

Native Indian Leadership

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This article examines relevant features of leadership in the Native Indian context and applies a model of leadership to some of the valued qualities and behavior of Native Indian leaders as identified by a review of the literature and interviews with three Native Indian leaders. Indeed Native Indian leadership does have some unique features, which are outlined in the article. The results of this study may be useful for further research, for Native Indian education programs (like Ts^ukel, offered at UBC), and for other leadership training workshops where a knowledge of leadership in the Native Indian education context would be useful.

There is a continuing expression of dissatisfaction among Indian people regarding the quality of education being offered to Indian children. This concern revolves around school programs, which are criticized for their lack of relevance to Indian people, for their lack of involvement in design and implementation. Indian leaders are recognizing that change can occur only if Indian people have more meaningful involvement in the total education process. (Kirkness, 1984, p. 1)

The challenge of Indian education is to prepare our young people by equipping them with the knowledge, skills, abilities and self-confidence that will serve them well in the next century. Young people need strong role models to develop their leadership potential. We must continue to believe in the importance of education. We must be hopeful if we are going to impart the same spirit of hope to young people. (Whiteman, 1986)

Introduction

Over the past 20 years a number of changes have occurred in the way Canada's Native Indian peoples' affairs are managed. These changes have resulted partly from initiatives by Native Indian people in establishing their own governments and partly from pressures on the federal government to change what had long been perceived as a paternalistic approach to Native Indian people. A recent initiative was during the 1987 First Ministers' Conference, when one could witness Native Indian leaders from across the country struggling to fulfill their peoples' dreams of self-determination through having Aboriginal rights entrenched in Canada's constitution.

As Native Indian people have taken control of their own affairs, positions of leadership have arisen; more and more Native Indian people are taking leadership roles in many areas, including education. It has not always been possible to fill all educational administration positions with Native Indian people, and consequently there is a demand for leadership training. Programs such as Ts^ukel in educational administration at the University of British Columbia have been developed and draw on explicit or implicit conceptions of leadership. It is here that a difficulty arises: the only models of leadership readily available to trainers and students are

those developed in the non-Native Indian cultures (usually that of North America).

It is frequently asserted that Native Indian leadership is different from non-Native Indian leadership and that non-Native Indian models are not suitable for describing it. What appears to be missing, however, is an examination of what Native Indian leadership is and of the application of non-Native Indian models to Native Indian leadership. The purpose of this article is to describe what seems to be important in Native Indian leadership and to assess whether some aspects of non-Native Indian leadership models are useful for an understanding of Native Indian leadership. In the article relevant features of the Native Indian context are briefly described, leadership in the Native Indian context is examined, and conclusions are drawn about the relevance of some non-Native Indian models of leadership for Native Indian people. Examples from British Columbia are predominant.

Background

One way that Native Indian people in British Columbia are categorized is by linguistic groupings. For example, Shuswaps are part of a larger linguistic group called Interior Salish. There are 17 Shuswap Indian bands in the interior of the province. Shuswaps are only one of the tribes of the larger linguistic grouping. There are 32 such linguistic groupings of Aboriginal people in British Columbia; the groups are further separated by diverse geography. Despite the diversity Native Indian people have many commonalities, including their relationship with nature, the historical relationships with Canada, and the ways that education has affected them.

The five main phases of Native Indian education include (a) traditional education, (b) education by missionaries, (c) residential schools, (d) integrated education, and (e) "Indian control of Indian education." Before contact Native Indian people had their own form of education. The purpose of this traditional education was to prepare the child for whatever way of life he or she was to lead: hunter, fisherman, warrior, chief, medicine man, or wife and mother. Educational methods included experiential learning, observation, and listening. Since 1972 when the Native Indian Brotherhood produced the policy paper *Indian Control of Indian Education*, many band-controlled schools have been established in British Columbia.

In his overview in *Effective Practices in Indian Education*, Coburn (1985) states that Indian education has made tremendous progress over the past 15 years. Hundreds of Native Indians have become educators; curriculum has been developed; band schools have been in operation for years; and new research in Native Indian education has occurred. The changes are the results of concentrated efforts by Native Indian educators to solve the overwhelming problems of Native Indian education. Despite the ac-

complishments, however, Coburn points out that many Indian youths are not gaining an equitable education that would prepare them to become productive citizens either in the Native Indian community or elsewhere. Little is being done to assist administrators and schools serving Native Indian children to overcome these problems.

This point is well documented. Kirkness (1985b) cites recent studies that show that the dropout rate before high-school graduation is over 90%; that Native Indian children generally do not read as well as non-Native Indian children; that many Native Indian children are behind their non-Native Indian peers in age-level placement; that parents feel alienated by the school; and that teachers feel alienated by the community. Coburn (1985) states that at one time it was felt that if the issues of Indian education were presented to schools, it would then become their problem to solve. This approach has not worked so far. Native Indians must also provide the answers. He further states that the answers must come from we who understand the problem best, we who have been there; we the Indian educators.

Native Indian education is currently in a growth period in British Columbia. The growth is seen in the increasing number of band schools in the province, increased programming for Native Indian people, and increases in Native Indian-content curriculum. The growth period is accompanied by the surge to maintain our Native Indian identity and spirituality.

Traditionally, our peoples' teachings addressed the total being, the whole community, in the context of a viable living culture (Kirkness, 1985b). Malloch (1984) makes a similar statement:

In the traditional way of life, people governed themselves largely in accordance with the laws of nature, which had been made known to them as a result of living on the land for generations. At the same time, social order and the survival of the people were ensured through harmony and order not only in the relationships amongst [themselves] but also in relationships between the [people] and the land and the spiritual world. (p. 13)

As has been cited, Native Indian people had a spiritual identity that shaped their lives. Kirkness (1985b) further states that, in spite of the long history of attempts to assimilate Native Indian people, Native Indian people have struggled to retain their identity as Native Indian people and their spirituality. She further states that this attests to our strength and determination and that we have shown that despite all odds we have maintained our identity as Aboriginal people.

Native Indian people once had their own form of education. Today many Native Indian people are "making it" through the existing education system, and this represents another step in their efforts to control their lives. There are more and more band schools in British Columbia that are working to provide Native Indian students with a firm foundation for success. Partly as a result of this process there is a need for Native Indians

in educational administration to fulfill the concept of Native Indians controlling their own programs.

It could be argued that there are advantages to having Native Indian people administer band-controlled schools. For example, there could be more effective communication and a more effective working relationship between the teachers and Native Indian community members if the schools had Native Indian administrators (and teachers). It is realized that the addition of Native Indian administrators in the schools will not solve all the education problems of the Native Indian student population, but it certainly could be a starting point in dealing with many Native Indian education concerns. Communication between the school, staff, and parents is important because once communication lines are open, parents would feel comfortable approaching teachers and becoming more involved with the school.

I provide the above background describing Native Indian education to illustrate the context of Native Indian people's education and to explain how the contemporary situation has evolved. It is in the cultural and historical context that the study of Native Indian leadership in Native Indian education can be appreciated.

Leadership in the Native Indian Context

In discussing Native Indian leadership it seems appropriate first to present some values that form the basis of Native Indian leadership. For many Native Indian people the extended family is important. Most would agree that Elders usually play an important role as the teachers. Two other values can be thought of as significant: cooperative behavior and the greater good of the tribe over individual wants. Another important value is that Native Indian people generally access others by observing actions and behaviors. Through those observations they first access one's characteristics and then judge people by their accomplishments.

Traditionally, Native Indian leaders decided on a course of action through decisions-sharing and consensus of the whole group; failing this they left the decision unmade. Voting was presumably as unnecessary as it was undesirable. If there was disagreement the dissenting leaders and their families and followers could move to another place in the tribal territory and by doing so restore political consensus in both the old and new communities (Higham, 1978). Manuel and Posluns (1974) add, "in a society where all are related, where everybody is somebody else's mother, father, brother, sister, aunt or cousin and where you cannot leave without eventually coming home, simple decisions require the approval of nearly everyone in that society" (p. 7). So generally, traditional Native Indian governments were based on local autonomy and consensus.

The most important positions of leadership in tribes depended on the personal prestige and charisma of the individual. Even when a position as chief was a lifetime office, qualifications for filling the post were primarily

those of personal integrity and honesty, so that respect rather than popularity was the criterion by which Native Indians were selected to lead. Traditionally, chiefs [leaders] possessed authority on the basis of influence [charisma] and continued efficacy. Non-Native Indians understood these concepts to mean power and hierarchy. Many non-Native Indians concluded that chiefs had some mystical but absolute power over other members of the tribe (Deloria & Lytle, 1984).

Europeans viewed Native Indians as inferior in intelligence and therefore without status. No formal institutions were apparent. Native Indian leaders seemed to come and go. One might be negotiating with one chief on one occasion and then be faced with another for no apparent reason (to the Europeans) except that the Native Indian council had designated the new man to speak for them. The Europeans were baffled in their attempts to trace the source of political authority. No one seemed to be in charge of anything. A promise need not even be written down, and there seemed to be no appeal to any formal authority when things went wrong (Deloria & Lytle, 1984). Perhaps the negative statement "too many chiefs and not enough Indians" was derived from those initial encounters between Europeans and Native Indians. The Native Indians watched without understanding as the residents of the European settlements bowed before arbitrary authority with meekness that the Native Indians loathed. They believed that the non-Native Indians had surrendered all moral substance in exchange for security.

The video *I Am an Indian: the Circle of Leadership* (Spiller, Aidan, & Association, 1984) compares Native Indian leadership and leadership of Western society. The people interviewed in the video are Native Indian leaders from across Canada. The interviewees, although representing a wide range of Native Indian peoples, came to many of the same conclusions on the topic of Native Indian leadership. Generally, they agreed that a leader is a person who is capable of directing the people without giving the impression that they are being told what to do—a facilitator. There was agreement on describing a leader as one who does not become separated from the people; the people are seen as the support system. One person said, "A leader does not go into battle alone, he has the backing of his people." Four qualities of leadership were identified: (a) leaders have to be close to the people; (b) leaders serve, rather than boss; (c) leaders inform the people about what was going on; and (d) leaders must have humility.

Malloch (1984) furthers one's understanding of how the Native Indian leaders were traditionally selected. She observed that leaders were not elected or appointed through a formal process, but rather were recognized or chosen inasmuch as other people looked to them for leadership. They showed by example the right way to live and reminded the people of their responsibilities to care for their families and the community. Choices to be

made were often self-evident, emerging from the natural order and the laws of nature. It was the skilled and experienced members, the leaders, who knew how to read the signs that pointed to the right choices. Leaders emerged from among those who demonstrated exceptional skill and understanding grounded in their experience of life and the natural order. Porter (1986) adds, "there was not any campaigning [leaders] were chosen on the basis of their merits and their lifestyles by the people," and "those that became leaders never went after that." It has been said that if some did aspire to that [position], then it was they who should never become leaders.

This view of leadership contrasts sharply with that held in non-Native Indian cultures. The difference between the Native Indian and non-Native Indian view of leadership can be shown by means of a triangle in which the people form the base and the leader the top. In Native Indian cultures the base is up and the people are supreme. In non-Native Indian cultures the triangle is inverted. The base is on the bottom and so the people are beneath the leader; a comment made in the video (Spiller et al., 1984) relates the triangles to the Native Indian view of leadership:

What the Department of Indian Affairs has imposed on us is the non-Indian version of leadership. What needs to be done is to turn the triangle around again. Rather than having a manager at the top telling people how they should go about things, we need to go back to having the people informing the manager of their needs. Our people need to get back to sharing responsibility for their destiny. We need to get back to the interconnected and interrelated way of doing things.

Manuel and Posluns' statement (1974) shows how important the people are to the leader:

It is the people who make or break a leader. If he is giving voice to their souls they endow him with status; if he fails to speak their minds he is forced out, if he encircles the people with confused zeal by running after every concern but their own he may be tolerated but never respected or admired. (p. 142)

Since contact there have been many misunderstandings between Native Indian and non-Native Indian people about each other's leadership. The views presented on Native Indian leadership exemplify the common qualities and behaviors of traditional Native Indian leadership.

Needed: Leaders Who Practice "Native Indian Ways"

How does traditional Native Indian leadership, described by Harper (1979), Kirkness (1985a), Malloch (1984), and Manuel and Posluns (1974) differ from non-Native Indian views? Can we learn from the past Native Indian leaders' characteristics and from the literature about effective leaders, so that we can improve leadership in band-controlled schools? It may be useful to examine one characteristic traditionally attributed to Native Indian leaders, that of wisdom.

Wisdom is defined as knowledge about the band and its people. For example, one needs knowledge about what kind of schools the people

want. The leader must also understand the education authority or school board and their aspirations, the school staff, and (most important), the needs and desires of the students (Johnson, 1985). It is reasonable to assume that Native Indian administrators who are products of similar experiences and environments will relate with greater ease to Native Indian students. Native Indians, by virtue of their own common ancestry, will respect the children and influence them as role models (Kirkness, 1985a). Because Native Indian administrators are positive role models and may have a clear understanding of Native Indian ways and culture, they can legitimize the students' *Native Indianness*, thus building in them a more positive self-concept about being Native Indian.

Native Indian ways and Native Indian cultural values are illustrated in the video *I Am An Indian: The Circle of Leadership* (Spiller et al., 1984). The following observations are presented in the video: (a) Native Indian leaders are selected for their personal capabilities, not for what they say they can do or promise to do; (b) Native Indian leaders are self-reliant and yet can get along with others; and (c) before one can be a leader one must know one's culture. Two important aspects are put forward that have implications for leadership. These are the importance of sharing and the importance of Elders. First, sharing is central in the Native Indian's view; working well with one another is seen to be as important as consensus in decision-making. This emphasis contrasts with that of non-Native Indian society where the emphasis is on competition and accumulation of material goods. Making decisions in non-Native Indian society tends to be based on "what is best for me," often without taking the group or community needs into consideration.

Gue (1971) discusses the conflict many Native Indian children face in the public school system as a result of value conflicts. Gue begins by giving a specific example of this value conflict thus illustrating the need to have Native Indians involved in educational leadership roles in order to pass on Native Indian values, such as sharing:

Statements of the objectives of education usually contain covert or overt support for the value of individualism in life. Guidance and counselling services stress the importance of individual differences and use a variety of techniques to establish the differences. The highest [rewards] of the system are usually given to those who set and achieve high academic goals for themselves. For the Indian child, achieving high academic goals may mean intellectual, physical and emotional separation from his parents, family and culture. This is a high price to pay in a culture where loyalties are still to the lineal group, not to individual success. (p. 29)

Second, in the ideal Native Indian leadership tradition Elders should be included and should stand beside the leaders. The circle is complete if the knowledge and wisdom of the Elders is used. In the non-Native Indian society elders are often put into old-age homes, isolating them from family, friends, and work. The Native Indian Elders are the keepers of the world for the unborn. As one of the speakers in the video stated, "for the

world does not belong to us, it belongs to the unborn, to the children of our children's children" (Spiller et al., 1984).

Berger has worked extensively with Native Indian groups across Canada, the Northwest Territories, and in Alaska. He points out in *North-ern Frontier, Northern Homeland* (1977) that despite the many changes in the lives of the Native Indian people, they still struggle to maintain their Native Indian ways:

There have been great changes in the life of the Indian people, particularly in the last 20 years, but they have tried to hold fast to the values that lie at the core of their cultures. They are striving to maintain these values in the modern world. These values are ancient and enduring, although the expression of them may change. (p. 99)

The resilience of the Native Indian people has been demonstrated again and again in their struggle to retain their Native Indian identity. Elders traditionally were the teachers in our communities. The Elders in our communities still continue to offer their teachings and guidance in this ever-changing world. Berger (1977) again points out that, looking at Native Indian culture from an outsider's perspective, Native Indian ways have changed, but in reality Native people continue to adapt and change, and yet continue to incorporate many traditional ways into their lives:

In the last few years the structure of the Native leadership seems at first glance to have changed. On closer analysis, however, the structure of leadership today can be seen to be continuous with traditional ways. In the old days, Native leaders were chosen for their ability as hunters and as spokesmen in dealings with white men. Today, young and educated (Native people) who have learned to speak English and to articulate their aspirations to the outside world have been chosen as leaders in the contemporary struggle for survival. As leaders, however, the young people look to the Elders for guidance. They seek to blend the knowledge they have acquired through education with the knowledge of the Elders. (p. 99)

Two Native Indian leaders' characteristics, wisdom and using the knowledge of the Elders, could improve present administrators' leadership skills.

By maintaining their Native Indian ways, Native Indian people have resisted and continue to resist assimilation into non-Native Indian culture. Progress in the direction of Indian Control of Indian Education is occurring in British Columbia. In view of the progress it is suggested that a better understanding of Native Indian leadership gained from existing literature and Native Indian leader's views on leadership can improve leadership in band-controlled schools.

Leadership as Seen by Three Native Indian Leaders

Method

I selected a research method that relates most closely to the Native Indian method of storytelling, namely, the unstructured interview. Storytelling is a traditional form of teaching used by many Elders today. There are many different types of stories that include different levels of learning and

understanding. Today Elders teach young people by sharing personal life experiences in the hope that young people will learn from their successes and mistakes. As Pepper (1985) notes, an oral tradition has formed an important part of Native Indian culture. Although stories were, and are, an important part of our traditional schooling, many non-Native Indian people have equated Native Indian stories with European fairy tales. As Archibald (1984) states,

Many educators [seem] to believe that Indian people did not practice an education system that possessed credible depth of knowledge, understanding and viable educational principles.... Contrary to this view is the fact that education systems of Indian people traditionally adopted what is known as a holistic approach. The Elders were the most respected teachers. Important things such as values and higher levels of knowledge about history and environment were told through their stories and private conversations with children. The Elders also undertook a major responsibility in preparing the younger generation for specialized roles. (pp. 6-7)

The importance of the Elders' role is further emphasized by Malloch (1984):

Elders played a vital role in passing on the traditional teachings and making known to the people the laws of living. Children and young adults alike looked to their parents and Elders for guidance and instruction, appreciating that knowledge and experience which they had gained from living through many seasons. (p. 10)

Thus I chose the unstructured interview for a number of reasons: (a) Native Indian people have an oral tradition; (b) the interviewees were Elders; and (c) it was felt that this type of interview would be less threatening. During the interviews the leaders each discussed their life experiences. They highlighted leadership experiences that they felt more people needed to know about. I respected the leaders' wishes; therefore, some parts of the interviews are not reported here because the interviewee requested that they not be included.

Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was tape-recorded. The tape was then transcribed and numbered by line. The responses were then analyzed by dividing them into categories and compared with other statements made by the leaders and with those made in the literature.

Telling Their Stories: The Leaders

The interviewees, George Manuel, Clarence Jules Sr., and Roy Haiyupis provide insights on leadership from the perspectives of local, regional, provincial, or national leadership positions. Their backgrounds and an description of each person follow.

George Manuel

George Manuel,¹ a Shuswap, is a self-educated man. George has served his people at the local, provincial, and national levels. He worked for three years as a researcher in a law office and as a community development officer for the Indian/Inuit Affairs Program in BC. He was Vice-President

of the National Indian Council and has served on several government committees and commissions, including a term as Chairman of the National Indian Advisory Board. In 1968 he helped develop the Indian Association of Alberta. From 1970 to 1976 he was President of the National Indian Brotherhood (now the Assembly of First Nations). In 1975 he was elected President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. From 1977 to 1982 he was President of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs. When he stepped down the chiefs of BC bestowed on him the title of Grand Chief. In 1983 the University of British Columbia named him to receive an Honorary Doctorate of Laws. George received the Order of Canada in November 1986. At present George lives in Chase near his reserve of Neskainlith and is serving a two-year term as Chief.

George discussed the need for leaders to have power, vision, and "a belief in yourself—confidence in yourself." George stressed empowering others. He describes an incident in which he advised someone: "I didn't do it, Jim did it, all I did was advise him." "Most of our people," he stated, "are on welfare, are unemployed, abuse alcohol (etc.)." What he feels is needed today is for Native Indian leaders to have "vision, commitment, conviction and the ambition to bring back the sovereignty we used to have."

George's description of the projects he is presently involved in indicates his leadership. He is presently involved in rewriting *The Fourth World* and is president of the first Native Indian oil company in Canada. As well, he listed some of his future ambitions such as researching traditional Native Indian foods and medicines to package and sell to Native Indians, and establishing a Native Indian bank in each province.

Clarence Jules, Sr.

Clarence Jules,² a Shuswap, was born in 1926 and raised on the Kamloops Indian Reserve. Clarence served his people at the local level. He attended the Kamloops Indian residential school from the time he was 7 years old until he was 16 years old. Before he married and settled down, he worked at many different jobs off the reserve. He lived off the reserve from the time he was 16 until he was 26 years old. He became involved in band council in 1960, serving two years. In 1962 he was elected chief of the band. He served as Chief until 1972, being reelected by acclamation three times. His father Joe Jules was on council for approximately 32 years. His father-in-law Tommy Casimir served on council with Clarence for six years. Clarence said that while he was chief he was also active in politics outside the reserve. He was Vice-President of the Progressive Conservative party in the Kamloops area. When he stepped down as chief, he left some of his plans incomplete; however, many of those are becoming reality through the work of the present chief, his son. Clarence presently lives on the Kamloops Indian Reserve and is now a heavy equipment operator.

Again, Clarence's description of the projects he was involved in demonstrates his leadership. He states, "I worked on trying to make sure that I carried out the wishes of the band and most of the things I have done came from the Band membership, what was talked about at the Band meeting, we [council] carried out." While on council Clarence worked on many projects. He proposed changes to the Indian Act, started the Industrial Subdivision on the reserve for "financial stability," began the Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Act project so that band members now have sprinklers for crops, established a gravel pit, and set up logging and the band farm to provide employment for members. The object of all these projects was increased self-sufficiency for band members.

Roy Haiyupis

Roy Haiyupis,³ Nu-chah-nulth Nation from Ahousat, has lived and worked in Vancouver Island, on his home reserve Ahousat and in the Port Alberni area. Roy has served his people as both a local and a regional leader. He attended residential school near Ahousat until he graduated from grade 8 when he was 16 years old. He married when he was 19 and began raising a family. Before becoming involved in band council he worked at a variety of jobs such as trapping and logging. He served as a council member before being elected as chief and was on band council for six years altogether. Roy became involved in a leadership role through church activities. Then he became involved with a group that convinced the local School District of Port Alberni to introduce a home-school coordinator position in the area. They were one of the first districts in BC to implement a liaison role between the school and the Native Indian community. Roy was the Home-School Coordinator for the School District. He was also Education Coordinator for the Nu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. He is presently a band council member. Besides being the Drug and Alcohol Counsellor for the Tribal Council, he sometimes works as a translator for the Tribal Council. He is also on an Education Advisory Committee for the Port Alberni School District.

Roy states that leaders should "get people to take action on their concerns; [he is] trying to promote the idea of people recognizing that they need to assume responsibility, to promote action. Leaders are people that are capable of directing thought, directing action and not taking the limelight." Roy further states that formerly, "leaders just grew up with those values, such people right from early childhood were trained to assume that [leadership] responsibility." He points out that leaders should neither isolate themselves from the people nor take the limelight.

Native Indian Leaders' Dialogue

One limitation of the interview method was that all three leaders could not be brought together. A Native Indian perspective would look at leadership in a more holistic way. Ideally the three leaders would be brought

together to dialogue. I attempt to present the reader with a more encompassing view using the leaders' own words.

For example, George stressed the need for leaders to have vision. Although Clarence did not use the term, he clearly did have vision—his wish to work toward the self-sufficiency of the band members. Clarence and Roy agree that leadership is based on understanding the needs and goals of the community. Roy and George would like to see more people being empowered and acting on their concerns. Clarence "followed through" on the "wishes of the people," recognizing a "team approach" based on mutual respect and communication. All three interviewees discussed past influences and all discussed the effects of residential school.

Leader's Job and Leader's Approach

George stressed empowering others. He described an incident in which he advised someone, "I didn't do it. Jim did it. All I did was advise him." He advocates an approach to leadership that recognizes and builds on the people's potential:

I was becoming less concerned, in my political activities, with generating an issue under my own control and more concerned with trying to find the unspoken focus of the community and the person best suited to articulate that concern ... I began to look for the one person who could give public voice to what all were saying in the privacy of their own homes. It was the toughest job I ever had ... to wait until I could assist a local person in discovering the necessary skills ... Now I had to learn not to kick doors open, but to move other people to believe that the same doors were open to them. (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, pp. 133, 140)

George's grandfather had a big influence on him. He remembers what his grandfather told him,

First you have to learn to live with yourself. The people will see your strength and come to you when they need it. (Manuel & Posluns, 1974, p. 63)

Purity was a state of being within yourself. "If you cannot be honest with yourself you will never be honest with anyone else." His [grandfather's] whole basis of teaching was that the strength to fulfill one's self lay within each man. (p. 36)

George also stated,

I have never met people who are apathetic in their response to a leader who speaks about a matter of real concern and in a language they can understand. (p. 108)

The internal tradition of every tribe had always required the direct involvement of the people. The chief was there to speak the mind of the people, not be the mind. (p. 122)

Roy cites a traditional method of "identifying needs of the community." He stresses being able to bring people together, creating a forum for discussion. The leader's role in these situations is to listen and to take appropriate action. He states:

To me that reflects the way the Native people strive to get messages across to their leaders in the community, the chief and other leaders. Where this group is sitting in an informal discussion like that, discussing events in the community.... a leader can't isolate himself from that dialogue or that action. Whatever a group has decided or they're trying to decide

what's necessary, then that discussion is part of the action and the leader will take part in both areas, dialogue and action. A leader can't isolate himself from the action. He has to be part of it ... goes along.

Clarence's view of the importance of band meetings builds on Roy's views. Clarence stresses the quality rather than the quantity of band meetings for effectiveness.

If you have one good Band meeting a year you're really better off than having three or four Band meetings. I find that when you have too many Band meetings ... people get disenchanted with too many meetings ... As a chief if you have one good Band meeting a year that's the best representation you can get.... You get direction from the Band through a Band meeting and what you get out of that meeting you apply.... You could say, "leading your people in the right direction." You really take direction from your people.

Roy advocates a consensus approach for leadership, and speaks at length about consensus in decision-making:

Let them decide for themselves: where are we? and what can we do about it? can we consult consultants? how effective can we be as a group? what powers do we have as individuals? as groups? ... I [have been] trying to promote the idea of having people recognize that they need to assume responsibilities, take on those responsibilities themselves, to action. I've tried to bring that idea across to the people in the community.

Clarence and his council had a goal, which was "financial stability for the Band"—self-sufficiency. George states that he "would like to see [us] negotiate for a better life than we presently have." Roy would like to see the people take responsibility and action on their concerns.

Concrete Ways of Showing Leadership

George's description of the projects he is presently involved in is a concrete way of showing his leadership, including those listed above. In addition to his future goals listed above, he also would like (a) to bring back Native Indian languages, (b) to have researchers study Native Indian medicines, and (c) to establish an institution to develop Native Indian culture and traditions. He states, "I wish I had another lifetime."

Clarence's descriptions of the projects he was involved in are concrete ways of showing his leadership. The projects and initiatives he describes could be thought of as radical considering the time period. For instance, the Industrial Subdivision that he discusses was the first of its kind on a Native Indian reserve in Canada and was later used as a model for other Native Indian bands. Clarence states that "one of the real important things I did in my time as chief was [negotiating] proposed changes to the Indian Act." The selling of the Yellowhead Highway, which runs directly through the Kamloops Indian reserve was, in Clarence's view, "a turning point in the [Department of] Indian Affairs. It was the first time individuals got the money rather than it going to band funds."

Clarence goes on to describe the projects he worked on while on Council. These are listed above. In addition, the sale of the Canadian National yards "was in the making when I left." He states finally, "We're close to a

large city [Kamloops]; consequently, we generate lots of business with the city." These were ways to provide a means to an end: self-sufficiency of the band members. The projects and initiatives discussed here show that he was already working toward self-determination, self-government.

In another Native Indian community, Roy's band members were also realizing the need for self-determination, especially in the area of education. He stated, "We were one of the first groups [in BC] to introduce the idea of the Home-School Coordinator. We convinced the School District that there was a need for such a liaison person in the school system where our kids were going." Leaders are people that are capable of directing thought, directing action and not taking the limelight.

Problems and Concerns

Roy feels that there needs to be periodic evaluation. He also feels that we have to look at what is happening in the Department of Native Indian Affairs and ask, "What are their weaknesses? What have they contributed to our society?" He states:

We should be thinking, communicating and acting in the interests of the whole [community]. We should [then] have leaders that are working effectively at the peoples' level and with their common interests ... there should be realization by [the] individuals that they have had input into the decision.... rebuilding on the strengths of the age-old values and philosophies of a Native Indian society that adjusted itself to 1) the needs of the people and 2) the influences of the environment. (Haiyupis, 1974, pp. 2, 9)

George discusses his concern about the attitude in today's society and his concern about the Indian act. He states, "It guarantees Indians a land base, that's the Indian reservation, but [it is] controlled by the Federal Government."

Clarence remembers that the band council wanted more authority than the Department of Indian Affairs was giving. He adds, "Self-government is a pretty tough issue, right today. But it was an issue in my time too." He recalls an incident when the council went to see a lawyer, and the Indian Affairs [agent] said, "Hey, you can't go to nobody else, we're your guardians, we're your legal guardians." A major concern at that time was (and still is) expropriation. He cites two examples from the Kamloops reserve.

Similarities Between Viewpoints

I have selected six descriptions of qualities and behaviors of traditional leaders from the video *I Am an Indian: The Circle of Leadership* (Spiller et al, 1984). The descriptions match the valued qualities and behaviors given by the three Native Indian leaders.

A leader does not become isolated or separated from the people, nor is a leader above the people, the people are seen as a support system.

Many statements made by Roy in his interview would support this statement. Clarence's statements given above show that he did not become isolated nor separated from the people and that the people were seen as a

support system; he worked "to make sure I carried out the wishes of the band." George stated that he has "clout" in terms of influence with people and that he is working to develop people's minds and interests.

A Native Indian leader's characteristic—wisdom—was thought to be an important characteristic.

Given the statements by Clarence and George, it is felt that they would agree that leadership is based on understanding the needs and goals of the community—wisdom in the Native Indian context. As Roy stated, responsibility was assigned historically, and people were trained right from early childhood to assume that leadership.

A leader possesses humility.

Roy's and Clarence's statements given above show that both men possess humility.

A leader serves rather than bosses.

Clarence's statements show that by carrying out the band's wishes he was serving rather than bossing. Roy's statements show that he served his people. George stated that he would like to negotiate a better life for Native Indian people than they presently have.

To continue as a leader, one must possess personal integrity and practice honesty.

As stated above, George's grandfather had a large influence on him. He remembers what his grandfather told him concerning these qualities.

A leader is a person capable of directing the people without giving the impression that they are being told what to do—a facilitator.

Roy stressed that (leaders should) get people to take action on their concerns ... and that (leaders) are people that are capable of directing thought, directing action and not taking the limelight. George stressed empowering others throughout his interview.

Non-Native Indian Leadership Models and the Native Indian Educational Context

As stated above, before one can be a leader one must know one's culture. Yet the only models of leadership readily available are those developed in non-Native Indian cultures. This project attempted to examine leadership in the context of Native Indian cultures. As a result, it is evident that some aspects of non-Native Indian leadership models are applicable to the Native Indian context.

The Native Indian people agreed that a leader is a person who is capable of directing the people without giving the impression that they are being told what to do: a facilitator. Hall, Rutherford, Hord, and Hulling (1984) mention the concept of facilitator in the description of the Manager style. Native Indian administrators are more likely to think of themselves as colleagues of the staff. They would probably perceive their primary role

as that of supporting and assisting teachers in their work. They would probably involve teachers in decision-making, as Hall et al. mention for Managers. Managers, Hall et al. (1984) state, represent a broad range of behaviors. They demonstrate responsive behaviors and they initiate actions. Their behaviors seem to be linked to their rapport with teachers and office staff.

Developing understanding and knowledge of the valued behaviors and qualities of Native Indian leadership is not intended to exclude developing the skills necessary for being effective administrators. Therefore, I present possible similarities between the views of Native Indian and non-Native Indian leadership using Hall et al. (1984) as an example. It is hoped that the information can be supplemented with that provided by Schein (1985), which could be useful for understanding the integral role that culture plays in leadership. His study deals with issues that a leader, especially a Native Indian leader, would have to become aware of in order to become effective.

The Hall et al. (1984) study provides a model of viewing leadership that could be applied in a Native Indian context. This model would seem to be congruent with the valued qualities and behaviors discussed above (e.g., leaders representing a broad range of roles, leaders being facilitators, leaders advocating participatory decision-making).

I used the lived experiences of Elders from BC and also the experiences of other Native Indian leaders from across Canada and literature drawing mainly on Native Indian (educational) leaders' viewpoints. These examinations are not offered as a recipe to define Native Indian leadership, but as a way of reflection on *where we have come from* with the view of the future of Native Indian education in mind. I have tried to introduce an approach for interacting with people who are considered leaders, especially Elders, while at the same time not ignoring the literature. I used a traditional Native Indian form of teaching by creating opportunities for the Elders to discuss their experience. People were able to tell their life stories, and from these we can learn lessons. Through the use of this method, I was validating the traditional method of learning from the Elders. I took the time to have them reflect and to work with them, discussing their views on the valued qualities and behaviors of leaders.

The models presented are not intended to be implemented as a "quick fix" in Native Indian education without question; but rather they provide a means to guide our understanding and knowledge about Native Indian leadership and a way that this knowledge can be applied using non-Native Indian models. I would recommend that further research on the implementation of the models would be necessary. I found that my experience was useful and led to the suggestion that more people might take the opportunity to engage in such dialogue, to start with the oral tradition and put it into writing, and then to draw teachings from it for future use,

for others to share and to learn from. The models should be used and examined together rather than in isolation.

Notes

¹George Manuel passed away in 1989.

²Clarence Jules Sr. has retired from his duties as a heavy equipment operator but he continues to serve his people and community. He has been on the Kamloops Indian Band Council since 1988. His Council portfolio has included lands, leasing, and taxation. His portfolio currently focuses on the environment.

³Roy Haiyupis passed away 1997.

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