori Communities. While this metanarrative may provide useful ideas, it should not be pronounced as the last word on the matter. This thesis identified other realities which do not readily fit. It has been argued that there is value in reflecting on the ideas of Maori Communities about what Maori Educational Administrators should be doing from the basis of local narrative. Consequently, Maori who pursue an education career would study the face of Maori Leadership in Educational Administration. If this argument is accepted then Educational Administration Theory will respond to the complexities expressed by the narrative of Maori Communities. Furthermore, it is conceivable to extend this, to include all Educational Administrators working in New Zealand's education institutions.

Whether in Maori or English, communicative effectiveness is expected. This message is shared by Maori community and educationists alike. Sharp literacy skills are expected, in particular, listening to messages not words and information-sharing. This generic knowledge and skill base is revealed as a fundamental requirement for not only Educational Administration but also for Maori Leadership.

Good management and administration practice is not considered an optional extra. Along with bilingual education experience they are perceived to be basic requirements. Following the tenor of the research results, the balance between managerial and instructional leadership responsibilities is conditional on its contribution to improve the Maori position. For Maori, arguments about the imbalance of managerial and instructional leadership responsibilities serve only to compound the difficulties they must deal with anyway. In this mood, such debates are reduced to much of a muchness. Essentially, Maori Educational Administrators who are intent on improving the Maori position will add this concern to the array that already exists. With this in mind, being conversant with Board of Trustee administrative processes and educational responsibilities, the distribution of resources to support a Maori community agenda, and dealing with Pakeha backlash and expectations for Maori were typical issues raised.

These are valid reasons for recognising, acknowledging and responding to Maori Educational Leadership in a more systematic way. The implications for teacher training, training for Maori members of Boards of Trustees, Maori school communities, Maori Educational Administrators, and others demand a mindshift away from a governance conceptual framework for improving the educational position of Maori. Maori Communities should create opportunities for the development and continual improvement of options which make sense to them.

Educational courses of this nature may better serve Maori people by focusing on the development of Maori Leadership in education within educational forums which are valid to the communities concerned. This conceptual shift encourages, for example, teacher training courses which are geared to develop graduates that will be welcomed as educational leaders for the Maori Communities they choose to work with.

It is naive to assume that all Educational Administrators who claim to be Maori will want to pursue this pathway. Being realistic, many will not. If it is accepted that Maori peoples do not think or behave in the same way, then there are likely to be Educational Administrators who are Maori yet have no desire or commitment to improve the Maori position according to the agenda of any Maori interest group. This should be revealed. Social etiquettes which encourage the declaration of assurances between Maori Communities and Maori who are likely to be encouraged to hold educational leadership positions are significant here. It may demand a rigorous scrutiny of our conjecture to ensure that a shared commitment does exist. Maori Educational Administrators and Maori Communities may choose to consider that acknowledging incomparability does not require permission nor is it a crime. However, the act should not seek to cancel relationships which exist for other reasons. For example, tribal members who choose not to participate should be recognised accordingly. However, their ethnic relationship cannot be denied but access to community resources may become severely restricted. Eventually, the questions must be asked... who benefits from the relationship? ... what will the benefits be?... why are the benefits significant?... how will the benefits be distributed? These arguments further the need to identify the variables and clarify the goals that Maori Communities look for in Maori Leadership.

By reflecting upon the perceptions of Maori respondents in this study, a picture emerges of Maori realities in which governance is being contested by self-determination practices. Its condition is revealed in the examples that follow which feature the practices used by these Maori principals.

To begin, respondents' comments indicate that Maori knowledge is relevant to the study. Its affect on their thinking and decision making suggests that its characteristics are not entirely unique. Although there may be fundamental differences between Western and Maori knowledge frames of reference, it may be prudent to avoid presuming that Maori knowledge does not display characteristics associated with scientific knowledge. It cannot be ignored that methodology is used to advance Maori knowledge which is not entirely arbitrary. In summary, there is process. In general, most individuals and groups tend to use knowledge they are accustomed to. For these respondents, Maori knowledge is accepted as part of the knowledge pool which contributes significantly to their thinking and decision making processes. It confirms and sustains their sense of reality.

" Is there a collective understanding of tikanga?... how is it demonstrated in our behaviour?... Perhaps all the different views should be gathered to formulate some form of collective consensus of how we should operate..."

" Everyone's tikanga is actually different although there are some understandings that people share "

" It is important to go to our kaumatua and ask for advice because that is a strong link to the whanau. It is a proper thing to do in a family school. "

" Hokia nga korero ki te wahatai, ki te reo o nga matua tupuna..."

A certain amount of pragmatism is revealed by other comments. In other words, doing what can be achieved which is at best an estimate and open to further scrutiny for the purpose of advancing upon what is known. This does not discount knowledge derived by other means but welcomes options for consideration, particularly when it assists the preparation of useful strategies. These responses indicate this;

" You don't necessarily play by the book, it does not always provide the best way to do things. You need to change to suit the situations that come up with the hapu and the school."

" You need to use the resources available and harness the curriculum of the local community."

What constitutes Maori knowledge is relative to their beliefs, values and customs in accordance with the schemes and dispositions generated by their history. As a consequence, respondents describe strategic practices which respond to the practical sense of their environment rather than to strict rules. These examples accentuate this point;

(A) " A lot of my discipline, leadership and responsibility came from my upbringing with my tupuna and that was the strongest influence through my whole life. Quite often also looking at the social aspect of children being neglected, sometimes made me wonder whether or not I should have been a social worker rather than my current position, being a tumuaki (principal)... You learn to look at the community as a whole, you need to look at people as a whole... This has been me for the last forty years. With me its not knowing Tauwi ways of doing it, you perceive how someone will react so you can resolve it easier."

(B) " The school is more a part of the hapu than the hapu are part of the school . So the leadership within the school is actually an extension of the leadership of the hapu... It makes it much easier to relate to my whanau. Its easier to communicate, if we do have some differences. You acknowledge the hapu leadership , take advice from kaumatua and go to the marae. It would be hard for someone not from here. Its easier because I was brought up with the people here, even though I have been away for thirty years. It's the land that's the key, without it there is no key. My connections would not be strong. Having a turangawaewae and knowing it's here. "

(C) " It is not the role of the principal to hold an ideological position. The role and responsibility of principal is pretty straight forward, you have the Board of Trustees with your job description, your roles and responsibilities. Where ideology comes into play is in how, is in the implementation process because if your position on education and how it should be implemented is in conflict with your Board or community, you have a problem. "

(D) " I like to keep good contact with my staff and be visible to them. You need to keep close to both formal and informal leaders in the school. They influence situations. I tend to say what I mean and mean what I say. I like getting to the point. I have 47% Maori in the school but its their socio-economic disadvantages that influence my approach. I have a concern for the learning of all children in the school, as a principal I'm accountable for that. It is the main motivating ethos that drives me. I lead from the front and just do it. This would not work at school (x) or school (y) . They have larger Maori rolls and have close links with the local Maori community. A cultural leadership is important for them. In this school, socio-economic disparities show up the most. "

In each example, different practices are described but, without exception, they are the result of social observations and adaptation to circumstances these principals deal with. While they are Maori, they do not share the same experiences. Consequently, their personal understandings and experiences of being Maori are likely to be different.

For examples A and B, cultural imperatives are integral to their thinking and decision making processes. This is illustrated by the value descriptions given to knowledge imparted by elders (as repositories of literacy and guardians of knowledge) and references to mana whenua, whanaungatanga and whakapapa. In example B, whanau and hapu social groups are acknowledged along with its leadership. The maintenance of social relationships and tupuna knowledge are important in these examples. Respondents A and B accept the norms of their respective Maori Communities and behave accordingly. In these cases, the Maori community are active participants in school affairs and the principal is actively involved in their educational agenda.

In contrast, examples C and D concentrate on accountability to school structures and rules. These respondents play down being Maori and give more attention to other matters. This is illustrated by references to the Board of Trustees, principal role and responsibilities, and the school's educational purpose. In example C, it is argued that the principal should not hold an ideological position. The principal does what the Board of Trustees requires, without question. In such cases, the principal's opportunity to raise moral and ethical issues may be severely restricted where it conflicts with the Board of Trustees. In this example, strictly following the rules provided and not upsetting the status quo is inferred to be the best practice.

Example D notes a high Maori pupil count but adds this to the general school disparities which are described as socio-economic. While Maori represent the largest group in this predicament, it is not accentuated here. Although, the principal's focus on all children's learning has included a questionnaire to ascertain whether there is support for a bilingual unit. Furthermore, the principal maintains good contact with staff and monitors their influence on situations. The principal's behaviour is associated with being well organised, honest and active. This principal argues that in schools with high Maori student rolls a Maori cultural leadership is important. However, it is not considered appropriate in this situation.

This analysis infers that Maori Educational Administrators will eventually adjust their practices when responding to the expectations of social groups that most influence the school's management and curriculum structures. These social constructs provide the means, at the school level, for distributing power and control based on rules that guarantee compliance to governance imperatives. The interaction among interest groups is illuminated by the strategies they use to improve their position.

Ideological conflicts are minimised by majority consent to these forums thereby legitimating their decisions in the best interest of the school and its community. Without effective advocacy, minority Maori community groups are out manoeuvred. In the survey results, Maori community respondents expect Maori Educational Administrators to advocate on their behalf. However, Maori Communities should not place Maori Educational Administrators into situations that compromise the integrity of their positions. Yet, it is understandable because many of them expect Maori who hold these positions to work primarily for their benefit. Whether a Maori Educational Administrator agrees to participate or not, a sense of belonging is still demanded and expected. This may account for Maori community expectations of Maori Educational Administrators with whom they identify.

" The underachievement among Maori pupils was often blamed on the children because they came to school culturally deprived. The teachers' areas of incompetence often went unchallenged. My efforts to include perspectives I was familiar with as a Maori were questioned. Teaching Te Tiriti o Waitangi from a position of the cheated person, deviated too dangerously from the status quo. Redressing historical myths cast suspicion on my professional integrity. " (Yvonne Raureti-Carson, cited in Mana Magazine No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993:96)

With this in mind, it can be argued that the frame of reference for Maori Educational Administrators does have unique features which are not accounted for in their training or personal development programmes. Much of what Maori Educational Administrators know, in this respect, is acquired through sink or swim experiences which for some can be very unforgiving. They are not trained to work primarily for the benefit of Maori Communities. Nonetheless, intuitively, many of them know they will confront such expectations. Likewise, they are generally aware that strategies are not readily transferable from one situation to another. School communities are not homogeneous. Similarly, neither are Maori Educational Administrators or Maori Communities.

" Assumptions are made that they should know that things are done a certain way. "

" Good leadership by a tumuaki (principal) breeds good leadership in the classroom and the way teachers deal with children and the community. Good leadership breeds good attainment by students. "

" I can only lead in certain things sometimes I must follow. "

" Traditional leadership is not doing it. The ideas might be important still but... our attitudes and expectations are changing. Youth is not a prerequisite for leadership neither is age. It is gained by the fitness of the person in the context they are faced with. "

" Communities have different expectations of Pakeha and Maori principals but there is an overriding expectation of what a principal will be. In many cases the expectations are extremely conservative. But how the principal should respond is a throw back to the old colonial style. "

" With the push toward these other Maori initiatives, strategies that are going at the moment, it is imperative that competent Maori educators who are knowledgeable and experienced are available to deliver. "

Maori Educational Administrators are susceptible to criticism as they try to negotiate the space between governance and self-determination positions where Maori community imperatives and employee responsibilities converge on one another. The strategies required to manoeuvre effectively demand acute social observation skills and regular practice. Leadership practices that are valid in Maori forums may require sharp adjustments when negotiating governance oriented systems. Perhaps, the difficulty for Maori Educational Administrators is not realising that these situations exist but how to operate successfully within them.

" Having been brought up in a family of teachers, I drifted into the profession motivated by a belief in equal opportunity for all. However, for me, all the altruism and challenge was forgotten amid the stress and the unrealistic expectations placed upon those of us who were Maori. I exited without regrets. " (Yvonne Raureti-Carson, cited in Mana Magazine No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993:96)

It is possible that certain realms may exist where bringing these leadership approaches together is not useful. Different systems require different approaches and different skills. Unreasonable leadership expectations of Maori Educational Administrators by Maori Communities and education agencies releases the danger of mediocrity being encouraged inadvertently in two realms rather than excellence in one. These findings suggest that it is not impossible for Maori Educational Administrators to function effectively within these parameters but the demands and associated expectations should be well understood.

When these realms are brought together, it exposes a utility model of leadership. Essentially, a model featuring two fundamentally different types of leadership which may not be compatible or desirable in one person. The general view is a broad educational leadership knowledge and skills with Maori knowledge and skills appendaged to this. However, the expectations of Maori Communities, cited in this study, require broad Maori Leadership knowledge and skills with complementary educational knowledge and skills. It is relevant to question whether it should be approached in this way or needs to be reconsidered. Education environment variations are full of social, political, demographic and geographical complexities which cannot be responded to with an inflexible model of Maori Leadership in Education.

Social variables include the changing characteristics of Maori social organisations within urban and rural settings. Demographically, the Maori population profile suggests a need to prepare for increased Maori student numbers in some form of education. While, socio-economic disparities and equity issues will continue to be debated. Unquestionably, the country's present political situation will also be fuelled by Maori individuals and groups from all sectors seeking to advance their sense of self-determination.

If the goal is to protect tino rangatiratanga then Maori Communities may need to look outside the present education system and no longer depend on Maori Educational Administrators who must confront its sensibilities. A flawed assumption may only be maintained by placing a self-determination agenda into the care of governance oriented structures. Governance is not about promoting Maori self-determination.

" Despite my disheartened feelings for teaching, I am hopeful that kura of the future will be kinder to Maori teachers who, hopefully, will not have to draw on reserved energies to see our children through their schooling. " (Yvonne Raureti-Carson, cited in Mana Magazine No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993:96)

In situations where Maori Communities are skilled and involved, if not in control, in education decision making forums, the potential for advancing a self-determination agenda is increased. However, this is not the norm and does require further movement by New Zealanders who may find it objectionable because consent implies a redistribution of power and authority and the recognition of Maori imperatives into the deep structure of New Zealand society's thinking and decision making processes.

In the light of this, Maori Educationists should seek to understand the positions of Maori Communities and to be clear about what they (Maori Educationists) can actually do. It is important that they recognise their competence, identify their personal development needs and be cautious about exceeding what is practically possible given the circumstances they must contend with. Remembering that within known circumstances the rules of interaction are not difficult to negotiate. The test begins when unusual circumstances occur which require them to question what should now apply and respond effectively.

" I was plagued with guilty feelings that I too reinforced our children's failure, simply by being a product of a teacher training which ignored the value of Maori. The knowledge valued by a Western world took precedence over all else. Maori knowledge was seen more as a curiosity than an essential and allowed only as an indulgence, if time slots after those accorded to reading, writing, and 'rithmetic (3Rs) permitted. Maori was an elective, thrown in with other hobbies, like sewing, knitting, aeroplane modelling and others." (Yvonne Raureti-Carson, cited in Mana Magazine No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993:96)

The credentials of Maori Leadership, not only in education, are surely changing. In this transformation, Maori Communities and their leadership forums should formally communicate their realities to each other. Expressing these realities, its conditions, rhythms, negotiables and non-negotiables, rules and survival strategies may provide a clarity to matters often left unsaid. In the transmission of cultural thought and the reception of these messages there is merit in recognising and understanding each other's history, its legacy and its potential implications for the future, in the present.

" We Maori teachers were vents for political sounding off. I cringe when recalling the days of appointing kaiawhina in schools. Some registered teachers adamantly opposed the appointments at the same rate of pay as beginning teachers. They did not have the skills to meet a demand for more Maori input, yet they resented equity in the pay structure! These and many other issues became our crosses to bear and to defend in an environment dominated by others. " (Yvonne Raureti-Carson, cited in Mana Magazine No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993:96)

Conclusion

Given the matters raised by this analysis a new tentative proposition is offered for future consideration. In conjunction with the key points derived from the literature review, these points are now presented;

- By default, international Educational Administration Theory Development has significantly influenced the direction of Maori Education in Aotearoa.
- Within the historical tension between the ideological positions of tino rangatiratanga and kawanatanga, the impact on Maori educational achievement provides evidence of cultural genocide.
- In the light of this, assimilative practices couched in mainstream rhetoric for the nineties will not improve the Maori position according to Maori expectations.
- As a result, a diversity of Maori realities has emerged. They can be described as broad education contexts which represent differing Maori perspectives of the world. This impacts on the dynamics and evolutionary nature of Maori Leadership ideas.
- The Pakeha veto continues to interfere with Maori development overall, as a Pakeha majority still finds it difficult to enable Maori peoples with the appropriate cultural resources, competence and Maori Leadership potential to assume authority.
- Therefore, Pakeha ideals for Maori remain an imposition. The increasing demand by Maori peoples to control their own education is very obvious as they continue the ideological struggle to have the Maori position imprinted into the New Zealand consciousness.
- Given the research cited here, Maori Education requires a leadership that befits the nature of the transformation required.

- The credentials of Maori Leadership are being transformed by diverse thinking Maori individuals and groups who are associated with a multiplicity of social institutions, both Maori and non-Maori. Communicating this diversity to each other should be an integral part of this process.
- Gaps do exist in the education of Maori teachers and administrators. They feature historical, cultural, socio-economic, demographic, political and geographic complexities which influence the strategic practices used by them to function successfully.
- Maori community expectations are generally about Maori teachers and administrators working primarily for their benefit. However, not all Maori Educationists have a desire to improve the Maori education position according to the agenda of Maori interest groups. Therefore, incomparability should be revealed.
- Maori teachers and administrators perceive Maori community expectations to be unreasonable. However, they need to understand the positions of Maori Communities and communicate what they can actually do given the situations they must contend with.
- Without effective training and personal development programmes that include social observations of useful strategies and regular practice, unreasonable expectations by Maori Communities and education agencies may encourage mediocrity in two realms rather than excellence in one. It is, therefore, important for Maori Communities to question, whether it is still appropriate to approach Maori Leadership in this way or consider alternative options.

Maori Leadership in Educational Administration functions in a diversity of Maori realities. Within these contexts, there are Maori Leadership variables which are significant to Maori social groups. However, Maori Educationists are not always well equipped to perform effectively in situations characterised by a tension between the ideological positions of governance and Maori self-determination as expressed by the individuals and groups concerned. This is compounded by very demanding Maori community expectations and the conformity required by education agency responsibilities, which in turn affects Maori education outcomes. Teacher training and personal development programmes that focus on Maori Leadership in Education may improve this situation.

He mata ngaro, He mata tuawhakarere

Maranga ki runga kia mau tonu.

Appendices (1)

Date:

Name:

Address:

**RE: COMPLETION OF MASTERS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION BY THESIS IN 1992
BY BRENDON TE TIWHA JAMES PUKETAPU**

Tena koe

Tena hoki koe me nga tini ahuatanga o te wa. He mihi atu ki a ratou kua mene ki te po, no reira kotahi tonu te korero mo ratou, takoto, moe mai, okioki. Otira ra ano, ko ratou ki a ratou, ko tatou te hunga ora ki a tatou. Tena koutou katoa.

My name is Brendon Puketapu. I am currently completing the remaining requirements toward a Masters degree in Educational Administration with Massey University. I have chosen to complete the course by thesis. My thesis is about Maori Leadership in Educational Administration.

Part of this study involves the administering of a questionnaire and interview schedule. These activities will involve sample groups. This letter notes the issues surrounding the establishment of the sample groups and my sincere request for your participation. In this regard, I would appreciate your responses to the questions noted.

Research Parameters

For the purposes of this study, distinctions are made to clarify the parameters of the research being undertaken. This is necessary because discussions with individuals and groups has highlighted the range of interpretations about how extensive this study could be. It is apparent that this study can involve any Maori who is assisting others to learn or who is looked upon as a leader of a group for educational matters. This could include Kaumatua, Kohanga Reo Kaiako, and Kuia along with Maori Teachers who have leadership roles in New Zealand Education institutions as described by the Educational Amendment Act 1990. These contributions have lead me to the conclusion that distinctions are critical to the management and completion of this study.

These distinctions do not contest the generally accepted meaning of certain words but restrict the range to which these words and their meaning can be applied for this research.

Range Statements

Education	Focuses on education institutions and agencies that deliver services on behalf of the Government.
Administration	Refers to an institution's or agency's structures, processes and procedures for carrying out its functions.
Maori	A person or group that recognises and is descendant from a Maori.
Leader	A person who is recognised by their institution or agency and/or their community as a leader.
Maori Educational Administration	A person who recognises and is descendant from a Maori, and holds a senior management position in their institution or agency.
Leadership	This refers to the knowledge, skills and qualities which describe a Maori leader.
Maori Leadership	This refers to knowledge, skills and qualities which describe a Maori leader.
Exceptional	Describes a leader who has displayed educational leadership that stands out amongst his/her peers.
Maori Education	Refers to quality educational delivery and outcomes for Maori people.

Research Methodology

The research involves a literature review about Maori Leadership in the context of Leadership in Educational Administration relative to international research in this field of study. This will be developed within a theoretical framework that acknowledges the tension between Maori and Pakeha, but more concisely, between Tino Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga.

The issues which arise from this will be further scrutinised by administering appropriate research methods to sample groups. I have defined these as follows:

1. Network Sample
2. Questionnaire
3. Interview
4. Observations

1. Network Sample

This involves asking different people who they consider to be exceptional Maori leaders in education, particularly Maori Education.

Q According to you, who are or were exceptional Maori leaders in education?

Q What is it about these people that leads you to believe they are or were exceptional Maori leaders in education? Please describe your response under the following headings:

Knowledge, skills and qualities.

2. Questionnaire

From the response to the network sample, candidates will be chosen for this sample group. The candidates who agree will be administered a questionnaire about Maori Educational Administrators and what they do. These questionnaires will be analyzed.

Q Can I include your name for consideration as one of the questionnaire candidates?

Q Who would you include in this sample group?

Q Why did you choose these people? *Please provide in-depth details, include address, phone number if known.* Thanks.

3. Interview

From the questionnaire, a smaller sample will be chosen for administering the interview schedule. This will be analyzed.

Q What aspects or questions do you believe should be asked during these interviews?

4. Observation

I may be observing Maori Educational Administrators in different situations, ranging from the classroom, office, negotiating with colleagues, parents and others.

Q What aspects would you focus on these observation times?

My thanks for having read this letter. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions please ignore them, however, I would appreciate this letter being returned, no matter what response you make. A self-addressed envelope is included for this purpose.

Tena hoki koe me te tautoko mai ki aku mahi nei.

Kia ora mai,

Te Tiwha Puketapu

65 Seddon Street

Upper Hutt

Ph: (04) 527-9747

Appendices (2)

Interview Survey Questionnaire (Guide Only)

Focus questions for Maori community groups

1. What do you expect education institutions to do for:
 - you?
 - your tamariki/mokopuna?
 - your whanau, hapu, iwi?

2. What kind of education places do you want to see? Explain.

3. How should Maori Educationists assist for this to happen?

4. What do you believe they are doing now?

5. What are the things you appreciate about good Maori Educationists?

6. What don't you like about Maori Educationists?

7. Do you expect the same from Pakeha Educationists? Explain.

8. How do you know that a Maori Educationist is doing a good job?

Focus questions for Maori Educationists

1. Do you believe that you have an educational leadership role? Explain.
2. Does being a Maori influence how and what you do? Explain.
3. What expectations do Maori community have of Maori Educationists?
4. Do their expectations effect the way you do things? Explain.
5. Do Maori community expectations conflict with your occupation responsibilities? Explain.
6. How do you balance your Educational Administrator role with demands of a Maori community?
7. How does the educational institution, you work in, provide for the needs of Maori children? (What should Maori Educators be doing to improve this).
8. If you were able to establish a course for Maori Educational Administrators, what would you include and why?

Appendices (3)

MAORI LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION Survey Questionnaire

Please fill in the spaces provided below by ticking the appropriate box or completing the details requested. Kia ora.

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Maori | <input type="checkbox"/> | Non-Maori | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | Male | <input type="checkbox"/> | Female | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | Employed in an education position? | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | No | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 4. | What was your age bracket? | - 21 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 21-25 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 26-30 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 31-35 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 36-40 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 41-45 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 46-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 51-55 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 56-60 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 61-65 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | 65 + | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

<p>Prepared for: Data collection toward thesis on Maori Leadership in Educational Administration by Brendon Te Tiwaha Puketapu, 2 Kotuku Street, Whanganui.</p>
--

Section A

1. What qualifications do you have?
2. What is your occupation?
3. What type of education place do you work in? *or* What type of education place are you associated with?

Pre-school

Primary

Secondary

Tertiary

Other (please state)

4. Please tick the context which describes the education place you are associated with.

Maori mainstream

Pakeha mainstream

Bicultural/bilingual

Neither Maori/Pakeha

- Thank you for completing section A.
 - Please refer to the brief instructions provided on the next page.
 - Then complete section B and section C.

Instructions

The following list was produced by the writer. It represents an unprioritized list of Maori leadership variables which may be desirable for Maori Educational Administrators to understand and demonstrate in appropriate contexts.

- A inherited
- B achieved
- C group accepted
- D commitment to improve the Maori position
- E loyalty to group
- F Maori knowledge and skills
- G personal qualities (e.g...charisma)
- H international knowledge and skills
- I Maori cultural integrity
- J Maori ethical/moral discipline
- K results orientation

You are being asked to prioritize this list for two reasons:

- (i) to find out the significance that you give to each of these variables. The key question is; *which of the two variables do you believe is more important?*
- (ii) to find out the order of relative performance for each variable. The key question is; *which of the two variables do you believe Maori Educational Administrators perform better?*

Example: Firstly, compare K with all other letters, then J with all other letters and so on.

(K)	K	(K)	(K)	K	(K)	K	K	(K)	K
J	(I)	H	G	(F)	E	(D)	(C)	B	(A)
	J	J	J	(J)	(J)	J	(J)	(J)	(J)
	(I)	(H)	(G)	F	E	(D)	C	B	A

The sheet marked **Section B** is for (i) and the sheet marked **Section C** is for (ii). Please complete these sections carefully, but promptly.

Importance Score sheet

Key Question: Given the educational place/s you are associated with as indicated on the cover page, which of each pair is more important to you? Circle your choice.
(refer to instruction sheet for the letter given to each variable).

Exercise:

K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K
J	I	H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
	I	H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
		I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
		H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
			H	H	H	H	H	H	H
			G	F	E	D	C	B	A
				G	G	G	G	G	G
				F	E	D	C	B	A
					F	F	F	F	F
					E	D	C	B	A
						E	E	E	E
						D	C	B	A
							D	D	D
							C	B	A
								C	C
								B	A
									B
									A

Section B

Performance Score sheet

Key Question: Given the educational place/s you are associated with as indicated on the cover page, which of each pair is performed better by Maori Educational Administrators, according to you? Circle your choice.

Exercise:

K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K
J	I	H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
	I	H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
		I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
		H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
			H	H	H	H	H	H	H
			G	F	E	D	C	B	A
				G	G	G	G	G	G
				F	E	D	C	B	A
					F	F	F	F	F
					E	D	C	B	A
						E	E	E	E
						D	C	B	A
							D	D	D
							C	B	A
								C	C
								B	A
									B
									A

Section D

This is the final section of this survey questionnaire. You are asked to write down what you think are the five most important Maori knowledge, skills and qualities that Maori Educational Administrators should have; and what international knowledge, skills and qualities they should have. The tables have been provided for you to complete this.

Maori

knowledge	skills	qualities

International

knowledge	skills	qualities

Tenei taku mihi ki a koe e kaha nei kia awhina tenei kaupapa. Thank you for your assistance. It is appreciated. Kia ora mai ra.

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