fieldwork, for example, the people who previously made a significant contribution to the running of the community's ceremonial centre *(marae)* have now become so involved in the operation of development programmes and associated political activities that they can no longer accept full responsibility for all traditional ceremonies, and, rather than the hosts providing hospitality at life crisis gatherings and other functions, guests are presently requested to organize their own assemblies.[26]

The far-reaching influences of the discourse of development are also evident in the secularization of leadership. When the management committees were first set up tribal committees were looking for local people in the respective areas to take responsibility for the further development of the subtribal organizations. Since few people were confident they could make a useful contribution to the new initiative, even though they held it in high regard, not many volunteered. Community representatives were to be invited instead. The selection of potential leaders of the new management committees was implicitly made on the basis of criteria which reveal the extent to which the new ideology of leadership is running ahead of contemporary circumstances.

Initially a division of tasks was arranged among the people attending the inaugural meetings of the management committees, but in many cases not all communities were represented, usually for practical reasons, and additional arrangements had to be made to ensure a fair representation of all Maori communities. However, it was abundantly clear that the people responsible for the establishment of management committees had some additional criteria of leadership in mind when coordinating preliminary activities of Maori development. Since the main objective of the setting up of management committees was to revitalize the subtribal network by introducing modern models of organization and means of communication, all communities had to be represented in any of the committees, but at the same time tribal representation was not automatically believed to make the new structure of organization operate as effectively as possible. In some cases, particularly in the more isolated rural areas where the local people had little, if any, direct experiences with political interaction with European institutions, attempts were made to involve other people who were considered better

equipped for the tasks to be conducted. Also in other areas people who did not necessarily have established links with the local subtribes, but who were considered to have some tribal connection or who were otherwise involved in Maori community operations at the grassroots level, were invited to participate in the implementation of development.

The kind of people approached to take up a guiding position in the management committees reveals the significance attached to achievements in the European world. Qualities considered necessary for a person to be able to advance development were all based on skills and experiences gained in European sections of society. Particularly people with positions of responsibility in European institutions and organizations were invited to become members of the management committees. This included both, people who had no established links with any of the local communities but only with Maori communities located elsewhere, as well as people whose connection with Maori communities was latent or at least ambivalent, but whose status as Maori was made manifest in the circumstances. By the same token, almost all Maori people with some form of tertiary education were approached to participate in the steering and management of development.

The involvement of people with apparent leadership skills in European institutions was, of course, no guarantee that they were able to increase formal communication and to initiate official negotiations with government and other authorities in order to improve the living standards of the Maori people. Apart from a chronic lack of interest in negotiating with Maori tribes on the part of the government, there followed no significant political initiatives from the management committees, simply because people with leadership experiences in church institutions, trade unions, community organization, or employment corporations did not necessarily understand the dynamics of Maori social practice. They obviously did not fully comprehend the philosophy of Maori development, while they also lacked the ability to mobilize communities for political goals. The best example of changing patterns of leadership concerns two administrators of a Maori development corporation who attempted to point to their experience in European institutions and community organizations, but as far as political vision and the implementation of development was concerned, did not get beyond the stage of having printed visiting cards to back up their leadership status.

The example of the visiting cards of some Maori administrators parallels the illustrations of the

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26 This change in the management of the community's prestigious ceremonial centre is compounded by the need to hire out its renovated premises in order to pay off the debts (cf. van Meijl 1990: 291–296).