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Abstract

Five early childhood teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand explored a range of literature to respond to the question: What does literature tell us about Māori leadership and how are our findings relevant to leadership in early childhood education (ECE) in Aotearoa? The process of finding and reviewing literature sources about Māori leadership led us to think critically about how Māori values, concepts, and customs have been diminished or sustained in fields such as education and business. ECE in Aotearoa is shaped by the bicultural curriculum Te Whāriki and underpinned by obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Although education and leadership structures and processes in Aotearoa are overwhelmingly produced within Westernised perspectives, ECE curriculum and practice foregrounds Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing. Through the literature review process, we shared insights and critical discussions that enriched our perceptions of leadership by and for Māori, and of relevance to ECE leadership through shared values. The literature reviewed provided examples from education and business settings where Māori leadership grounded in values of whanaungatanga/ reciprocal relationality originating in Māori traditional beliefs and societal structures has been sustained, remembered, and reclaimed through processes of navigating and negotiating present-day colonised contexts. Literature also provided examples of official programmes and policies that seek to acknowledge and enhance Māori leadership in education.

Keywords: *Māori, leadership, early childhood education, colonisation, Indigenous*

Introduction

Educational leadership plays an important role in improving educational experiences and outcomes. It has also become the focus of close examination in search of effective leadership knowledge, values, and skills that support improved educational outcomes (Hohepa, 2013). Lopez (2020) posits that “leadership has always been wrapped up in systems of power and often reinforces ideologies and practices of the status quo” (p. 12). As reviewers who are also teacher educators, we recognise our responsibility to be alert to issues of power and the privilege in our own thinking when examining literature. Curious to understand more about Māori leadership and how it has been shaped within ongoing colonialism in educational and leadership structures

and processes, our team of five early childhood education (ECE) teacher educators engaged in a critical review of literature about Māori leadership.

We asked the question: “What does literature tell us about Māori leadership and how are our findings relevant to leadership in ECE in Aotearoa?” ECE in Aotearoa is shaped by bicultural curriculum *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education–Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga [MoE], 2017) and underpinned by obligations to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Māori concepts and values are foregrounded in *Te Whāriki* and kaiako/teachers are expected to weave te reo (language) and tikanga Māori (ways of doing) through the everyday curriculum. We were interested in exploring the relevance of Māori leadership to leadership in ECE.

Education institutions and models of leadership have become dominated by understandings from the colonial power, which become normalised through a sort of “cultural amnesia” (Ritchie, 2020, p. 7), a challenging context for meaningful incorporation of Māori concepts and values. As teacher educators with extended years of experience in initial teacher education programmes, we were well versed in the challenges of finding relevant academic resources for bicultural programmes for student teachers. There has been a longstanding issue with availability of appropriate scholarship reflecting Māori worldviews that are authentic and meaningful, for programmes in many areas such as the care of infants and toddlers, the environment, the arts, and leadership. This dearth of literature is slowly being addressed by authors such as Rameka and Glasgow (2015), Williams et al. (2012) and Ritchie and Rau (2010). However, it became clear that we would need to widen our search for sources about Māori leadership beyond ECE to education more broadly, and to business and community. The majority of these sources are anchored in te ao Māori, authored by Māori writers and researchers, and are trustworthy in providing a Māori worldview. Even though the contexts differ from ECE, the intentions, aspirations, and struggles are relevant and provide insights that are pertinent to Māori leadership in ECE.

We next set out our literature review methodology, then present findings from literature highlighting traditional and contemporary approaches to Māori leadership, colonisation influences, and hopeful spaces for leadership in education. We conclude the article with critical discussion about Māori leadership and ECE, considering benefits of researching collaboratively, rupturing some ordinary (Fielding, 2004) understandings of leadership, and noticing hopeful spaces for ECE leaders and leadership based on values that are shared among Māori and ECE in Aotearoa.

Methodology

The aim for this article is to review literature about Māori leadership in contexts of continuing settler colonialism in Aotearoa, with interest in relevance to Māori leadership in ECE. The nature of the review is exploratory, collaborative, and critical (Paré et al., 2015). We sought to explore a range of literature about Māori leadership, including sources beyond our area of interest of ECE. We collaborated in planning the review, searching for sources, and discussing possible themes

and findings. The methodology is shaped by literature review conventions (Student Learning Development, Otago University, 2017) in general, and critical literature reviews in particular (Paré et al., 2015; Snyder, 2019).

Group members searched databases and other sources for relevant literature, using keywords such as Māori leadership, Indigenous leadership, and early childhood education. Some articles were in our collections already, while others were sourced through library databases such as EBSCO Host and Taylor and Francis; Google Scholar and more general Google searches were also used. We have wide knowledge of literature of educational leadership, as ECE lecturers teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate level, including courses on leading teams, organisational leadership, pedagogical leadership, Māori leadership, and leadership for social justice. However, due to the small number of sources that focused on both Māori leadership and ECE, we expanded selection criteria beyond ECE to other education sectors and business contexts.

We contributed to a table of sources with APA references, themes and ideas, key words, domains, and literature types. We collectively put together a summary grid listing the methodology and up to five themes or key points for each literature source, again accompanied by in-depth discussions. We had about 40 sources recorded in the summary grid and still occasionally sourced further literature of interest. Working from the literature abstracts and summary grid, and after much discussion, we decided on four overall themes for the critical literature review through collaborative coding and thematic analysis: traditional te ao Māori concepts and values of leadership; the impact of colonisation on Māori leadership; contemporary te ao Māori concepts and values; and hopeful spaces for Māori leadership.

Findings: Themes in the literature

The four themes that emerged from our reading and discussion are unpacked in the following sections. They respond to the research question guiding this review: “What does literature tell us about Māori leadership and how are our findings relevant to leadership in ECE in Aotearoa?” Although the themes follow a roughly chronological progression, looking back to look forward, they overlap and resonate through each other. Together, they tell stories from the literature of maintaining and sustaining te ao Māori understandings of leadership, navigating and negotiating within contexts of ongoing colonisation in Aotearoa.

Traditional te ao Māori concepts and values of leadership

Hoki Whakamuri, Haere Whakamua—Looking back to look forward.

The whakataukī/proverb above locates a starting place for this part of the article. Hoki whakamuri, looking back at literature sources on traditional Māori leadership was sparse (Hohepa & Robinson, 2008; Katene 2010, 2013; Mathews, 2011; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Te Momo, 2011; Wikitera, 2011). Traditional Māori leadership is grounded in te ao Māori/Māori worldviews: based on whakapapa/

genealogies and Māori concepts and values of leadership that occurred pre-colonisation. These two findings are discussed in this part of the article.

Whakapapa was a significant finding in traditional Māori leadership. Leaders were bestowed rangatiratanga/leadership based on whakapapa, mana, birthright or succession, mainly based on the father's whakapapa (Hohepa & Robinson, 2008; Katene, 2010, 2013; Te Momo, 2011). However, Palmer and Barrett (as cited in Wolfgramm et al., 2016) emphasise that Māori women leadership existed in te ao Māori. For example, Papatūānuku/earth mother is a female figure in Māori cosmogony that connects to whakapapa. Another example is a well-known wahine leader whose iwi is named after her, Rongomaiwahine on the East Coast of the North Island, Aotearoa. Katene (2013) defines mana as power, charisma, spiritual authority, and originating from deity. Mana was bestowed on potential leaders who showed mana enhancing qualities, but mana could also be taken away if the leader became unfit for the role.

Māori leadership can be recognised in an early ancestor, Kupe. Kupe was the first Māori explorer and mighty leader who navigated the great oceans and paved the way for future explorations from Hawaiki through the Pacific Islands to Aotearoa, New Zealand. Kupe travelled through Aotearoa, naming places, and leaving his footprint in the landscape. According to Kelly and Nicholson (2021), landscape is another concept of whakapapa. Haere whakamua, looking ahead, Kupe storytelling provides early cultural narratives of whakapapa for early childhood leaders to retell in the curriculum.

Leaders assigned on waka migrations to Aotearoa were called tohunga/experts, ariki/paramount chief and rangatira/waka leaders. Katene (2010) states leadership roles and responsibilities were collective to ensure the wellbeing and safety of the people by offering incantations, expertise, and knowledge on astronomy, sea patterns, currents, and water and weather temperature. According to Spiller et al. (2015), leaders had to “recognise and cultivate the potential of the people in the waka so that the group will not only thrive on the journey but survive should anything happen to the leader” (p. 17). Leaders recited whakapapa that included connections to waka migrations.

On settlement in Aotearoa, leaders from waka voyages led the new communities to grow and prosper in the new land. Rangatira leaders became “political leaders” (Katene, 2010, p. 4). Ariki leaders continued to have supreme power due to their closest link to ngā atua and they offered spiritual guidance. In support of early Māori leadership, Katene (2013) identifies transactional leadership as a method by which traditional practices were upheld and honoured alongside rangatira, ariki, and tohunga leaders. Tino rangatiratanga, absolute authority over the lands, pā/villages, and taonga/treasures existed and flourished for iwi/nations.

Kaumātua/elders emerged as new leaders to support and guide whānau and with their wisdom and experiences of the Māori language and cultural practices (Katene, 2010), such as waiata, pūrakau/cultural narratives and whakataukī (Calman, 2022). Kaumātua, were pivotal in raising and teaching of the young children while parents worked. Ruwhiu and Cone (2013, p.

27) expressed “intergenerational wisdom” that supported and guided the collected social groups. Intergenerational living was a way of social life and was a mode of acquiring cultural beliefs and practice in this period in te ao Māori.

Another perspective on traditional Māori leadership, according to Katene (2013), “emanated from celestial beings, and heroes like Māui” (p. 10). Māui, according to Ranginui Walker (1992) was the most important culture hero in Māori mythology. He was the pōtiki, the last born of five brothers. In a society where succession was based on firstborn male, his rank was low in the family pecking order. Māui the pōtiki in Māori society is the indulged child. He was known for being quick, intelligent, and resourceful. He was bold, yet cunning and deceitful. He has been described as a trickster of man. Māui slowed down the sun, Tama nui te rā. Māui shares with us the courage and leadership required to make change. He slows te rā, enabling planning and living by the maramataka/moon cycle. Māui did not settle for the “status quo”; he believed in doing something more for the betterment of the whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Māori concepts and values of leadership are findings within reviewed literature foregrounding te ao Māori. Reflections on leadership by Te Momo (2011) from Manu Ao Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Leadership Wānanga explored evolution of rangatira, with Māori academic leaders. Māori cultural concepts identified were mana/status, tapu/sacred, manaakitanga/hospitality, aroha/compassion. Also, Wikitera (2011) identified leadership within the marae context whereby customary processes of pōwhiri, whakapapa, whaikōrero, and pakiwaitara/storytelling are considered. When looking back, hoki whakamuri, these customary processes of pōwhiri can be used by early childhood leaders in the present time, haere whakamua, when welcoming new whānau into the centre. Furthermore, Ruwhiu and Elkin’s (2016) research investigation identified five life energies, whakapapa, wairua/spirituality mana/authority mauri/lifeforce and hau/reciprocity as Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing that influenced traditional Māori leadership. These Māori concepts and values of leadership were a way of life in te ao Māori, a set of behaviours to ensure the safety and wellbeing of Māori communities. Traditional Māori leadership findings of whakapapa and Māori concepts and values are tohu/markers for growing Māori leadership in early childhood kaiako. We now look towards Māori leadership during settler colonialism.

Settler colonialism: Repression, resistance, and reclaiming Māori leadership

The repressive influence of colonisation on Māori leadership was discussed in a number of sources (Barnes, 2004; Jenkins & Morris Matthews, 2005; Ka’ai, 2005; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). As for other Indigenous peoples, the colonial focus on pacification, assimilation, and oppression, as well as land wars and settler laws, has defined settler relationships with iwi Māori in Aotearoa. Colonisation has had an ongoing injurious effect on iwi Māori societies, while privileging the values, beliefs, roles and structures of settler society (Forster et al., 2016; Ka’ai, 2005; Waitere, 2008). The subjugation of iwi Māori resulting from colonisation is raised by Barnes (2004), a

Pākehā graduate of kaupapa Māori education (kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, and whare wānanga). In his research on leadership theory and the practice of two Māori leaders, Barnes (2004) writes, “Since the onset and influence of western colonisation, the power to determine traditional leadership roles amongst various Māori iwi, hapū and whānau has been weakened” (p. 54). Accordingly, explanations of iwi Māori life included leadership filtered through colonial characteristics and discourses contained within colonial ideology (Barnes, 2004; Wirihana, 2012).

Wirihana (2012), whose research involved collating stories of leadership from Māori women, claims that one of the primary objectives of colonisation is assimilation, with education employed as a key mechanism to achieve this aim. Lopez (2020) supports this argument claiming “settler colonialism invaded communities resulting in epistemic violence on Indigenous and colonized people everywhere. This was done through education by destroying the ways of knowing and culture of those they colonized” (p. 4). The influence of colonial education on Māori society is also asserted by Jenkins and Morris Matthews (2005) who view colonial schooling as significant in achieving a “‘civilised’ Māori population” (p. 46). Skerrett (2010) raises another concern about colonial schooling and subtractive approaches aimed at eliminating te reo Māori and assimilating Māori children into the coloniser’s culture. The loss of te reo Māori had implications for Māori leadership, which had traditionally been enacted through Māori language and values (Skerrett, 2010).

Strong patriarchal beliefs central to colonialism have also influenced colonial explanations of traditional Māori societal roles for women and children (Barnes, 2004). Dominant Western discourses that position women as “fragile and subservient” (p. 336) are contested in Forster et al.’s (2016) research. Situating their research in an Indigenous knowledge framework, Forster et al. (2016) employ a pūrākau methodology seeking to decolonise research and challenge prevailing discourses that assign high status to patriarchal, Euro Western leadership. The writers argue that there are “many pūrākau associated with specific whānau, iwi and hapū that depict women in proactive, physically demanding, protagonist and leadership roles” (p. 336). Jenkins and Morris Matthews (2005) also claim that despite the dominance of Eurocentric education, Māori women who had been successful in Native schools did go on to become early leaders in education.

Whitinui (2019) claims “new forms of colonisation ... continue to oppress, alienate and assimilate Indigenous peoples’ ways of knowing within the current education system” (p. vi). This sentiment is reflected by Turton and Wrightson (2017) who suggest that “neo-liberalist reforms have influenced early childhood sector management and leadership practices with emphasis on commercial outcomes, derived ‘from Western white masculine models’” (p. 21), thus limiting who is perceived as a leader, and devaluing approaches that privilege relational and collaborative leadership and that promotes the concept of collectivism (Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013).

Kaupapa Māori is a mechanism through which ideological structures of dominant paradigmatic leadership theory and practice are questioned (Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013). Resistance

is also noted by other authors (Matthews, 2013; Penetito, 2005; Waitere, 2008). Matthews (2013) argues that within Western academy, knowledge has been “in an ongoing contest” that is “waged on an ideological plane around ideas of marginalisation and the validity of knowledge” (p. 22). According to Matthews (2013), a Māori worldview “differentiated Māori, and Māori leaders from others” (p. 23). “Māori resistance and inherent protective factors have sustained Māori practices and beliefs” despite the “long-term deleterious effect on Māori resources, customs and wellbeing” (p. 200) is asserted by Wirihana and Smith (2014). Resistance also underpins Forster et al.’s (2016) call for Māori “[to] remain critically aware of how colonial/ religious/ capitalist/gendered ideologies are internalised into our belief systems” (p. 341). Haar et al. (2019) advise caution due to “the surging interest in indigenous values [particularly] in relation to the promotion of positive leadership” (p. 633) which they suggest can be overshadowed by dominant Western leadership models.

Developing a critical consciousness to resist colonisation is supported by other researchers who advocate for Māori approaches to leadership (Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Williams, 2016; Wirihana, 2012). Tamati (2011) supports the reclamation of Māori values in leadership stating “*Ngā Takohanga e Wha* (The Four Responsibilities of Leadership) seeks to strip away traditionally understood Western structures and notions about leadership, and instead, focus on what really matters – people and relationships” (p. 70). Indigenous leadership, in this case Māori leadership, is about actively engaging in “a legacy of decolonisation” (Whitinui, 2019, p. vi). Therefore, like other Indigenous leaders who acknowledge their relationship with and connection to the landscapes and environments they now occupy, Māori leaders “like great trees, must develop deep roots” (Sissons, 1995, p. 72). Returning to Māori wisdom reclaims mana to present and future leaders (Williams, 2016).

Hoea te waka, steering the waka: Contemporary te ao Māori values and concepts

Navigation and negotiation within complexities are characteristic of many models of leadership from diverse cultural contexts. Contemporary Māori leaders steer the waka of Māori leadership, exerting agency in adapting te ao Māori values and concepts to fit in today’s Aotearoa while advocating for te ao Māori values. Contemporary Māori leaders work across multiple cultures and nationalities while maintaining te ao Māori values. Two aspects of this theme are: core contemporary te ao Māori values and concepts; and adapting Māori leadership in contemporary Westernised contexts.

Contemporary Māori leadership tends to involve a range of leaders with different skills, in contrast with traditional Māori leadership based on status and birthright. Māori leadership has been described as contextual leadership meeting collective needs and getting things done (Hohepa & Robinson, 2008). Williams’ (2016) account of leadership in the eight iwi of Te Tau Ihu o te Waka ā Māui (Northern South Island) describes leadership responsive to past and present contexts of the rohe/area. Leadership attributes such as charisma, communication, and courage combined with

leadership skills that varied according to need; for example, whether leading Treaty Settlement negotiations or cultural revival within the iwi.

In the reviewed literature, contemporary views on Māori leadership co-exist with Westernised perspectives that dominate education settings, policies, and practices. Māori agency and tino rangatiratanga are enacted by leaders who navigate and negotiate inclusion of te ao Māori values and concepts within contemporary leadership. Moves towards meaningful incorporation of Māori concepts and values in ECE leadership are supported by increasing official commitment to partnership responsibilities of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (as discussed in the next theme).

Māori leadership literature addressing contemporary te ao Māori values and concepts emphasises relationships, whanaungatanga, and collective collaboration (for example, Barnes, 2004; Mane et al., 2015; Pfeifer, 2006). In contemporary times, whanaungatanga as networked reciprocal relations has been adapted through collaboration among Māori and non-Māori where “the integrity of all parties is kept intact” (Barnes, 2004, p. 25). Collective collaboration provides a motivating shared vision driving change in education for Māori in today’s world (Smith, 1999, cited in Barnes, 2004). Mane et al. (2015) link whanaungatanga to collaborative learning and pedagogical leadership in ECE, noting that the meaning of whanaungatanga can be diminished when moved into a Westernised discourse. Turton and Wrightson (2017) agree that neoliberalism emphasises designated hierarchical leadership positions in preference to collective approaches characteristic of Māori leadership. In contrast, the ECE community at Te Kopae Piripono (Tamati, 2011) asserts a contemporary model of Māori leadership where all adults and children are involved in leadership. Leaders’ wellbeing based on relatedness through whānau, whakapapa, and whanaungatanga is shown in research with 18 Māori leaders from business, community, political, and marae organisations (Roche et al., 2018).

A range of sources discusses many other Māori values and concepts influential within contemporary Māori leadership (for example, Hohepa, 2013; Kawana, 2015; Ruru et al., 2017). These include whakaiti/humility; manaakitanga/altruism; tāria te wā and kaitiakitanga/long-term orientation (Haar et al., 2019); and taonga/treasures such as whakataukī/proverbs, pūrākau/stories, waiata/songs, and karakia/incantations. In research with five Māori women leaders, five whakataukī express how social connections enable strength and resilience (Ruru et al., 2017).

Māori leadership within education and business contexts in Aotearoa has often adapted to dominant Westernised models within ongoing colonisation. Some literature sources discuss leadership drawing on Māori concepts and values that is successful in Westernised contexts (Spiller & Nicholson, 2017; Tamati, 2011). Official documents aim to guide educational leadership responsive to te ao Māori, with consultation processes involving Māori and with aspiration for “education success *as* Māori” (for example, Ministry of Education—Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2010). Critiques of these approaches highlight power relations in colonised contexts (Barnes, 2004; Hohepa, 2013).

Māori leadership examples from education and business often incorporate Māori concepts and values within Westernised contexts. Ruru et al. (2017) focus on how Māori women leaders negotiate complex leadership roles and maintain wellbeing through attention to cultural values and practices expressed through whakataukī and Māori models of wellbeing. For Wikitera (2011), Māori leadership navigating contemporary political and societal landscapes sits alongside material and emotional travelling realities for Māori negotiating life disconnected from their hau kāinga/iwi home. Kawana (2015) sees Māori leadership as future oriented and responsive to community aspirations.

Successful Māori leadership can involve navigation of Westernised contexts through creative adherence to te ao Māori concepts, values, and practices. Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016) assert that both Māori leadership and servant leadership challenge hierarchical, economically rational assumptions. Studies of Māori organisational leadership link Māori tikanga values with Westernised analytic models such as Self-Determination Theory (Roche et al., 2018) and quality exchange relationships (Haar et al., 2019). Spiller and Nicholson (2017) describe ambicultural governance and management that draw on synergies between traditional cultural wisdom and mainstream commercial approaches.

Reviewed literature sources address contemporary Māori leadership efforts to sustain Māori values, concepts, and taonga. In a colonised society, Māori leadership has adapted through careful navigation of Westernised contexts, steering the waka through challenging times. Kawana (2015) highlights transformational leadership reflecting community aspirations, asserting that leadership is ongoing and everchanging when we weave people, groups, and kaupapa together.

He mahi, he kawenga to te katoa. Everyone has a role and responsibility.

Hopeful spaces

Despite the struggles, Māori have found ways to progress the legitimisation of Māori knowledge of leadership. Through their collective strength, Māori have been able to gain traction and bring Māori leadership to the fore. This section of the findings from literature presents a theme which constitutes hopeful areas for Māori leadership. These areas are potential pathways which legitimate Māori knowledge and ways of being and doing and which foreground Māori conceptualisations and practice of leadership through intercultural collaborations, inclusion of Māori leadership in official documents, and in conceptualisations of pedagogical leadership.

Alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers and researchers offer opportunities to cross borders and to engage in authentic intercultural collaborations (D'Arbon et al., 2010; Fitzgerald, 2010; Frawley & Fasoli, 2012; Hawkins, 2017; Hohepa & Robinson, 2008; Hoskins & Jones, 2020; Mane et al., 2015). One example of intercultural collaboration is a study by Fitzgerald, "a white feminist academic" with several Indigenous women leaders in education from New Zealand, Australia and Canada. Fitzgerald was invited by a group of Māori women

from schools to research their experiences as educational leaders. A key aim was to foreground the voices of Indigenous leaders and to legitimate the cultural spaces which they occupied. Fitzgerald (2010) sought to utilise her own position in academia; “my intention then is explicit—to create spaces for the voices of Indigenous women leaders by mobilising my own position of privilege as an academic and a white woman” (pp. 93–94).

From the onset, Fitzgerald is mindful of the “risky business” of engaging into a space with such marked power imbalances. The Indigenous leaders expressed the value of the collaboration from their perspective; “I don’t know the academic game ... we need help ... we need allies” (Fitzgerald, 2010, p. 94).

Fitzgerald (2010) likens the collaboration between herself and the women leaders to the notion of Bhabba’s third space. According to the author, all participants were able to engage in reciprocal conversations and meaning making in this in-between space and to negotiate issues of power and knowledge. This opens possibilities to disrupt traditional binaries such as coloniser/colonised and us/them and to spur the growth of hybrid theories.

Māori leadership features in recent educational policy and research documents (Education Council, 2018; Thornton et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 2009; Ministry of Education, 2010). These documents raise the visibility and further the conversation about Māori leadership in education. Whilst the presence of Māori leadership in these government publications raises the presence and status of Māori leadership across the education sector, there is also the potential for negative outcomes. Stuart (2016) advocates for vigilance as policy can be oppressive and promote “a universalising of experiences that assimilate all into the one symphony” (p. 146).

One policy and research publication is a report of a major research study, *School Leadership and Student Outcomes: Identifying What Works and Why: Best Evidence Synthesis [BES]* (Robinson et al., 2009). This study reviewed 134 studies and reviews and endeavoured to identify elements of leadership associated with positive learner outcomes. Eight dimensions of leadership were identified as leading to positive learner outcomes. The authors of this study (Pākehā and Māori) take a fresh approach to the positioning of Indigenous knowledge with Western knowledge. They avoid the claim that the eight dimensions are fundamentally Māori but instead assert the dimensions “resonate” with te ao Māori (Hohepa & Robinson, 2008). The research process that they undertook to make this claim is explained in detail (Hohepa & Robinson, 2008).

In a later publication, Hohepa (2013) explains the authors’ intention to avoid a binary wherein Pākehā constructs of leadership are presented in opposition to Māori constructs and rather, justifies the approach taken which was to provide a frame of dimensions inclusive of Māori values, knowledge, and responsibilities. Hohepa (2013) advocates for a two-way dynamic between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews but importantly not at the expense of Indigenous views. The hope is that “Indigenous conceptualizations can contribute just as much to the revisioning of non-Indigenous conceptualization and theories” (Hohepa, 2013, p. 626). Despite the obvious

challenges to maintain the integrity of Indigenous knowledge in official documents, the presence of Māori leadership does raise the visibility and furthers the conversation about Māori leadership in education.

A resounding finding of the *BES* was the importance of pedagogical leadership for improved learner outcomes. Some writers identify a useful alignment between Māori leadership and pedagogical leadership (Mane et al., 2015; Skerrett, 2010). As explained by Skerrett (2010), pedagogical leadership holds potential to further Māori leadership as it is inclusive and distributed and focuses specifically on improving outcomes of learners. This model aligns with the collective nature of Māori society as the leadership roles played by whānau and kura kaupapa are acknowledged. A group of Māori researchers who explored pedagogical leadership in ECE centres identified centres with pedagogical leadership as embodying the Māori concept of whanaungatanga. “Whanaungatanga is understood as a deep commitment to developing alliances and practice that build collective strength, which strengthens the purpose of the collective” (Mane et al., 2015, p. 104).

A pedagogical leadership approach positions all leaders as responsible to support the cultural identities of learners to improve learning outcomes. Pedagogical leadership (as expressed in the dimensions of leadership in *BES*) offers the possibility for Māori leadership to be supported and strengthened as non-Māori leaders are required to be cognisant and inclusive of Māori ways of being and doing and of Māori leadership in their communities. Leaders in Māori education frequently carry a heavy burden in facilitating change, fulfilling their cultural roles and responsibilities as well as working to improving learner outcomes. However, Skerrett (2010) argues:

if this became a shared pedagogical leadership attribute, with the expectation that all educational leaders work as change agents in the same manner, then pedagogical leadership will be the cursor to break through the armour of colonialism in Aotearoa. What is good for Māori leadership is good for national leadership. (p. 48)

Discussion

Through much reading, critical thinking, and discussion, the findings have led us towards some responses to the questions that motivated this literature review: What does literature tell us about Māori leadership and how are our findings relevant to leadership in ECE in Aotearoa? The literature reviewed describes Māori leadership underpinned by Te Tiriti relationships, and Māori values and customs. ECE in Aotearoa is also underpinned by Māori values, guided by a bicultural curriculum that acknowledges implications of Te Tiriti o Waitangi for teaching and learning in terms of “achieving equitable outcomes for Māori and ensuring that te reo Māori not only survives but thrives” (MoE, 2017, p. 3). Māori leadership has organically grown from a long line of whakapapa, with deep roots from the shores of the Pacific to the lands of Aotearoa, sustained and

persisting through colonial oppression aimed at eliminating Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing, and navigated and negotiated in contemporary contexts dominated by Westernised values and structures. The literature reviewed shows Māori leadership to be strategic, characterised by complex webs of relationships and whanaungatanga – people working together. ECE leadership that meaningfully incorporates Māori concepts and values can be argued to resonate with Māori whānau and tamariki (Tamati, 2011) and honour Tiriti intentions of partnership between Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa.

Literature tells us that Māori leadership has been sustained through traditional Māori concepts and values, with particular emphasis on the importance of whakapapa (Katene, 2010, 2013; Matthews, 2011; Ruwhiu & Elkin, 2016; Te Momo, 2011). Examples of leadership in the literature showed Māori tenacity and determination to hold tight to Māori ways of being, doing, and thinking through leadership aimed at meeting collective needs and getting things done (Whitinui, 2019; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Leadership was framed within recollections of how ancestors led whānau, hapū, and iwi in contexts of survival and persistence.

Speaking back to the effects of colonisation (Battiste, 2000) was signalled in the reviewed literature by Māori refusal to be limited by colonial discourses of leadership. Marsden (as cited in Royal, 2003) suggests resistance is created when imposition comes from above and this has been the case for iwi Māori. Reclaiming Māori knowledge and customs is also evident in literature exploring contemporary leadership that employed Māori societal processes such as karanga, wānanga, hui, and pūrākau (Ruru et al., 2017). These customary and innovative processes bring people together, sharing experiences and recording knowledge. Reclaiming is apparent in the way leadership is enacted in contemporary spaces and also future possibilities that can be found in hopeful spaces.

Strategies of navigating and negotiating within contemporary contexts were evident in literature that discussed reclaiming and adapting Māori concepts and values of leadership in contemporary times, envisaged in terms of steering the leadership waka. Literature highlights collective and contextual leadership based in Māori values adapted to dominant Westernised contexts, including ECE settings (Hohepa, 2013; Tamati, 2011). The concept of whanaungatanga is often referred to in this literature in terms of networks of reciprocal relationships and obligations. Initiatives are reported on where synergies between te ao Māori and “mainstream” Westernised thought have been carefully navigated (Spiller & Nicholson, 2017). Hopeful spaces might open pathways for leadership that legitimises Māori knowledge and ways of being through intercultural collaboration, government policy, and understandings of pedagogical leadership.

We have reported our conclusions from stories that literature tells about sustained Māori leadership grounded in te ao Māori concepts, values, structures, and processes; resisting, remembering, and reclaiming in the face of ongoing dominant colonising forces; and navigating and negotiating within contemporary contexts and hopeful spaces of Aotearoa. We now turn to

the second question underpinning this literature review: how are these conclusions about Māori leadership relevant to leadership in the ECE sector in Aotearoa? How can the stories told by literature about Māori leadership influence present pathways for ECE leadership in Aotearoa?

The ECE curriculum document *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) is framed within the bicultural context of Aotearoa and aims to normalise Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing. *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017) claims a vision that “implies a society that recognises Māori as tangata whenua, assumes a shared obligation for protecting Māori language and culture, and ensures that Māori are able to enjoy educational success as Māori” (p. 2). Such a vision demands space for Māori leadership approaches that sustain Māori values, concepts, and customs in contemporary ECE contexts. This vision is problematical and demanding given the colonial history and current ethos of neoliberalism. In addition, the non-compulsory nature and significant privatisation of the ECE sector presents further challenges for the enactment of Māori leadership. Colonisation remains an overwhelming influence shaping structures and processes in education settings. However, inspiration can be drawn from the literature about how Māori have engaged in different contexts to advance Māori leadership. Crucially, the reviewed literature speaks of a willingness of Māori to adapt and move into new spaces, exploring possibilities within settler-Indigenous relations for *doing things the same, differently* (Hohepa, 2013): “Māori ontological practice is fundamentally *relational*. Engagement is everything, even risky engagement. In general terms, Māori always have, and still do, favour engagement over disengagement, and complex relating over simple positioning” (p. 426). Stories of Māori leadership for Māori and by Māori show that Māori leadership can modify taken-for-granted Westernised approaches. The reviewed literature has illuminated the pathway forward to advance the project of Māori leadership in ECE.

Conclusion

This literature review was prompted by the question: What does literature tell us about Māori leadership and how are our findings relevant to leadership in ECE in Aotearoa? Our findings and conclusions were informed by a critical approach fed by our many discussions of stories the literature provided. As early childhood teacher educators, we have responsibility for shaping perceptions of student teachers. We have been enriched by our growing awareness of how Māori leadership approaches have persisted through challenges of colonisation. Our ECE and teacher education structures and processes are dominated by Westernised assumptions; however, through our Te Tiriti relationships, bicultural curriculum, and official recognition of the rightful place of te ao Māori in Aotearoa, hopeful spaces exist to enact Māori leadership grounded in values, concepts, and customs. Māori leadership is characterised by looking back to look forward; by resisting forces of colonisation that would diminish the place of Māori in Aotearoa; by remembering and reclaiming Māori leadership; and navigating and negotiating its place within contemporary contexts and hopeful spaces.

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